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Q. HORATI FLACCI OPERA

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Q. HORATI FLACCI

OPERA

Horatius Flaccus, Quintus

WITH NOTES BY

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PREFACE

THIS edition is an abridgment of the three volumes devoted to Horace in "Macmillan's Classical Series," and owes its origin to representations made by many schoolmasters to the publishers as to the need existing for an edition of Horace with notes in a single volume. In the execution of my task I have been guided by the experience derived from actual use of the separate editions in form, and my aim has been simply to cut out such portions of the notes as seemed least important for young students, leaving the remainder, as far as possible, unaltered. The work has not been altogether easy or congenial. The charm of a note often lies in that part which is least strictly relevant, and comment is often most interesting when most discursive, nor is it a simple process to curtail without destroying, and to "be brief" without "becoming obscure." On the other hand there can be no question as to the convenience of having an author complete between two covers, and for most boys notes, in order to be used, must be moderate in length. In the present instance there are slightly more than two pages of notes to one of text, and, perhaps, in the case of a writer like Horace that represents an almost irreducible minimum of comment, unless it is held desirable to abbreviate notes into mere dogmatic statements specially designed for use in the examination-room.

My most hearty thanks are due to Professors A. Palmer and A. S. Wilkins who with rare generosity placed their editions at my disposal. As far as could be I have treated them tenderly, and it was only after practising with the pruning-knife on my own productions that I began to deal with theirs. At any rate I have endeavoured not to misrepresent them or obtrude my views on theirs, and in the few instances where some modifications have been necessary they have been either indicated or are unimportant.

Lastly I owe a large debt to the printers and their excellent "Readers" for their constant skill and care, which only those who have had to pass a book of this nature through the press can fully appreciate.

T. E. Page.

Charterhouse, Godalming
June 1896.

INTRODUCTION

Q. Horatius Flaccus was born on Dec. 8, 65 B.C., in the consulship of L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus,[1] five years after Virgil and two years before C. Octavius, who subsequently became the emperor Augustus. The place of his birth was Venusia, a town in Apulia on the borders of Lucania[2] close to Mount Vultur and the 'far-echoing Aufidus.'[3] His father was a 'freedman' (*libertinus*),[4] and had been a 'collector,'[5] probably of taxes, though others credit him with having been a 'dealer in salt-fish.'[6] Anyhow, when the young Horace was old enough to go to school, he had apparently saved a fair amount of money, though his son describes him as only 'the poor owner of a lean farm,'[7] and he was certainly a man who deserves not to be forgotten. Freedman, tax-collector, and perhaps fish-hawker, he none the less saw the talent of his son and resolved to give him a chance in the world. Instead of sending him to the local school, where 'the big sons of big centurions, satchel and slate slung over their left arms,'[8] went carrying their monthly pence, he took him to Rome and procured for him the best teachers, notably a certain Orbilius Pupillus of Beneventum—the Keate[9] of his day—whose birch[10] and whose lessons in Livius Andronicus left an impression on the pupil which has immortalised the master. Not only did his father spend money freely on him but he devoted himself personally to watching over the growth of his morals and character, and to inculcating on him such shrewd and homely maxims as his own experience dictated. Of the debt thus incurred the son

[1] Od. 3. 21. 1; Epod. 14. 6. [2] S. 2. 1. 34.
[3] Od. 4. 9. 2. [4] S. 1. 6. 45.
[5] *coactor* S. 1. 6. 86; *coactor exactionum* (or *auctionum*), Suet. Vit.
[6] *ut creditum est, salsamentario*, Suet. Vit.
[7] S. 1. 6. 71. [8] S. 1. 6. 73. [9] Ep. 2. 1. 70 *plagosus Orbilius*.
[10] He really used the 'taw' and the 'ferule'; *si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit*, Suet. Vit.

was always deeply sensible, and the passage (S. 1. 6. 68 seq.) in which he answers the sneers of society on his origin by a full acknowledgment of how much he owed to 'the best of fathers' is possibly not among the most rhetorical, but is certainly among the most touching passages in classical literature.

When his school-days were over he went, after the fashion of the time, to complete his studies at what was practically the University of Athens, 'searching for truth amid the groves of the Academy'[1] or, in other words, reading philosophy. Here he made the acquaintance of M. Junius Brutus, who after the murder of Caesar (44 B.C.) had been driven from Italy and visited Athens before taking up as *propraetor* the government of Macedonia. Horace seems to have gone with him to Asia Minor[2] and, when Brutus and Cassius raised a republican force with which to resist Octavian and Antony, he was appointed a military tribune and found himself, as he puts it with intentional exaggeration, 'in command of a Roman legion.'[3] He took part in the battle of Philippi (42 B.C.), which finally extinguished the hopes of the republican party, and, though his own description of himself as spirited away by Mercury the protector of poets and 'leaving his poor shield ingloriously behind him'[4] must not be taken too literally, still we may well imagine that his exploits on that fatal field were not very distinguished. At any rate his military and republican ardour soon cooled and, instead of following his friends farther amid the 'stormy seas'[5] of war, he took advantage of an amnesty offered by the conquerors and returned to Italy, where he found himself 'with his wings clipped and destitute of house and farm,'[6] his property near Venusia having probably been confiscated and assigned to some veteran of the victorious army.

By some means, however, he managed to procure a sort of clerkship in the treasury[7] on which to live. Meantime some of his writings, possibly some of the earlier Satires (*e.g.* 1. 7), attracted the notice of Varius and Virgil, who in 39 B.C. procured for the timid and stammering clerk an introduction to C. Cilnius Maecenas, the peace minister of Augustus and the great literary patron of the age. After a delay of nine months, during which Maecenas seems to have satisfied himself as to the talent and character of Horace, he welcomed him as an intimate member of that famous literary group which the great statesman loved to collect around

[1] Ep. 2. 2. 45. [2] S. 1. 7; Ep. 1. 11. [3] S. 1. 6. 48.
[4] Od. 2. 7. 10. [5] Od. 2. 7. 16. [6] Ep. 2. 2. 50.
[7] *scriptum quaestorium comparavit,* Suet. Vit.; S. 2. 6. 36.

him in his palace on the Esquiline. From this time until his death, which occurred on the 27th of November 8 B.C., a few weeks after that of Maecenas, the poet and his patron lived on terms of extreme intimacy and Horace takes a marked place as one of the notable figures in Roman society.

Of his life, however, there is little to relate. He was a man who infinitely preferred repose and comfort to rank and distinction. Maecenas presented him with a small farm among the Sabine hills a little north-east of Tibur (Tivoli), and this Sabine farm was dear to him as the apple of his eye.[1] He is never weary of referring to its charms; he loved to retire to it from Rome, and he constantly contrasts the delights of his peaceful life there with the worry and turmoil and endless engagements of the capital. In Rome itself he contented himself with an extremely modest household,[2] partly because his independent spirit made him unwilling to accept too much from his patron, partly because he had a genuine dislike of ostentation and the inconveniences which it entails. His ideal in life was a modest competence and the ability to do as you like. To lie in bed until ten, then to write or read, to play a game at ball, to bathe, to dine at ease, to stroll round the Circus or the Forum in the evening listening to fortune-tellers and cheap-jacks[3] —these were delights in his judgment to which kings and courts could afford nothing equal. Even when pressed by Augustus to accept the distinguished position of his private secretary, he refused to sacrifice his freedom; and the refusal was accepted without irritation by the emperor, while Suetonius quotes a letter in which the master of the world good-humouredly contrasts the poet's haughty reserve with his own humble entreaties and offers of friendship.[4]

Throughout life he took a keen interest in philosophy and especially in ethics, questions connected with morals being continually discussed by him. His own tastes and habits were naturally Epicurean and 'a sleek-skinned porker from the pen of Epicurus'[5] is his jesting description of himself, while such maxims as *carpe diem* and *dona praesentis cape laetus horae* abound in his writings and are illustrated in his life. On the other hand he is never tired of jibing at the crabbed and paradoxical teaching of the Stoics, whose typical 'wise man' he delights to portray as a typical fool. But in spite of this he

[1] Od. 2. 18. 14. [2] S. 1. 6. 114. [3] S. 1. 6. 114 seq.

[4] *neque enim, si tu superbus amicitiam nostram sprevisti, ideo nos quoque ἀνθυπερφρονοῦμεν*, Suet. Vit.

[5] Ep. 1. 4. 16.

everywhere exhibits a hearty admiration for that strong, sober, self-sacrificing 'manliness' (*virtus*) which had made a 'race of rustic soldiers'[1] the conquerors of the world, but which is certainly Stoical rather than Epicurean. The fact is that he sets little store by logical consistency and writes according to the changing phases of his own mood. He denies the interference of the gods in human affairs,[2] or calls such teaching the 'wisdom of fools'[3] and piety the first of virtues with amiable facility. He writes an Ode to Pyrrha or a wine-jar and then descants on the advantages of hard fare and hard exercise with apparently equal enthusiasm. Such inconsistency is common and almost a part of human nature, and it is one of the charms of Horace that he does not endeavour to conceal it. At the same time, because he does not play the Puritan or assume the solemn countenance[4] of a professed moralist, we have no right, as some do, to describe him as a voluptuary. Those who choose may discuss with seriousness the exact contents of his cellar, or find in the Odes which he addresses to Lydia, Pyrrha, and their kind a history of his own amours; but more careful critics will detect under the various disguises in which the poet masquerades a certain serious and sober earnestness as of a man not without noble conceptions of life and duty. This much at any rate is certain: the man who wrote of his father as Horace did of his was not a bad man; the man who amid all the temptations of Rome could make a simple country life his ideal, as Horace did, was not a vicious man; the man who kept his head in a position such as Horace occupied was not a vain man; the man whom Augustus asked to be his private secretary was not a foolish man; and there must have been something very loveable and very remarkable in one whom Maecenas, after an unbroken intimacy of thirty years, could commend to his master on his death-bed with the words—'*Horati Flacci ut mei memor esto.*'

He describes himself when in his forty-fourth year as being 'of small stature, prematurely gray, fond of sunshine, quick of temper and quickly appeased.'[5] Suetonius says that he was 'short and stout'[6] and quotes a letter of Augustus in which the emperor, acknowledging the receipt of one of his books, says that the poet seems afraid that his book will be bigger than himself, but reminds him that though not tall still he has a 'corporation'

[1] Od. 3. 6. 37. [2] S. 1. 5. 101. [3] Od. 1. 34. 2.
[4] S. 1. 1. 24 *ridentem dicere verum | quid vetat?*
[5] Ep. 1. 20. 24. [6] *brevis et obesus.*

(*corpusculum*) and that if the 'roll' (*volumen*) were rounder it would be more like its author.

His writings fall into two divisions:

(1) Lyric poems—the Epodes, the Odes, and the *Carmen Saeculare.*

(2) The Satires, the Epistles, and the *Ars Poetica.*

The Epodes and the Satires both belong to the first half of his career, his other poems to the second. Up to the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) he perhaps still clung to the republican dreams of his youth; at any rate up to that period his writings are without political colour,[1] but after it he not only ceases to be neutral, but becomes definitely a supporter of the new monarchy and, especially in the Odes, deliberately places his poetical powers at its disposal.

The Satires consist of a number of poems in hexameter verse in two Books, the first of which was published about 35 B.C., the second about 30 B.C. Whatever the origin of the word *satura* or *satira*,[2] at any rate 'Satire,' as a form of poetry in our modern sense of the word, has the distinction of being the only branch of Roman literature which was not formed on a Greek model.[3] Its inventor was Lucilius (148—103 B.C.), and it reached its perfection in Juvenal (*flor.* A.D. 100). The Satires of Lucilius attack individuals with the unsparing freedom of the old Greek comedy; those of Juvenal glow with the fire of a fierce indignation. The Satires of Horace on the other hand are free from vehemence; they keep entirely clear of politics and deal chiefly with social topics, the writer finding in the faults and follies of mankind the occasion not for anger but for laughter. At the same time this laughter must not be misinterpreted; it is in no sense cynical or contemptuous but is used deliberately. Horace knew that he was not adapted for a preacher or a prophet, but he was admirably qualified to make vice appear ridiculous and to show the fool his own foolishness.

The Epistles consist of two books, the first of which was published about 20 B.C., while the second consists of only two Epistles, of which the first is assigned to 13 B.C. and the second

[1] 'During the time covered by the Satires (about 40—30 B.C.) Horace does not appear at all on terms of intimacy with Augustus.' Wilkins, Intr. to Epistles, p. xvii.

[2] Its most probable derivation is from *lanx satura*, a plate full of all sorts of fruits offered to the gods, so that it means 'a medley'; cf. Juv. 1. 86, where he describes his book as a 'hotch-potch,' *farrago*.

[3] Quint. 10. 1. 93 *satira quidem tota nostra est.*

to 19 B.C.[1] They are similar in character to the Satires but altogether superior to them, not only in style but in matter. They contain the 'ripe results of the poet's observation of men and manners'[2] set before us with that apparently negligent grace which is really the result of perfect skill, and which adds so much to the charm of good 'conversation'[3] and good 'letters.'[4]

The *Ars Poetica* is, as its name implies, a didactic poem giving rules for poetical composition.

The Epodes are Horace's first attempt at writing lyric poetry. They are an imitation of the satirical iambics of Archilochus,[5] and are thus to some extent connected with the Satires, which were written at the same period. The bitterness of Archilochus was, however, entirely alien from the easy temper of Horace, and the 'libellous iambics'[6] in which he vents imaginary spleen on imaginary persons[7] are dull and uninteresting, but other Epodes, in which he breaks loose from Archilochus in order to deal with happier themes, already show signs of his future greatness as a lyric poet.

It is on the four Books of Odes that the fame of Horace really rests. To what extent the Odes were published and circulated separately we cannot tell, but the division into books almost certainly dates from Horace's time, and the arrangement of the Odes in them is probably his own. The marks of careful arrangement are very clear. Thus in the first Book the first three Odes are addressed to Maecenas, Augustus, and Virgil, while the first nine Odes are each in a different metre, as though the poet wished to give the reader an early proof of his varied skill. That at the end of the Book the passion of the Cleopatra-Ode (1. 37) should be followed by an extremely slight and cheerful drinking-

[1] Wilkins, Intr. p. xvi. [2] Ibid. p. xxi.

[3] Horace does not seem himself to have called his Satires by that name, but rather to have used the term *Sermones* 'conversations.' When however he says of these poems that they 'only differ from ordinary conversation in the fact of their scanning' (S. 1. 4. 47 *nisi quod pede certo | differt sermoni, sermo merus*), he must not be taken too literally, for it is his object to disguise the pains which have been taken with them.

[4] Of course in ancient times—and in modern times up to the introduction of cheap postage—letter-writing was often practised as an art, and consequently many writers, when desiring to treat a subject somewhat informally, have put their views forward in the shape of 'Letters.'

[5] He is said to have invented the metre especially for his lampoons; A. P. 79 *Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo.*

[6] *criminosis iambis* Od. 1. 16. 2.

[7] He expressly states that these poems are wholly unreal, Ep. 1. 19. 24 *numeros animosque secutus | Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.*

song is in strict accordance with Horace's characteristic dislike to end on a high-pitched note. The first ten Odes of the second Book are alternately Alcaics and Sapphics, while the stately Roman-Odes which commence the third Book are, with their noble exordium, manifestly where they were designed to be. Lastly the concluding Ode of the third Book

Exegi monimentum aere perennius

clearly presupposes a complete and final collection of the Odes to which it is appended.

The date of the production of these three Books is generally considered to lie between 30 B.C., the date of the Cleopatra-Ode,[1] and 23 B.C., the date of the death of Marcellus, who in 1. 12. 46 is spoken of as alive: but though the latter date may be considered fairly certain, it is impossible to say whether some Odes may not have been written—or partly written—considerably before 30 B.C.

The fourth Book was published about 13 B.C., being separated from the other three by a considerable interval, as is shown by internal evidence[2] and definitely stated by Suetonius—*Scripta eius usque adeo probavit (Augustus) mansuraque perpetuo opinatus est ut non modo saeculare carmen componendum iniunxerit, sed et Vindelicam victoriam Tiberii Drusique privignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo intervallo quartum addere.*

The *Carmen Saeculare* is a Sapphic Ode written to be sung publicly by a chorus of youths and maidens in the great 'Secular Games' exhibited by Augustus 17 B.C.[3]

All Latin poetry (except Satire) is copied from Greek models. Terence copies Menander, Propertius Callimachus, Lucretius Empedocles, Virgil Hesiod and Homer: so Horace in the Odes copies the Greek lyric writers. The sportive lays of Anacreon, occasionally the dirges of Simonides, but above all the passionate love-songs of Sappho and the patriotic odes of Alcaeus are the models which he follows.[4] Sometimes he copies his model very closely, especially at the beginning of an Ode (*e.g.* in Odes 9, 14 37 of Book I), but as a whole it may be said that the form and outline of his Odes are copied rather than the details.

[1] The latest reference in the Epodes is to the battle of Actium.

[2] See Intr. to Book IV.

[3] The full description of these games is given in an inscription, discovered in 1890, printed in Lanciani's *Pagan and Christian Rome.*

[4] Pindar he makes no attempt to copy, for he knew that the 'Theban eagle' soared on pinions stronger than his own.

The Odes may be roughly divided into two classes according as they are of a light or of a serious character. The former deal with love, wine, friendship; the latter are addressed to some eminent personage or are written 'by command' to celebrate some public event or advocate some public policy. The one exhibit grace, polish, elegance; the other aim at imposing stateliness and sonorous dignity. The two varieties are wholly different, and it would be as foolish to compare the lyrics of Herrick or Sir John Suckling with, say, Tennyson's Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington as to compare such exquisite gems as 1. 5 (*Quis multa...*) or 3. 9 (*Donec gratus...*) with the Roman-Odes at the commencement of the third Book.

The characteristics of the Odes are (1) their wonderful charm of rhythm, and (2) their perfect literary finish. With regard to the first point, Horace was proudly conscious[1] of the skill with which he had overcome the difficult task of adapting Greek metres to the requirements of the Latin tongue. To examine in detail how far he has succeeded would require a treatise, but any one who will compare his Alcaics with those of Alcaeus[2] will see that his Alcaic stanza is, though a copy, at the same time almost a new creation, the stately third line especially, which bears the weight of the stanza, being so changed that its original trochaic movement (see quotation in note) is hardly recognisable. The lofty ring and rhythmic force of Horace's best Odes in this metre have never been approached.

The literary finish of the Odes has been acknowledged in all ages. Their apparently happy ease is really the result of infinite pains.[3] Horace had no belief in geniuses who dash off verses. The poet must have natural power (*ingenium*), but technical skill (*ars*)[4] is also indispensable, and above all pains: 'correct,'[5] 'erase,'[6] 'polish,'[7] 'prune,'[8] is Horace's constant cry; 'give back the verses to the anvil,'[9] 'lock them up in your desk for nine

[1] Od. 3. 30. 13-16.

[2] *e.g.* cf. Alc. 34—

κάββαλλε τὸν χείμων', ἐπὶ μὲν τίθεις
πῦρ, ἐν δὲ κίρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως
μέλιχρον, αὐτὰρ ἀμφὶ κόρσᾳ
μάλθακον ἀμφιτίθεις γνόφαλλον.

[3] *curiosa felicitas Horati*, Petronius.

[4] Cf. A. P. 408 seq.

[5] A. P. 438 *corrige, sodes.*

[6] S. 1. 10. 72 *stilum vertas.*

[7] A. P. 291 *limae labor.*

[8] S. 1. 10. 69 *recidere.*

[9] A. P. 441 *incudi reddere versus.*

years,'[1] 'cut down and correct ten times until no criticism can find a flaw.'[2] The result of all this labour, in Horace's case, is that his verses seem perfectly unlaboured. Hence it is that they have for ages at once tempted and defied translation: it seems perfectly easy to reproduce them, and it is, in fact, so hard that not one translation in a hundred is more than readable. This is not the highest praise, for the noblest poetry does not depend on form, and translations of Job or Isaiah, of Homer or Lucretius may be not unworthy of the original; but it does show that the shape in which Horace presents his ideas is of unsurpassed excellence. Indeed the strength, terseness, and lucidity of Latin render it an unrivalled instrument for the expression of simple truths with monumental dignity and force: add therefore to complete mastery of such an instrument complete mastery of metrical effect, and it is clear how some of the Odes cling more readily to the memory than almost any poetry in the world.

As, however, the technical skill of Horace is undoubted, so, on the other hand, he does not exhibit great powers of imagination. He is not a great creative poet; there are few new ideas in the Odes. Some critics in consequence deny him all real poetical talent and treat him only as a versifier; Goethe, for instance, speaks of him as possessing technical skill 'side by side with a frightful realism, without any genuine poetry, especially in the Odes.'[3] But this criticism is overdone. In the Regulus-Ode (3. 5) there is real poetic power, and the closing stanzas exhibit true creative genius. In such a line as *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (3. 2. 13) there is something more than mere mastery over words, while in such a stanza as

quo pinus ingens albaque populus
umbram hospitalem consociare amant
ramis? quid obliquo laborat
lympha fugax trepidare rivo?

there is 'realism' no doubt, but to call it 'frightful realism' is absurd, and if the last seven words are not poetry it would be hard to say what is. It is needless however to pursue the question. Horace's own prophecy *Non omnis moriar* has been splendidly fulfilled, and the praise of nineteen centuries makes rash criticism of the Odes recoil upon the critic. His may not be a master-mind,

[1] A. P. 388 *nonumque prematur in annum.*
[2] A. P. 294 *perfectum deciens...castigavit ad unguem.*
[3] F. W. Riemer, *Mittheilungen über Goethe*, xi. 644, nebst einer furcht, baren Realität ohne alle eigentliche Poesie besonders in den Oden.

but he has succeeded in saying some common things better perhaps than they will ever be said again. Those who only respect what they do not understand will not esteem him highly, but men of sense will still continue to value his happy and epigrammatic phrases which embody so much in so little, and are

> jewels five words long
> That on the stretched forefinger of all time
> Sparkle for ever.

It only remains to add that the Odes quickly suffered the fate which their author most dreaded,[1] and had become a regular school-book in the century after his death,[2] and have continued so to the present day. Nor is this to be wondered at, for, though it needs a scholar to fully understand the Odes and bring out the meaning of each suggestive phrase while also tracing the often very subtle[3] sequence of thought which links stanza to stanza, still a large portion of the language is simplicity itself and it is difficult to imagine what better model of Latin could be put before a boy.

None of our extant MSS. are older than the 9th century, though Cruquius in his edition (A.D. 1578) gives the readings of some MSS.[4] now lost which may have been earlier. The Scholia, or collection of comments, which bear the names of Acron and Porphyrion, often carry us back to evidence which is much earlier and possibly goes back to the 2nd or 3rd century.[5] On the whole the text is fairly satisfactory, and though some few passages are certainly corrupt or interpolated,[6] yet there is no ground for suspecting that wholesale alteration of the Odes which some critics[7] assume whenever the meaning of a stanza or the connexion of thought between two parts of an Ode is not immediately obvious to themselves.

[1] Ep. 1. 20. 17

> *hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem*
> *occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.*

Cf. S. 1. 10. 74.

[2] Juvenal 7. 227.

[3] Any one reading *In Memoriam* may see how in lyric poetry this is often far from easy.

[4] The Blandinian MSS., of which one known as *vetustissimus* (technically marked V, and in these notes *vet. Bland.*) is of great importance.

[5] See Wickham Intr. 'The Scholiasts.'

[6] *e.g.* 3. 11. 17-20; 4. 8. 18.

[7] Notably Lehrs and Peerlkamp.

NOTES ON THE METRES USED IN THE ODES AND EPODES

THE **Alcaic** metre is so called from the Greek poet Alcaeus of Lesbos, who is said to have invented it. It is employed by Horace more frequently than any other, and is especially used when a lofty and dignified tone is assumed. It occurs in the following Odes, which contain in all 317 stanzas: I. 9, 16, 17, 26, 27, 29, 31, 34, 35, 37; II. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20; III. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 17, 21, 23, 26, 29; IV. 4, 9, 14, 15.

* ⏒ – ⏑ – – ‖ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏒

⏒ – ⏑ – – ‖ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏒

⏒ – ⏑ – – – – ⏑ – ⏒

– ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏒

§ 1. The first syllable in the first three lines is common but a short syllable is *very rarely* used: 13 instances occur in the First Book, 5 in the Second, 7 in the Third, and none in the Fourth.

The last syllable in each line is common: in the third and fourth lines however a line ending in a short vowel is distinctly rare, such an ending not having sufficient weight.

In the first six Odes of the Third Book which consist of 84 stanzas a short vowel occurs at the end of the third line 5 times and at the end of the fourth only once (3. 1. 40 *atra Cura*).

§ 2. Synaphaea prevails: that is to say, a line ending in *m* or a vowel (especially a short vowel) or diphthong is rarely followed by a line beginning with a vowel, the lines in each stanza being linked together.

There are in all 20 exceptions: *e.g.* 1. 9. 7 *Sabinā* | *o;* 9. 14 *lucro* | *appone;* 16. 27 *amică* | *opprobriis.* In Books III. and IV. only these six occur: 3. 2. 17 *sordidae* | *intaminatis;* 4. 9 *Apulo* | *altricis;* 5. 10 *togae* | *oblitus;* 5. 11 *Vestae* | *incolumi;* 5. 46 *dato* | *interque;* 4. 15. 10 *licentiae* | *iniecit.*

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* The original metre in Gk. is a combination of trochees and dactyls; see quotations p. xiv. note 2; Od. 1. 14 Intr.

1. 2. ⏒ | – ⏑ – ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑

3. ⏒ | – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑

4. – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑

Horace by lengthening the fifth foot in lines 1. 2. 3 and resolutely avoiding the use of two trochaic words at the end of line 3 has largely altered its character.

The connexion between the third and fourth lines is especially close: thus there are eight instances of *et* elided at the end of the third line (1. 35. 11 *barbarorum et* | *purpurei;* 2. 13. 23; 3. 1. 39; 3. 71; 4. 59; 6. 3; 29. 3; 29. 7) and 2. 35. 39 *retusum in* | *Massagetas*, whereas only one such instance occurs in the first two lines, 1. 9. 13 *quaerere et* | *quem*. In two instances, for the sake of special effect, the third line is actually connected with the fourth, 2. 3. 27 *sors exitura et nos in aetern|um exsilium;* 3. 29. 35 *cum pace delabentis Etrusc|um in mare*.

§ 3. In the first two lines a break always occurs after the fifth syllable. Elision, however, often occurs especially of a syllable ending in *m*, of which there are fourteen instances, while there are only five of a vowel so elided. They only end with a monosyllable once (4. 9. 1 *ne forte credas interitura quae*).

A syllable ending in *m* is elided 1. 16. 6 *sacerdot|um incola;* 34. 13 *insign|em attenuat;* 35. 25; 2. 5. 21; 13. 6; 17. 10; 3. 1. 5; 3. 41; 3. 49; 4. 4 *consil|ium et;* 6. 1; 6. 6 *princip|ium huc;* 21. 13; 29. 17. A vowel 1. 34. 10 *invis|i horrida;* 2. 3. 13 *unguent|a et;* 3. 2. 5 *sub div|o et;* 4. 6 *audir|e et;* 6. 18 *inquinaver|e et.*

The following five lines are exceptional: three of them occur in the First Book, two being in the striking but irregular Cleopatra Ode; the fourth is hardly an exception, while the fifth being found in the extremely formal and regular Odes of the Fourth Book must be specially intended to attract attention by its exceptional shape.

1. 16. 21 *hostile aratrum ex|ercitus insolens*
1. 37. 5 *antehac nefas de|promere Caecubum*
1. 37. 14 *mentemque lymph|atam Mareotico*
2. 17. 21 *utrumque nostrum in|credibili modo*
4. 14. 17 *spectandus in cert|amine Martio.*

§ 4. The third line bears the weight of the stanza and is very carefully constructed. These are model lines:

audita | *Musarum* | *sacerdos*
matrona | *bellantis* | *tyranni*
descendat | *in Campum* | *petitor*
sortitur | *insignes* | *et imos*

visam | *pharetratos* | *Gelonos*
tractas | *et incedis* | *per ignes*
testatur | *auditumque* | *Medis*
apponet | *annos;* | *iam protervae*

It cannot end with a monosyllable (the exception is 2. 7. 19 *depone sub lauru mea, nec*) or a quadrisyllable (the exceptions are 1. 35. 11 *barbarorum;* 2. 7. 19 *temperatam;* 2. 19. 19 *viperino*) or with two disyllables.

Two disyllables occur 2. 1. 11 *res ordinaris, grande munus;* 19. 11 *cantare rivos atque truncis.* In 1. 29. 11 *pronos relabi posse rivos* a special effect is aimed at. The five other instances present a marked peculiarity: the first disyllable is immediately repeated at the beginning of the fourth line, the special emphasis given to the repeated word at once restoring to the third line its sonorous character. The instances are all in the first two Books: 1. 16. 3 *pones iambis* sive *flamma* | sive ..; 1. 26. 7 *gaudes, apricos* necte *flores* | necte...; 2. 13. 27 *Alcaee, plectro* dura *navis* | dura...; 2. 14. 11 *enaviganda* sive *reges* | sive...; 2. 19. 6 *laetatur: euoe,* parce *Liber* | parce....

§ 5. The fourth line cannot begin with two dactyls without caesura: *nobilis* | *omnia* | *dixit* | *ille* is not a line. In the second dactyl a weak caesura is distinctly avoided as giving too rapid a movement to the line.

The exceptions are 1. 9. 8 *o Thaliarche* | *merum diota;* 31. 16 *me cichorea* | *levesque malvae;* 2. 3. 8 *interiore nota Falerni;* 4. 9. 8 *Stesichorique* | *graves Camenae.* In 1. 16. 12 *Iuppiter ipse ruens tumultu* the line is *intentionally* rapid; in 1. 26. 12 *teque tuasque decet sorores* the emphasis on the repeated *te tuas* outbalances the weak caesura; for 2. 1. 36 *quae caret ora cruore nostro* see notes.

If, however, there is a full stop after the first dactyl the reason for this rule vanishes and it need not be observed: 1. 35. 36 *liquimus? unde manum iuventus;* 2. 13. 8 *hospitis; ille venena Colcha;* 2. 17. 8 *integer? ille dies utramque.*

It will be noted that the rule is absolute in the Third Book.

The first six Odes of Book III. afford the best model of Alcaics. The Odes in Book IV. exhibit only three variations from strict metrical rules; this is in exact accordance with their frigid and formal character; the long fourth Ode has absolutely no metrical flaw.

The **Sapphic** Stanza is so called from Sappho the Greek poetess of Lesbos. It is used in the following Odes, which contain in all 204 stanzas—I. 2, 10, 12, 20, 22, 25, 30, 32, 38; II. 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 16; III. 8, 11, 14, 18, 20, 22, 27; IV. 2, 6, 11 and Carmen Saeculare.

1. 2. 3. – ⏑ – – – ‖ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏓
4. – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏓

§ 1. Synaphaea prevails: in no case is a line ending with a short vowel followed by a vowel at the beginning of the next line in the same stanza.

The exceptions are 1. 2. 41 *figurā* | *ales;* 12. 6 *Haemo* | *unde;* 12. 7 *insecutae* | *Orphea;* 12. 25 *Ledae* | *hunc;* 12. 31 *ponto* | *unda;* 22. 15 *leonum* | *arida;* 25. 18 *myrto* | *aridas;* 31. 6 *Nymphae* | *et.* 2. 2. 6 *paterni;* | *illum;* 16. 5 *Thracē;* | *otium.* 3. 11. 29 *sub Orco.* | *inpiae;* 11. 50 *secundo* | *omine;* 27. 10 *inminentum* | *oscinem;* 27. 33 *potentem* | *oppidis.* 4. none (2. 1 dubious).

The close connexion between the lines is shown by the way in which *et* can end a line, 2. 6. 1 *mecum et* | *Cantabrum;* 6. 2 *nostra et* | *barbaras.* 3. 8. 27 *horae et* | *linque;* 27. 22 *Austri et* | *aequoris;* 27. 29 *florum et* | *debitae.* So too 3. 8. 3 *carbo in* | *caespite.* 4. 6. 11 *collum in* | *pulvere.*

In several instances the lines are actually connected: 2. 2. 18 *dissidens plebi numero beator|um eximit;* 16. 34 *tibi tollit hinnit|um apta.* 4. 2. 22 *mores|que aureos;* 2. 23 *nigro|que invidet;* C. S. 48 *prolem|que et decus.* The third line especially is so closely connected with the fourth that in three instances a word is divided between them: 1. 2. 18 *labitur ripa Iove non probante u|xorius amnis.* 1. 25. 11 *Thracio bacchante magis sub inter|lunia vento.* 2. 16. 7 *Grosphe, non gemmis neque purpura ve|nale neque auro.*

§ 2. In the first three lines a break usually occurs after the fifth syllable, but occasionally for the sake of variety—especially in long Odes—Horace admits such lines as *Mercuri facund|e nepos Atlantis.* Six instances occur in the First Book, one in the Second, none in the Third, twenty-two in the Fourth, and nineteen in the 76 lines of the Carmen Saeculare.

This seems to show that Horace first carelessly used this rhythm, then rejected it, and finally deliberately employed it to relieve the monotony of the Sapphic stanza. Elision occurs after the fifth syllable four times: 1. 12. 7 *temer|e insecutae.* 2. 4. 10 *victor|e et;* 16. 26 *curar|e et.* 3. 27. 10 *divin|a avis.*

In the first three lines a single monosyllable (unelided) only ends the line twice: 4. 6. 17 *heu nefas, heu;* C. S. 9 *diem qui*, but two monosyllables occur: 3. 11. 5 *nunc est;* 14. 1 *o plebs;* 27. 37 *mors est;* 4. 2. 46 *o sol.*

The last syllable of the fourth line is common but usually long and very rarely ends in a short vowel.

In the **Asclepiad** metres four varieties of line are used:

a. The Glyconic — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓
b. The Pherecratean — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏓
c. The Lesser Asclepiad — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ‖ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓
d. The Greater Asclepiad — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ‖ — ⏑ ⏑ — ‖ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓

These verses are used to form the following systems:

First Asclepiad, used in 1. 1; 3. 30; 4. 8—consists of *c* only:

— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ‖ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓

Second Asclepiad, used in 1. 3, 13, 19, 36; 3. 9, 15, 19, 24, 25, 28; 4. 1, 3—consists of couplets in which *a* is followed by *c:*

— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓
— — — ⏑ ⏑ — ‖ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓

Third Asclepiad, used in 1. 6, 15, 24, 33; 2. 12; 3. 10, 16; 4. 5, 12—consists of stanzas in which after *c* three times repeated *a* follows:

First three lines — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ‖ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓
Fourth line — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓

Fourth Asclepiad, used in 1. 5, 14, 21, 23; 3. 7, 13; 4. 13—consists of stanzas in which *c* twice is followed by *b* then *a*:

First two lines — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ‖ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓
Third line — — — ⏑ ⏑ — —
Fourth line — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓

Fifth Asclepiad, used 1. 11, 18; 4. 10—consists entirely of *d.*

Exceptional metres are:

1. 8: a *versus Aristophanicus* followed by a *versus Sapphicus maior:*

— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏓
— ⏑ — — — | ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏓

1\. 7. 28; Epod. 12: an ordinary Hexameter (*Hexameter dactylicus catalecticus*) followed by a Dactylic Tetrameter Catalectic:

–⏖ | –⏖ | –⏑⏑ | –⏒

4\. 7: an ordinary Hexameter followed by a *versus Archilochius minor:*

–⏑⏑–⏑⏑⏒

1\. 4: a *versus Archilochius maior*

–⏒⏒ | –⏒⏒ | –⏒⏒ | –⏑⏑ | –⏑ | –⏑ | –⏒

followed by an Iambic Trimeter Catalectic.

2\. 18: a Trochaic Dimeter Catalectic followed by an Iambic Trimeter Catalectic:

–⏑ | –⏑ | –⏑ | ⏓

⏒– | ⏑– | ⏒– | ⏑– | ⏑– | ⏒

3\. 12: formed of the *pes Ionicus a minore* ⏑⏑––:

⏑⏑–– | ⏑⏑–– ‖ ⏑⏑––⏑⏑––

⏑⏑–– | ⏑⏑––⏑⏑––⏑⏑––

⏑⏑––⏑⏑––

Some make the first line into two so that each stanza consists of four lines.

In all the Odes of Horace with the exception of 4. 8, which is clearly unsound, the number of the lines is a multiple of four, but in some metres the division into stanzas is not otherwise clearly marked.

It may be noted that the first nine Odes of the First Book are all in different metres, as though the poet wished to exhibit his varied skill; in the Second Book the first ten are alternately Alcaics and Sapphics; the Third Book commences with six long Alcaic Odes.

Epodes 1-10 consist of an ordinary Iambic Trimeter followed by an Iambic Dimeter, which constitutes the *versus ἐπῳδός* from which the modern name 'Epode' is derived.

12 is the same as Od. 1. 7. 28.

13: a Hexameter followed by a versus *iambelegus:*

⏒–⏑–⏒–⏑⏒ | –⏑⏑–⏑⏑

14 and 15 consist of a Hexameter followed by an Iambic Dimeter.

16: a Hexameter followed by an Iambic Trimeter.

17 is all Iambic Trimeters.

Q. HORATI FLACCI

CARMINUM

LIBER PRIMUS

I

Maecenas atavis edite regibus,
o et praesidium et dulce decus meum:
sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
collegisse iuvat metaque fervidis
evitata rotis palmaque nobilis
terrarum dominos evehit ad deos;
hunc, si mobilium turba Quiritium
certat tergeminis tollere honoribus;
illum, si proprio condidit horreo
quidquid de Libycis verritur areis.
gaudentem patrios findere sarculo
agros Attalicis condicionibus
numquam demoveas, ut trabe Cypria
Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare.
luctantem Icariis fluctibus Africum
mercator metuens otium et oppidi
laudat rura sui: mox reficit rates
quassas, indocilis pauperiem pati.
est qui nec veteris pocula Massici
nec partem solido demere de die
spernit, nunc viridi membra sub arbuto
stratus, nunc ad aquae lene caput sacrae.
multos castra iuvant et lituo tubae
permixtus sonitus bellaque matribus
detestata. manet sub Iove frigido
venator tenerae coniugis inmemor,
seu visa est catulis cerva fidelibus
seu rupit teretes Marsus aper plagas.

me doctarum hederae praemia frontium
dis miscent superis, me gelidum nemus
Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
secernunt populo, si neque tibias
Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.
quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres,
sublimi feriam sidera vertice.

II

Iam satis terris nivis atque dirae
grandinis misit Pater et rubente
dextera sacras iaculatus arces
terruit urbem,
terruit gentes, grave ne rediret
saeculum Pyrrhae nova monstra questae,
omne cum Proteus pecus egit altos
visere montes,
piscium et summa genus haesit ulmo,
nota quae sedes fuerat columbis,
et superiecto pavidae natarunt
aequore dammae.
vidimus flavum Tiberim retortis
litore Etrusco violenter undis
ire deiectum monimenta regis
templaque Vestae,
Iliae dum se nimium querenti
iactat ultorem, vagus et sinistra
labitur ripa Iove non probante u-
xorius amnis.
audiet cives acuisse ferrum,
quo graves Persae melius perirent,
audiet pugnas vitio parentum
rara iuventus.
quem vocet divom populus ruentis
imperi rebus? prece qua fatigent
virgines sanctae minus audientem
carmina Vestam?
cui dabit partes scelus expiandi
Iuppiter? tandem venias, precamur,
nube candentes umeros amictus,
augur Apollo;

sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens,
quam Iocus circum volat et Cupido;
sive neclectum genus et nepotes
    respicis auctor,
heu nimis longo satiate ludo,
quem iuvat clamor galeaeque leves
acer et Mauri peditis cruentum
    vultus in hostem;
sive mutata iuvenem figura
ales in terris imitaris almae
filius Maiae, patiens vocari
    Caesaris ultor:
serus in caelum redeas diuque
laetus intersis populo Quirini,
neve te nostris vitiis iniquum
    ocior aura
tollat; hic magnos potius triumphos,
hic ames dici pater atque princeps,
neu sinas Medos equitare inultos
    te duce, Caesar.

III

Sic te diva potens Cypri,
    sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera,
ventorumque regat pater
    obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga,
navis, quae tibi creditum
    debes Vergilium, finibus Atticis
reddas incolumem precor
    et serves animae dimidium meae.
illi robur et aes triplex
    circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
commisit pelago ratem
    primus, nec timuit praecipitem Africum
decertantem Aquilonibus
    nec tristes Hyadas nec rabiem Noti,
quo non arbiter Hadriae
    maior, tollere seu ponere vult freta.
quem Mortis timuit gradum,
    qui siccis oculis monstra natantia,
qui vidit mare turbidum et
    infames scopulos Acroceraunia?

nequiquam deus abscidit
prudens Oceano dissociabili
terras, si tamen inpiae
non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.
audax omnia perpeti
gens humana ruit per vetitum nefas:
audax Iapeti genus
ignem fraude mala gentibus intulit;
post ignem aetheria domo
subductum macies et nova febrium
terris incubuit cohors,
semotique prius tarda necessitas
leti corripuit gradum.
expertus vacuum Daedalus aera
pinnis non homini datis;
perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor.
nil mortalibus ardui est;
caelum ipsum petimus stultitia neque
per nostrum patimur scelus
iracunda Iovem ponere fulmina.

IV

Solvitur acris hiemps grata vice veris et Favoni,
trahuntque siccas machinae carinas,
ac neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni,
nec prata canis albicant pruinis.
iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus inminente luna,
iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
alterno terram quatiunt pede, dum graves Cyclopum
Vulcanus ardens urit officinas.
nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput inpedire myrto
aut flore, terrae quem ferunt solutae;
nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet inmolare lucis,
seu poscat agna sive malit haedo.
pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
regumque turres. o beate Sesti,
vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat incohare longam.
iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes
et domus exilis Plutonia: quo simul mearis,
nec regna vini sortiere talis,
nec tenerum Lycidam mirabere, quo calet iuventus
nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt.

V

Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa
perfusus liquidis urguet odoribus
grato, Pyrrha, sub antro?
cui flavam religas comam,
simplex munditiis? heu quotiens fidem
mutatosque deos flebit et aspera
nigris aequora ventis
emirabitur insolens,
qui nunc te fruitur credulus aurea,
qui semper vacuam, semper amabilem
sperat, nescius aurae
fallacis. miseri, quibus
intemptata nites. me tabula sacer
votiva paries indicat uvida
suspendisse potenti
vestimenta maris deo.

VI

Scriberis Vario fortis et hostium
victor, Maeonii carminis alite,
quam rem cumque ferox navibus aut equis
miles te duce gesserit.
nos, Agrippa, neque haec dicere nec gravem
Pelidae stomachum cedere nescii
nec cursus duplicis per mare Ulixei
nec saevam Pelopis domum
conamur tenues grandia, dum pudor
inbellisque lyrae Musa potens vetat
laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
culpa deterere ingeni.
quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina
digne scripserit aut pulvere Troico
nigrum Merionen aut ope Palladis
Tydiden superis parem?
nos convivia, nos proelia virginum
sectis in iuvenes unguibus acrium
cantamus, vacui, sive quid urimur,
non praeter solitum leves.

VII

Laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mytilenen
aut Ephesum, bimarisve Corinthi
moenia vel Baccho Thebas vel Apolline Delphos
insignes aut Thessala Tempe;
sunt quibus unum opus est intactae Palladis urbem
carmine perpetuo celebrare et
undique decerptam fronti praeponere olivam;
plurimus in Iunonis honorem
aptum dicet equis Argos ditesque Mycenas:
me nec tam patiens Lacedaemon
nec tam Larisae percussit campus opimae,
quam domus Albuneae resonantis
et praeceps Anio ac Tiburni lucus et uda
mobilibus pomaria rivis.
albus ut obscuro deterget nubila caelo
saepe Notus neque parturit imbres
perpetuos, sic tu sapiens finire memento
tristitiam vitaeque labores
molli, Plance, mero, seu te fulgentia signis
castra tenent, seu densa tenebit
Tiburis umbra tui. Teucer Salamina patremque
cum fugeret, tamen uda Lyaeo
tempora populea fertur vinxisse corona,
sic tristes adfatus amicos:
'quo nos cumque feret melior fortuna parente,
ibimus, o socii comitesque.
nil desperandum Teucro duce et auspice Teucro,
certus enim promisit Apollo
ambiguam tellure nova Salamina futuram.
o fortes peioraque passi
mecum saepe viri, nunc vino pellite curas;
cras ingens iterabimus aequor.'

VIII

Lydia, dic, per omnes
te deos oro, Sybarin cur properes amando
perdere, cur apricum

oderit campum, patiens pulveris atque solis,
cur neque militaris
inter aequales equitet, Gallica nec lupatis
temperet ora frenis?
cur timet flavum Tiberim tangere? cur olivum
sanguine viperino
cautius vitat neque iam livida gestat armis
bracchia, saepe disco,
saepe trans finem iaculo nobilis expedito?
quid latet, ut marinae
filium dicunt Thetidis sub lacrimosa Troiae
funera, ne virilis
cultus in caedem et Lycias proriperet catervas?

IX

Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus
silvae laborantes geluque
flumina constiterint acuto?
dissolve frigus ligna super foco
large reponens atque benignius
deprome quadrimum Sabina,
o Thaliarche, merum diota.
permitte divis cetera, qui simul
stravere ventos aequore fervido
deproeliantes, nec cupressi
nec veteres agitantur orni.
quid sit futurum cras, fuge quaerere, et
quem fors dierum cumque dabit, lucro
appone, nec dulces amores
sperne puer neque tu choreas,
donec virenti canities abest
morosa. nunc et campus et areae
lenesque sub noctem susurri
composita repetantur hora,
nunc et latentis proditor intimo
gratus puellae risus ab angulo
pignusque dereptum lacertis
aut digito male pertinaci.

X

Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis,
qui feros cultus hominum recentum
voce formasti catus et decorae
  more palaestrae,
te canam, magni Iovis et deorum
nuntium curvaeque lyrae parentem,
callidum quidquid placuit iocoso
  condere furto.
te, boves olim nisi reddidisses
per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
voce dum terret, viduus pharetra
  risit Apollo.
quin et Atridas duce te superbos
Ilio dives Priamus relicto
Thessalosque ignes et iniqua Troiae
  castra fefellit.
tu pias laetis animas reponis
sedibus virgaque levem coerces
aurea turbam, superis deorum
  gratus et imis.

XI

Tu ne quaesieris—scire nefas—quem mihi, quem tibi
finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios
temptaris numeros. ut melius, quidquid erit, pati,
seu plures hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam,
quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare
Tyrrhenum. sapias, vina liques et spatio brevi
spem longam reseces. dum loquimur, fugerit invida
aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.

XII

Quem virum aut heroa lyra vel acri
tibia sumis celebrare, Clio,
quem deum? cuius recinet iocosa
  nomen imago
aut in umbrosis Heliconis oris
aut super Pindo gelidove in Haemo?
unde vocalem temere insecutae
  Orphea silvae

arte materna rapidos morantem
fluminum lapsus celeresque ventos,
blandum et auritas fidibus canoris
  ducere quercus.
quid prius dicam solitis parentis
laudibus, qui res hominum ac deorum,
qui mare et terras variisque mundum
  temperat horis?
unde nil maius generatur ipso,
nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum:
proximos illi tamen occupavit
  Pallas honores.
proeliis audax neque te silebo
Liber, et saevis inimica virgo
beluis, nec te, metuende certa
  Phoebe sagitta.
dicam et Alciden puerosque Ledae,
hunc equis, illum superare pugnis
nobilem; quorum simul alba nautis
  stella refulsit,
defluit saxis agitatus umor,
concidunt venti fugiuntque nubes
et minax, quod sic voluere, ponto
  unda recumbit.
Romulum post hos prius an quietum
Pompili regnum memorem an superbos
Tarquini fasces, dubito, an Catonis
  nobile letum.
Regulum et Scauros animaeque magnae
prodigum Paulum superante Poeno
gratus insigni referam Camena
  Fabriciumque.
hunc et incomptis Curium capillis
utilem bello tulit et Camillum
saeva paupertas et avitus apto
  cum Lare fundus.
crescit occulto velut arbor aevo
fama Marcelli; micat inter omnes
Iulium sidus velut inter ignes
  luna minores.
gentis humanae pater atque custos,
orte Saturno, tibi cura magni

Caesaris fatis data: tu secundo
  Caesare regnes.
ille seu Parthos Latio inminentes
egerit iusto domitos triumpho,
sive subiectos orientis orae
  Seras et Indos,
te minor latum reget aequus orbem;
tu gravi curru quaties Olympum,
tu parum castis inimica mittes
  fulmina lucis.

XIII

Cum tu, Lydia, Telephi
  cervicem roseam, cerea Telephi
laudas bracchia, vae meum
  fervens difficili bile tumet iecur.
tum nec mens mihi nec color
  certe sede manet, umor et in genas
furtim labitur, arguens
  quam lentis penitus macerer ignibus.
uror, seu tibi candidos
  turparunt umeros inmodicae mero
rixae, sive puer furens
  inpressit memorem dente labris notam.
non, si me satis audias,
  speres perpetuum dulcia barbare
laedentem oscula, quae Venus
  quinta parte sui nectaris inbuit.
felices ter et amplius,
  quos inrupta tenet copula nec malis
divulsus querimoniis
  suprema citius solvet amor die.

XIV

O navis, referent in mare te novi
fluctus! o quid agis? fortiter occupa
  portum! nonne vides ut
  nudum remigio latus,
et malus celeri saucius Africo

antemnaeque gemant, ac sine funibus
vix durare carinae
possint imperiosius
aequor? non tibi sunt integra lintea,
non di, quos iterum pressa voces malo,
quamvis Pontica pinus,
silvae filia nobilis,
iactes et genus et nomen inutile:
nil pictis timidus navita puppibus
fidit. tu nisi ventis
debes ludibrium, cave,
nuper sollicitum quae mihi taedium,
nunc desiderium curaque non levis,
interfusa nitentes
vites aequora Cycladas.

XV

Pastor cum traheret per freta navibus
Idaeis Helenen perfidus hospitam,
ingrato celeres obruit otio
ventos, ut caneret fera
Nereus fata: 'mala ducis avi domum,
quam multo repetet Graecia milite,
coniurata tuas rumpere nuptias
et regnum Priami vetus.
heu heu, quantus equis, quantus adest viris
sudor! quanta moves funera Dardanae
genti! iam galeam Pallas et aegida
currusque et rabiem parat.
nequiquam Veneris praesidio ferox
pectes caesariem grataque feminis
inbelli cithara carmina divides;
nequiquam thalamo graves
hastas et calami spicula Cnosii
vitabis, strepitumque et celerem sequi
Aiacem: tamen heu serus adulteros
crines pulvere collines.
non Laertiaden, exitium tuae
genti, non Pylium Nestora respicis?
urguent inpavidi te Salaminius
Teucer, te Sthenelus sciens

pugnae, sive opus est imperitare equis,
non auriga piger. Merionen quoque
nosces. ecce furit te reperire atrox
Tydides melior patre:
quem tu, cervus uti vallis in altera
visum parte lupum graminis inmemor,
sublimi fugies mollis anhelitu,
non hoc pollicitus tuae.
iracunda diem proferet Ilio
matronisque Phrygum classis Achillei;
post certas hiemes uret Achaicus
ignis Iliacas domos.'

XVI

O matre pulchra filia pulchrior,
quem criminosis cumque voles modum
pones iambis, sive flamma
sive mari libet Hadriano.
non Dindymene, non adytis quatit
mentem sacerdotum incola Pythius,
non Liber aeque, non acuta
sic geminant Corybantes aera,
tristes ut irae, quas neque Noricus
deterret ensis nec mare naufragum
nec saevus ignis nec tremendo
Iuppiter ipse ruens tumultu.
fertur Prometheus addere principi
limo coactus particulam undique
desectam et insani leonis
vim stomacho apposuisse nostro.
irae Thyesten exitio gravi
stravere, et altis urbibus ultimae
stetere causae, cur perirent
funditus inprimeretque muris
hostile aratrum exercitus insolens.
compesce mentem: me quoque pectoris
temptavit in dulci iuventa
fervor et in celeres iambos
misit furentem; nunc ego mitibus
mutare quaero tristia, dum mihi
fias recantatis amica
opprobriis animumque reddas.

XVII

Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem
mutat Lycaeo Faunus et igneam
defendit aestatem capellis
usque meis pluviosque ventos.
inpune tutum per nemus arbutos
quaerunt latentes et thyma deviae
olentis uxores mariti,
nec virides metuunt colubras,
nec Martiales haediliae lupos,
utcumque dulci, Tyndari, fistula
valles et Usticae cubantis
levia personuere saxa.
di me tuentur, dis pietas mea
et Musa cordi est. hinc tibi copia
manabit ad plenum benigno
ruris honorum opulenta cornu.
hic in reducta valle Caniculae
vitabis aestus et fide Teia
dices laborantes in uno
Penelopen vitreamque Circen.
hic innocentis pocula Lesbii
duces sub umbra nec Semeleius
cum Marte confundet Thyoneus
proelia, nec metues protervum
suspecta Cyrum, ne male dispari
incontinentes iniciat manus
et scindat haerentem coronam
crinibus inmeritamque vestem.

XVIII

Nullam, Vare, sacra vite prius severis arborem
circa mite solum Tiburis et moenia Catili:
siccis omnia nam dura deus proposuit, neque
mordaces aliter diffugiunt sollicitudines.
quis post vina gravem militiam aut pauperiem crepat?
quis non te potius, Bacche pater, teque, decens Venus?
ac ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi,
Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
debellata, monet Sithoniis non levis Euhius,

cum fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum
discernunt avidi. non ego te, candide Bassareu,
invitum quatiam nec variis obsita frondibus
sub divum rapiam. saeva tene cum Berecyntio
cornu tympana, quae subsequitur caecus Amor sui
et tollens vacuum plus nimio Gloria verticem
arcanique Fides prodiga, perlucidior vitro.

XIX

Mater saeva Cupidinum
   Thebanaeque iubet me Semelae puer
et lasciva Licentia
   finitis animum reddere amoribus.
urit me Glycerae nitor
   splendentis Pario marmore purius;
urit grata protervitas
   et vultus nimium lubricus aspici.
in me tota ruens Venus
   Cyprum deseruit, nec patitur Scythas
et versis animosum equis
   Parthum dicere nec quae nihil attinent.
hic vivum mihi caespitem, hic
   verbenas, pueri, ponite turaque
bimi cum patera meri:
   mactata veniet lenior hostia.

XX

Vile potabis modicis Sabinum
cantharis, Graeca quod ego ipse testa
conditum levi, datus in theatro
   cum tibi plausus,
care Maecenas eques, ut paterni
fluminis ripae simul et iocosa
redderet laudes tibi Vaticani
   montis imago.
Caecubum et prelo domitam Caleno
tum bibes uvam: mea nec Falernae
temperant vites neque Formiani
   pocula colles.

XXI

Dianam tenerae dicite virgines,
intonsum, pueri, dicite Cynthium
Latonamque supremo
dilectam penitus Iovi.
vos laetam fluviis et nemorum coma,
quaecumque aut gelido prominet Algido,
nigris aut Erymanthi
silvis aut viridis Cragi;
vos Tempe totidem tollite laudibus
natalemque, mares, Delon Apollinis
insignemque pharetra
fraternaque umerum lyra.
hic bellum lacrimosum, hic miseram famem
pestemque a populo et principe Caesare in
Persas atque Britannos
vestra motus aget prece.

XXII

Integer vitae scelerisque purus
non eget Mauris iaculis neque arcu
nec venenatis gravida sagittis,
Fusce, pharetra,
sive per Syrtes iter aestuosas,
sive facturus per inhospitalem
Caucasum vel quae loca fabulosus
lambit Hydaspes.
namque me silva lupus in Sabina,
dum meam canto Lalagen et ultra
terminum curis vagor expeditis,
fugit inermem.
quale portentum neque militaris
Daunias latis alit aesculetis,
nec Iubae tellus generat, leonum
arida nutrix.
pone me, pigris ubi nulla campis
arbor aestiva recreatur aura,
quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
Iuppiter urguet;

pone sub curru nimium propinqui
solis in terra domibus negata:
dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,
dulce loquentem.

XXIII

Vitas inuleo me similis, Chloe,
quaerenti pavidam montibus aviis
matrem non sine vano
aurarum et siluae metu.
nam seu mobilibus veris inhorruit
adventus foliis, seu virides rubum
dimovere lacertae,
et corde et genibus tremit.
atqui non ego te, tigris ut aspera
Gaetulusve leo, frangere persequor:
tandem desine matrem
tempestiva sequi viro.

XXIV

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
tam cari capitis? praecipe lugubres
cantus, Melpomene, cui liquidam Pater
vocem cum cithara dedit.
ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor
urguet? cui Pudor et Iustitiae soror,
incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas
quando ullum inveniet parem?
multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
nulli flebilior, quam tibi, Vergili.
tu frustra pius, heu, non ita creditum
poscis Quintilium deos.
quodsi Threicio blandius Orpheo
auditam moderere arboribus fidem,
non vanae redeat sanguis imagini,
quam virga semel horrida
non lenis precibus fata recludere
nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi?
durum: sed levius fit patientia
quidquid corrigere est nefas.

XXV

Parcius iunctas quatiunt fenestras
iactibus crebris iuvenes protervi,
nec tibi somnos adimunt, amatque
ianua limen,
quae prius multum facilis movebat
cardines. audis minus et minus iam:
'me tuo longas pereunte noctes,
Lydia, dormis?'
invicem moechos anus arrogantes
flebis in solo levis angiportu,
Thracio bacchante magis sub inter-
lunia vento,
cum tibi flagrans amor et libido,
quae solet matres furiare equorum,
saeviet circa iecur ulcerosum,
non sine questu,
laeta quod pubes hedera virenti
gaudeat pulla magis atque myrto,
aridas frondes hiemis sodali
dedicet Hebro.

XXVI

Musis amicus tristitiam et metus
tradam protervis in mare Creticum
portare ventis, quis sub Arcto
rex gelidae metuatur orae,
quid Tiridaten terreat, unice
securus. o quae fontibus integris
gaudes, apricos necte flores,
necte meo Lamiae coronam,
Pimplei dulcis. nil sine te mei
prosunt honores: hunc fidibus novis,
hunc Lesbio sacrare plectro
teque tuasque decet sorores.

XXVII

Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis
pugnare Thracum est: tollite barbarum
morem verecundumque Bacchum
sanguineis prohibete rixis.

vino et lucernis Medus acinaces
inmane quantum discrepat; inpium
lenite clamorem, sodales,
et cubito remanete presso.
vultis severi me quoque sumere
partem Falerni? dicat Opuntiae
frater Megyllae, quo beatus
vulnere, qua pereat sagitta.
cessat voluntas? non alia bibam
mercede. quae te cumque domat Venus,
non erubescendis adurit
ignibus ingenuoque semper
amore peccas: quidquid habes, age
depone tutis auribus. a miser,
quanta laborabas Charybdi,
digne puer meliore flamma!
quae saga, quis te solvere Thessalis
magus venenis, quis poterit deus?
vix inligatum te triformi
Pegasus expediet Chimaera.

XXVIII

Te maris et terrae numeroque carentis harenae
mensorem cohibent, Archyta,
pulveris exigui prope litus parva Matinum
munera, nec quicquam tibi prodest
aerias temptasse domos animoque rotundum
percurrisse polum morituro.
occidit et Pelopis genitor, conviva deorum,
Tithonusque remotus in auras,
et Iovis arcanis Minos admissus, habentque
Tartara Panthoiden iterum Orco
demissum, quamvis clipeo Troiana refixo
tempora testatus nihil ultra
nervos atque cutem morti concesserat atrae,
iudice te non sordidus auctor
naturae verique. sed omnes una manet nox
et calcanda semel via leti.
dant alios Furiae torvo spectacula Marti,
exitio est avidum mare nautis;
mixta senum ac iuvenum densentur funera, nullum
saeva caput Proserpina fugit.

me quoque devexi rapidus comes Orionis
  Illyricis Notus obruit undis.
at tu, nauta, vagae ne parce malignus harenae
  ossibus et capiti inhumato
particulam dare : sic, quodcumque minabitur Eurus
  fluctibus Hesperiis, Venusinae
plectantur silvae te sospite, multaque merces,
  unde potest, tibi defluat aequo
ab Iove Neptunoque sacri custode Tarenti.
  neclegis inmeritis nocituram
postmodo te natis fraudem committere? fors et
  debita iura vicesque superbae
te maneant ipsum : precibus non linquar inultis,
  teque piacula nulla resolvent.
quamquam festinas, non est mora longa : licebit
  iniecto ter pulvere curras.

XXIX

Icci, beatis nunc Arabum invides
gazis et acrem militiam paras
  non ante devictis Sabaeae
    regibus, horribilique Medo
nectis catenas? quae tibi virginum
sponso necato barbara serviet?
  puer quis ex aula capillis
    ad cyathum statuetur unctis,
doctus sagittas tendere Sericas
arcu paterno? quis neget arduis
  pronos relabi posse rivos
    montibus et Tiberim reverti,
cum tu coemptos undique nobilis
libros Panaeti Socraticam et domum
  mutare loricis Hiberis,
    pollicitus meliora, tendis?

XXX

O Venus regina Cnidi Paphique,
sperne dilectam Cypron et vocantis
ture te multo Glycerae decoram
  transfer in aedem.

fervidus tecum puer et solutis
Gratiae zonis properentque Nymphae
et parum comis sine te Iuventas
Mercuriusque.

XXXI

Quid dedicatum poscit Apollinem
vates? quid orat de patera novum
fundens liquorem? non opimae
Sardiniae segetes feraces,
non aestuosae grata Calabriae
armenta, non aurum aut ebur Indicum,
non rura quae Liris quieta
mordet aqua taciturnus amnis.
premant Calena falce quibus dedit
fortuna vitem, dives ut aureis
mercator exsiccet culillis
vina Syra reparata merce,
dis carus ipsis, quippe ter et quater
anno revisens aequor Atlanticum
inpune: me pascunt olivae,
me cichorea levesque malvae.
frui paratis et valido mihi,
Latoe, dones et precor integra
cum mente nec turpem senectam
degere nec cithara carentem.

XXXII

Poscimur. si quid vacui sub umbra
lusimus tecum, quod et hunc in annum
vivat et plures, age dic Latinum,
barbite, carmen,
Lesbio primum modulate civi,
qui, ferox bello, tamen inter arma,
sive iactatam religarat udo
litore navem,
Liberum et Musas Veneremque et illi
semper haerentem puerum canebat
et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque
crine decorum.

o decus Phoebi et dapibus supremi
grata testudo Iovis, o laborum
dulce lenimen, mihi cumque salve
rite vocanti.

XXXIII

Albi, ne doleas plus nimio memor
inmitis Glycerae, neu miserabiles
decantes elegos, cur tibi iunior
laesa praeniteat fide,
insignem tenui fronte Lycorida
Cyri torret amor, Cyrus in asperam
declinat Pholoen : sed prius Apulis
iungentur capreae lupis,
quam turpi Pholoe peccet adultero.
sic visum Veneri, cui placet inpares
formas atque animos sub iuga aenea
saevo mittere cum ioco.
ipsum me melior cum peteret Venus,
grata detinuit compede Myrtale
libertina, fretis acrior Hadriae
curvantis Calabros sinus.

XXXIV

Parcus deorum cultor et infrequens
insanientis dum sapientiae
consultus erro, nunc retrorsum
vela dare atque iterare cursus
cogor relictos : namque Diespiter,
igni corusco nubila dividens
plerumque, per purum tonantes
egit equos volucremque currum,
quo bruta tellus et vaga flumina,
quo Styx et invisi horrida Taenari
sedes Atlanteusque finis
concutitur. valet ima summis
mutare et insignem attenuat deus,
obscura promens ; hinc apicem rapax
Fortuna cum stridore acuto
sustulit, hic posuisse gaudet.

XXXV

O diva, gratum quae regis Antium,
praesens vel imo tollere de gradu
mortale corpus vel superbos
vertere funeribus triumphos :
te pauper ambit sollicita prece
ruris colonus, te dominam aequoris
quicumque Bithyna lacessit
Carpathium pelagus carina.
te Dacus asper, te profugi Scythae,
urbesque gentesque et Latium ferox,
regumque matres barbarorum et
purpurei metuunt tyranni,
iniurioso ne pede proruas
stantem columnam, neu populus frequens
ad arma cessantes ad arma
concitet imperiumque frangat.
te semper anteit saeva Necessitas,
clavos trabales et cuneos manu
gestans aena, nec severus
uncus abest liquidumque plumbum.
te Spes et albo rara Fides colit
velata panno, nec comitem abnegat,
utcumque mutata potentes
veste domos inimica linquis.
at vulgus infidum et meretrix retro
periura cedit, diffugiunt cadis
cum faece siccatis amici,
ferre iugum pariter dolosi.
serves iturum Caesarem in ultimos
orbis Britannos et iuvenum recens
examen Eois timendum
partibus Oceanoque rubro.
eheu cicatricum et sceleris pudet
fratrumque. quid nos dura refugimus
aetas, quid intactum nefasti
liquimus? unde manum iuventus
metu deorum continuit, quibus
pepercit aris? o utinam nova
incude diffingas retunsum in
Massagetas Arabasque ferrum.

XXXVI

Et ture et fidibus iuvat
placare et vituli sanguine debito
custodes Numidae deos,
qui nunc Hesperia sospes ab ultima
caris multa sodalibus,
nulli plura tamen dividit oscula
quam dulci Lamiae, memor
actae non alio rege puertiae
mutataeque simul togae.
Cressa ne careat pulchra dies nota,
neu promptae modus amphorae,
neu morem in Salium sit requies pedum,
neu multi Damalis meri
Bassum Threicia vincat amystide,
neu desint epulis rosae
neu vivax apium neu breve lilium.
omnes in Damalin putres
deponent oculos, nec Damalis novo
divelletur adultero,
lascivis hederis ambitiosior.

XXXVII

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
pulsanda tellus, nunc Saliaribus
ornare pulvinar deorum
tempus erat dapibus, sodales.
antehac nefas depromere Caecubum
cellis avitis, dum Capitolio
regina dementes ruinas
funus et imperio parabat
contaminato cum grege turpium
morbo virorum, quidlibet inpotens
sperare fortunaque dulci
ebria. sed minuit furorem
vix una sospes navis ab ignibus,
mentemque lymphatam Mareotico
redegit in veros timores
Caesar, ab Italia volantem

remis adurguens, accipiter velut
molles columbas, aut leporem citus
venator in campis nivalis
Haemoniae, daret ut catenis
fatale monstrum: quae generosius
perire quaerens nec muliebriter
expavit ensem nec latentes
classe cita reparavit oras.
ausa et iacentem visere regiam
vultu sereno, fortis et asperas
tractare serpentes, ut atrum
corpore combiberet venenum,
deliberata morte ferocior,
saevis Liburnis scilicet invidens
privata deduci superbo
non humilis mulier triumpho.

XXXVIII

Persicos odi, puer, apparatus,
displicent nexae philyra coronae,
mitte sectari, rosa quo locorum
sera moretur.
simplici myrto nihil adlabores
sedulus, curo: neque te ministrum
dedecet myrtus neque me sub arta
vite bibentem.

LIBER SECUNDUS

I

Motum ex Metello consule civicum,
bellique causas et vitia et modos,
ludumque Fortunae gravesque
principum amicitias et arma
nondum expiatis uncta cruoribus,
periculosae plenum opus aleae,
tractas et incedis per ignes
suppositos cineri doloso.

paulum severae Musa tragoediae
desit theatris: mox, ubi publicas
res ordinaris, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,
insigne maestis praesidium reis
et consulenti, Pollio, curiae,
cui laurus aeternos honores
Delmatico peperit triumpho.
iam nunc minaci murmure cornuum
perstringis aures, iam litui strepunt,
iam fulgor armorum fugaces
terret equos equitumque vultus.
audire magnos iam videor duces
non indecoro pulvere sordidos
et cuncta terrarum subacta
praeter atrocem animum Catonis.
Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior
Afris inulta cesserat inpotens
tellure, victorum nepotes
rettulit inferias Iugurthae.
quis non Latino sanguine pinguior
campus sepulchris inpia proelia
testatur auditumque Medis
Hesperiae sonitum ruinae?
qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris
ignara belli? quod mare Dauniae
non decoloravere caedes?
quae caret ora cruore nostro?
sed ne relictis, Musa, procax iocis
Ceae retractes munera neniae:
mecum Dionaeo sub antro
quaere modos leviore plectro.

II

Nullus argento color est avaris
abdito terris, inimice lamnae
Crispe Sallusti, nisi temperato
splendeat usu.
vivet extento Proculeius aevo,
notus in fratres animi paterni;

illum aget pinna metuente solvi
fama superstes.
latius regnes avidum domando
spiritum, quam si Libyam remotis
Gadibus iungas et uterque Poenus
serviat uni.
crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops,
nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi
fugerit venis et aquosus albo
corpore languor.
redditum Cyri solio Prahaten
dissidens plebi numero beatorum
eximit virtus populumque falsis
dedocet uti
vocibus, regnum et diadema tutum
deferens uni propriamque laurum,
quisquis ingentes oculo inretorto
spectat acervos.

III

Aequam memento rebus in arduis
servare mentem, non secus in bonis
ab insolenti temperatam
laetitia, moriture Delli,
seu maestus omni tempore vixeris,
seu te in remoto gramine per dies
festos reclinatum bearis
interiore nota Falerni.
quo pinus ingens albaque populus
umbram hospitalem consociare amant
ramis? quid obliquo laborat
lympha fugax trepidare rivo?
huc vina et unguenta et nimium breves
flores amoenae ferre iube rosae,
dum res et aetas et sororum
fila trium patiuntur atra.
cedes coemptis saltibus et domo
villaque, flavus quam Tiberis lavit,
cedes, et exstructis in altum
divitiis potietur heres.
divesne prisco natus ab Inacho,

nil interest, an pauper et infima
de gente sub divo moreris,
victima nil miserantis Orci:
omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
versatur urna serius ocius
sors exitura et nos in aeternum
exsilium inpositura cumbae.

IV

Ne sit ancillae tibi amor pudori,
Xanthia Phoceu, prius insolentem
serva Briseis niveo colore
movit Achillem,
movit Aiacem Telamone natum
forma captivae dominum Tecmessae;
arsit Atrides medio in triumpho
virgine rapta,
barbarae postquam cecidere turmae
Thessalo victore et ademptus Hector
tradidit fessis leviora tolli
Pergama Grais.
nescias, an te generum beati
Phyllidis flavae decorent parentes;
regium certe genus et Penates
maeret iniquos.
crede non illam tibi de scelesta
plebe dilectam, neque sic fidelem,
sic lucro aversam potuisse nasci
matre pudenda.
bracchia et vultum teretesque suras
integer laudo: fuge suspicari
cuius octavum trepidavit aetas
claudere lustrum.

V

Nondum subacta ferre iugum valet
cervice, nondum munia comparis
aequare nec tauri ruentis
in venerem tolerare pondus.

circa virentes est animus tuae
campos iuvencae, nunc fluviis gravem
solantis aestum, nunc in udo
ludere cum vitulis salicto
praegestientis. tolle cupidinem
inmitis uvae: iam tibi lividos
distinguet autumnus racemos
purpureo varius colore.
iam te sequetur: currit enim ferox
aetas, et illi, quos tibi dempserit,
apponet annos; iam proterva
fronte petet Lalage maritum,
dilecta quantum non Pholoe fugax,
non Chloris albo sic umero nitens,
ut pura nocturno renidet
luna mari Cnidiusve Gyges,
quem si puellarum insereres choro,
mire sagaces falleret hospites
discrimen obscurum solutis
crinibus ambiguoque vultu.

VI

Septimi, Gades aditure mecum et
Cantabrum indoctum iuga ferre nostra et
barbaras Syrtes, ubi Maura semper
aestuat unda:
Tibur Argeo positum colono
sit meae sedes utinam senectae,
sit modus lasso maris et viarum
militiaeque.
unde si Parcae prohibent iniquae,
dulce pellitis ovibus Galaesi
flumen et regnata petam Laconi
rura Phalantho.
ille terrarum mihi praeter omnes
angulus ridet, ubi non Hymetto
mella decedunt viridique certat
baca Venafro,
ver ubi longum tepidasque praebet
Iuppiter brumas et amicus Aulon

fertili Baccho minimum Falernis
invidet uvis.
ille te mecum locus et beatae
postulant arces, ibi tu calentem
debita sparges lacrima favillam
vatis amici.

VII

O saepe mecum tempus in ultimum
deducte Bruto militiae duce,
quis te redonavit Quiritem
dis patriis Italoque caelo,
Pompei, meorum prime sodalium,
cum quo morantem saepe diem mero
fregi coronatus nitentes
malobathro Syrio capillos?
tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
sensi relicta non bene parmula,
cum fracta virtus et minaces
turpe solum tetigere mento.
sed me per hostes Mercurius celer
denso paventem sustulit aere;
te rursus in bellum resorbens
unda fretis tulit aestuosis.
ergo obligatam redde Iovi dapem,
longaque fessum militia latus
depone sub lauru mea nec
parce cadis tibi destinatis.
oblivioso levia Massico
ciboria exple, funde capacibus
unguenta de conchis. quis udo
deproperare apio coronas
curatve myrto? quem Venus arbitrum
dicet bibendi? non ego sanius
bacchabor Edonis: recepto
dulce mihi furere est amico.

VIII

Ulla si iuris tibi pierati
poena, Barine, nocuisset umquam,
dente si nigro fieres vel uno
turpior ungui,

crederem: sed tu simul obligasti
perfidum votis caput, enitescis
pulchrior multo iuvenumque prodis
publica cura.
expedit matris cineres opertos
fallere et toto taciturna noctis
signa cum caelo gelidaque divos
morte carentes.
ridet hoc, inquam, Venus ipsa, rident
simplices Nymphae, ferus et Cupido
semper ardentes acuens sagittas
cote cruenta.
adde quod pubes tibi crescit omnis,
servitus crescit nova, nec priores
inpiae tectum dominae relinquunt
saepe minati.
te suis matres metuunt iuvencis,
te senes parci miseraeque nuper
virgines nuptae, tua ne retardet
aura maritos.

IX

Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
manant in agros aut mare Caspium
vexant inaequales procellae
usque, nec Armeniis in oris,
amice Valgi, stat glacies iners
menses per omnes aut Aquilonibus
querceta Gargani laborant
et foliis viduantur orni:
tu semper urgues flebilibus modis
Mysten ademptum, nec tibi Vespero
surgente decedunt amores
nec rapidum fugiente solem.
at non ter aevo functus amabilem
ploravit omnes Antilochum senex
annos, nec inpubem parentes
Troilon aut Phrygiae sorores
flevere semper. desine mollium
tandem querellarum, et potius nova

cantemus Augusti tropaea
  Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten,
Medumque flumen gentibus additum
victis minores volvere vertices,
  intraque praescriptum Gelonos
    exiguis equitare campis.

X

Rectius vives, Licini, neque altum
semper urguendo neque, dum procellas
cautus horrescis, nimium premendo
  litus iniquum.
auream quisquis mediocritatem
diligit, tutus, caret obsoleti
sordibus tecti, caret invidenda
  sobrius aula.
saepius ventis agitatur ingens
pinus et celsae graviore casu
decidunt turres feriuntque summos
  fulgura montes.
sperat infestis, metuit secundis
alteram sortem bene praeparatum
pectus. informes hiemes reducit
  Iuppiter, idem
summovet. non, si male nunc, et olim
sic erit: quondam cithara tacentem
suscitat Musam neque semper arcum
  tendit Apollo.
rebus angustis animosus atque
fortis appare; sapienter idem
contrahes vento nimium secundo
  turgida vela.

XI

Quid bellicosus Cantaber et Scythes,
Hirpine Quincti, cogitet Hadria
  divisus obiecto, remittas
    quaerere, nec trepides in usum
poscentis aevi pauca: fugit retro
levis iuventas et decor, arida

pellente lascivos amores
canitie facilemque somnum.
non semper idem floribus est honor
vernis neque uno luna rubens nitet
vultu: quid aeternis minorem
consiliis animum fatigas?
cur non sub alta vel platano vel hac
pinu iacentes sic temere et rosa
canos odorati capillos,
dum licet, Assyriaque nardo
potamus uncti? dissipat Euhius
curas edaces. quis puer ocius
restinguet ardentis Falerni
pocula praetereunte lympha?
quis devium scortum eliciet domo
Lyden? eburna, dic age, cum lyra
maturet, in comptum Lacaenae
more comas religata nodum.

XII

Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae,
nec dirum Hannibalem nec Siculum mare
Poeno purpureum sanguine mollibus
aptari citharae modis,
nec saevos Lapithas et nimium mero
Hylaeum domitosque Herculea manu
Telluris iuvenes, unde periculum
fulgens contremuit domus
Saturni veteris: tuque pedestribus
dices historiis proelia Caesaris,
Maecenas, melius ductaque per vias
regum colla minacium.
me dulces dominae Musa Licymniae
cantus, me voluit dicere lucidum
fulgentes oculos et bene mutuis
fidum pectus amoribus,
quam nec ferre pedem dedecüit choris
nec certare ioco nec dare bracchia
ludentem nitidis virginibus sacro
Dianae celebris die.

num tu quae tenuit dives Achaemenes
aut pinguis Phrygiae Mygdonias opes
permutare velis crine Licymniae,
plenas aut Arabum domos,
cum flagrantia detorquet ad oscula
cervicem aut facili saevitia negat,
quae poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
interdum rapere occupet?

XIII

Ille et nefasto te posuit die,
quicumque primum, et sacrilega manu
produxit, arbos, in nepotum
perniciem opprobriumque pagi;
illum et parentis crediderim sui
fregisse cervicem et penetralia
sparsisse nocturno cruore
hospitis; ille venena Colcha
et quidquid usquam concipitur nefas
tractavit, agro qui statuit meo
te, triste lignum, te caducum
in domini caput inmerentis.
quid quisque vitet, numquam homini satis
cautum est in horas. navita Bosphorum
Poenus perhorrescit neque ultra
caeca timet aliunde fata,
miles sagittas et celerem fugam
Parthi, catenas Parthus et Italum
robur; sed inprovisa leti
vis rapuit rapietque gentes.
quam paene furvae regna Proserpinae
et iudicantem vidimus Aeacum
sedesque discriptas piorum et
Aeoliis fidibus querentem
Sappho puellis de popularibus
et te sonantem plenius aureo,
Alcaee, plectro dura navis,
dura fugae mala, dura belli.
utrumque sacro digna silentio
mirantur umbrae dicere; sed magis

pugnas et exactos tyrannos
densum umeris bibit aure vulgus.
quid mirum, ubi illis carminibus stupens
demittit atras belua centiceps
aures et intorti capillis
Eumenidum recreantur angues?
quin et Prometheus et Pelopis parens
dulci laborum decipitur sono,
nec curat Orion leones
aut timidos agitare lyncas.

XIV

Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,
labuntur anni, nec pietas moram
rugis et instanti senectae
adferet indomitaeque morti;
non, si trecenis, quotquot eunt dies,
amice, places inlacrimabilem
Plutona tauris, qui ter amplum
Geryonen Tityonque tristi
compescit unda, scilicet omnibus,
quicumque terrae munere vescimur,
enaviganda, sive reges
sive inopes erimus coloni.
frustra cruento Marte carebimus
fractisque rauci fluctibus Hadriae,
frustra per autumnos nocentem
corporibus metuemus Austrum.
visendus ater flumine languido
Cocytos errans et Danai genus
infame damnatusque longi
Sisyphus Aeolides laboris.
linquenda tellus et domus et placens
uxor, neque harum, quas colis, arborum
te praeter invisas cupressos
ulla brevem dominum sequetur.
absumet heres Caecuba dignior
servata centum clavibus et mero
tinguet pavimentum superbo,
pontificum potiore cenis.

XV

Iam pauca aratro iugera regiae
moles relinquent, undique latius
extenta visentur Lucrino
stagna lacu, platanusque caelebs
evincet ulmos; tum violaria et
myrtus et omnis copia narium
spargent olivetis odorem
fertilibus domino priori;
tum spissa ramis laurea fervidos
excludet ictus. non ita Romuli
praescriptum et intonsi Catonis
auspiciis veterumque norma.
privatus illis census erat brevis,
commune magnum: nulla decempedis
metata privatis opacam
porticus excipiebat Arcton,
nec fortuitum spernere caespitem
leges sinebant, oppida publico
sumptu iubentes et deorum
templa novo decorare saxo.

XVI

Otium divos rogat in patenti
prensus Aegaeo, simul atra nubes
condidit lunam neque certa fulgent
sidera nautis;
otium bello furiosa Thrace,
otium Medi pharetra decori,
Grosphe, non gemmis neque purpura ve-
nale neque auro.
non enim gazae neque consularis
summovet lictor miseros tumultus
mentis et curas laqueata circum
tecta volantes.
vivitur parvo bene, cui paternum
splendet in mensa tenui salinum,
nec leves somnos timor aut cupido
sordidus aufert.

quid brevi fortes iaculamur aevo
multa? quid terras alio calentes
sole mutamus? patriae quis exsul
se quoque fugit?
scandit aeratas vitiosa naves
cura nec turmas equitum relinquit,
ocior cervis et agente nimbos
ocior Euro.
laetus in praesens animus quod ultra est
oderit curare et amara lento
temperet risu: nihil est ab omni
parte beatum.
abstulit clarum cita mors Achillem,
longa Tithonum minuit senectus,
et mihi forsan, tibi quod negarit,
porriget hora.
te greges centum Siculaeque circum
mugiunt vaccae, tibi tollit hinnitum
apta quadrigis equa, te bis Afro
murice tinctae
vestiunt lanae: mihi parva rura et
spiritum Graiae tenuem Camenae
Parca non mendax dedit et malignum
spernere vulgus.

XVII

Cur me querellis exanimas tuis?
nec dis amicum est nec mihi te prius
obire, Maecenas, mearum
grande decus columenque rerum.
a, te meae si partem animae rapit
maturior vis, quid moror altera,
nec carus aeque nec superstes
integer? ille dies utramque
ducet ruinam. non ego perfidum
dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus,
utcumque praecedes, supremum
carpere iter comites parati.
me nec Chimaerae spiritus igneae,
nec si resurgat centimanus Gyas

divellet umquam: sic potenti
Iustitiae placitumque Parcis.
seu Libra seu me Scorpios aspicit
formidolosus, pars violentior
natalis horae, seu tyrannus
Hesperiae Capricornus undae,
utrumque nostrum incredibili modo
consentit astrum. te Iovis inpio
tutela Saturno refulgens
eripuit volucrisque fati
tardavit alas, cum populus frequens
laetum theatris ter crepuit sonum:
me truncus inlapsus cerebro
sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
dextra levasset, Mercurialium
custos virorum. reddere victimas
aedemque votivam memento:
nos humilem feriemus agnam.

XVIII

Non ebur neque aureum
mea renidet in domo lacunar;
non trabes Hymettiae
premunt columnas ultima recisas
Africa, neque Attali
ignotus heres regiam occupavi,
nec Laconicas mihi
trahunt honestae purpuras clientae.
at fides et ingeni
benigna vena est, pauperemque dives
me petit: nihil supra
deos lacesso nec potentem amicum
largiora flagito,
satis beatus unicis Sabinis.
truditur dies die
novaeque pergunt interire lunae:
tu secanda marmora
locas sub ipsum funus et sepulchri
inmemor struis domos,
marisque Bais obstrepentis urgues

summovere litora,
parum locuples continente ripa.
quid quod usque proximos
revellis agri terminos et ultra
limites clientium
salis avarus? pellitur paternos
in sinu ferens deos
et uxor et vir sordidosque natos.
nulla certior tamen
rapacis Orci fine destinata
aula divitem manet
erum. quid ultra tendis? aequa tellus
pauperi recluditur
regumque pueris, nec satelles Orci
callidum Promethea
revexit auro captus: hic superbum
Tantalum atque Tantali
genus coercet, hic levare functum
pauperem laboribus
vocatus atque non vocatus audit.

XIX

Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
vidi docentem, credite posteri,
Nymphasque discentes et aures
capripedum Satyrorum acutas.
euhoe! recenti mens trepidat metu,
plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
laetatur: euhoe! parce Liber,
parce, gravi metuende thyrso!
fas pervicaces est mihi Thyiadas
vinique fontem lactis et uberes
cantare rivos atque truncis
lapsa cavis iterare mella;
fas et beatae coniugis additum
stellis honorem tectaque Penthei
disiecta non leni ruina
Thracis et exitium Lycurgi.
tu flectis amnes, tu mare barbarum,
tu separatis uvidus in iugis

nodo coerces viperino
Bistonidum sine fraude crines.
tu, cum parentis regna per arduum
cohors Gigantum scanderet inpia,
Rhoetum retorsisti leonis
unguibus horribilique mala;
quamquam choreis aptior et iocis
ludoque dictus, non sat idoneus
pugnae ferebaris, sed idem
pacis eras mediusque belli.
te vidit insons Cerberus aureo
cornu decorum leniter atterens
caudam et recedentis trilingui
ore pedes tetigitque crura.

XX

Non usitata nec tenui ferar
pinna biformis per liquidum aethera
vates neque in terris morabor
longius invidiaque maior
urbes relinquam. non ego pauperum
sanguis parentum, non ego quem vocas,
dilecte Maecenas, obibo
nec Stygia cohibebor unda.
iam iam residunt cruribus asperae
pelles, et album mutor in alitem
superne, nascunturque leves
per digitos umerosque plumae.
iam Daedaleo notior Icaro
visam gementis litora Bosphori
Syrtesque Gaetulas canorus
ales Hyperboreosque campos.
me Colchus et, qui dissimulat metum
Marsae cohortis, Dacus et ultimi
noscent Geloni, me peritus
discet Hiber Rhodanique potor.
absint inani funere neniae
luctusque turpes et querimoniae:
compesce clamorem ac sepulchri
mitte supervacuos honores.

These first six odes are called the Roman Odes — written in honor of Rome.

LIBER TERTIUS

I

Odi profanum vulgus et arceo:
favete linguis; carmina non prius
audita Musarum sacerdos
virginibus puerisque canto.
regum timendorum in proprios greges,
reges in ipsos imperium est Iovis,
clari Giganteo triumpho,
cuncta supercilio moventis.
est ut viro vir latius ordinet
arbusta sulcis, hic generosior
descendat in Campum petitor,
moribus hic meliorque fama
contendat, illi turba clientium
sit maior: aequa lege Necessitas
sortitur insignes et imos,
omne capax movet urna nomen.
destrictus ensis cui super inpia
cervice pendet, non Siculae dapes
dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
non avium citharaeque cantus
somnum reducent: somnus agrestium
lenis virorum non humiles domos
fastidit umbrosamque ripam,
non Zephyris agitata Tempe.
desiderantem, quod satis est, neque
tumultuosum sollicitat mare,
nec saevus Arcturi cadentis
inpetus aut orientis Haedi,
non verberatae grandine vineae
fundusque mendax, arbore nunc aquas
culpante, nunc torrentia agros
sidera, nunc hiemes iniquas.
contracta pisces aequora sentiunt
iactis in altum molibus: huc frequens

caementa demittit redemptor
cum famulis dominusque terrae
fastidiosus. sed Timor et Minae
scandunt eodem quo dominus, neque
decedit aerata triremi et
post equitem sedet atra Cura.
quodsi dolentem nec Phrygius lapis
nec purpurarum sidere clarior
delenit usus nec Falerna
vitis Achaemeniumque costum,
cur invidendis postibus et novo
sublime ritu moliar atrium?
cur valle permutem Sabina
divitias operosiores?

II

Angustam amice pauperiem pati
robustus acri militia puer
condiscat et Parthos feroces
vexet eques metuendus hasta
vitamque sub divo et trepidis agat
in rebus. illum ex moenibus hosticis
matrona bellantis tyranni
prospiciens et adulta virgo
suspiret, eheu, ne rudis agminum
sponsus lacessat regius asperum
tactu leonem, quem cruenta
per medias rapit ira caedes.
dulce et decorum est pro patria mori:
mors et fugacem persequitur virum,
nec parcit inbellis iuventae
poplitibus timidoque tergo.
virtus repulsae nescia sordidae
intaminatis fulget honoribus,
nec sumit aut ponit secures
arbitrio popularis aurae.
virtus, recludens inmeritis mori
caelum, negata temptat iter via,
coetusque vulgares et udam
spernit humum fugiente pinna.

est et fideli tuta silentio
merces : vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum
vulgarit arcanae, sub isdem
sit trabibus fragilemque mecum
solvat phaselon. saepe Diespiter
neclectus incesto addidit integrum ;
raro antecedentem scelestum
deseruit pede Poena claudo.

III

Iustum et tenacem propositi virum
non civium ardor prava iubentium,
non vultus instantis tyranni
mente quatit solida neque Auster
dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae,
nec fulminantis magna manus Iovis ;
si fractus inlabatur orbis,
inpavidum ferient ruinae.
hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
enisus arces attigit igneas,
quos inter Augustus recumbens
purpureo bibit ore nectar.
hac te merentem, Bacche pater, tuae
vexere tigres indocili iugum
collo trahentes ; hac Quirinus
Martis equis Acheronta fugit,
gratum elocuta consiliantibus
Iunone divis : ‘ Ilion, Ilion
fatalis incestusque iudex
et mulier peregrina vertit
in pulverem, ex quo destituit deos
mercede pacta Laomedon, mihi
castaeque damnatum Minervae
cum populo et duce fraudulento.
iam nec Lacaenae splendet adulterae
famosus hospes nec Priami domus
periura pugnaces Achivos
Hectoreis opibus refringit,
nostrisque ductum seditionibus
bellum resedit. protinus et graves

The Spartan wanton's shameless guest no longer flaunts in brave array.

iras et invisum nepotem,
Troica quem peperit sacerdos,
Marti redonabo; illum ego lucidas
inire sedes, ducere nectaris
sucos et adscribi quietis
ordinibus patiar deorum.
dum longus inter saeviat Ilion
Romamque pontus, qualibet exsules
in parte regnanto beati;
dum Priami Paridisque busto
insultet armentum et catulos ferae
celent inultae, stet Capitolium
fulgens triumphatisque possit
Roma ferox dare iura Medis.
horrenda late nomen in ultimas
extendat oras, qua medius liquor
secernit Europen ab Afro,
qua tumidus rigat arva Nilus,
aurum inrepertum et sic melius situm,
cum terra celat, spernere fortior
quam cogere humanos in usus
omne sacrum rapiente dextra;
quicumque mundo terminus obstitit,
hunc tanget armis, visere gestiens
qua parte debacchentur ignes,
qua nebulae pluviique rores.
sed bellicosis fata Quiritibus
hac lege dico, ne nimium pii
rebusque fidentes avitae
tecta velint reparare Troiae.
Troiae renascens alite lugubri
fortuna tristi clade iterabitur,
ducente victrices catervas
coniuge me Iovis et sorore.
ter si resurgat murus aeneus
auctore Phoebo, ter pereat meis
excisus Argivis, ter uxor
capta virum puerosque ploret.'
non hoc iocosae conveniet lyrae:
quo, Musa, tendis? desine pervicax
referre sermones deorum et
magna modis tenuare parvis.

IV

Descende caelo et dic age tibia
regina longum Calliope melos,
seu voce nunc mavis acuta
seu fidibus citharaque Phoebi.
auditis, an me ludit amabilis
insania? audire et videor pios
errare per lucos, amoenae
quos et aquae subeunt et aurae.
me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo
nutricis extra limen Apuliae
ludo fatigatumque somno
fronde nova puerum palumbes
texere, mirum quod foret omnibus,
quicumque celsae nidum Acheruntiae
saltusque Bantinos et arvum
pingue tenent humilis Forenti,
ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
dormirem et ursis, ut premerer sacra
lauroque collataque myrto,
non sine dis animosus infans.
vester, Camenae, vester in arduos
tollor Sabinos, seu mihi frigidum
Praeneste seu Tibur supinum
seu liquidae placuere Baiae.
vestris amicum fontibus et choris
non me Philippis versa acies retro,
devota non exstinxit arbor
nec Sicula Palinurus unda.
utcumque mecum vos eritis, libens
insanientem navita Bosphorum
temptabo et urentes harenas
litoris Assyrii viator;
visam Britannos hospitibus feros
et laetum equino sanguine Concanum,
visam pharetratos Gelonos
et Scythicum inviolatus amnem.
vos Caesarem altum, militia simul
fessas cohortes addidit oppidis,
finire quaerentem labores
Pierio recreatis antro.

vos lene consilium et datis et dato
gaudetis, almae. scimus, ut inpios
Titanas inmanemque turmam
fulmine sustulerit caduco,
qui terram inertem, qui mare temperat
ventosum, et urbes regnaque tristia,
divosque mortalesque turbas
imperio regit unus aequo.
magnum illa terrorem intulerat Iovi
fidens iuventus horrida bracchiis
fratresque tendentes opaco
Pelion inposuisse Olympo.
sed quid Typhoeus et validus Mimas,
aut quid minaci Porphyrion statu,
quid Rhoetus evulsisque truncis
Enceladus iaculator audax
contra sonantem Palladis aegida
possent ruentes? hinc avidus stetit
Vulcanus, hinc matrona Iuno et
numquam umeris positurus arcum,
qui rore puro Castaliae lavit
crines solutos, qui Lyciae tenet
dumeta natalemque silvam,
Delius et Patareus Apollo.
vis consili expers mole ruit sua,
vim temperatam di quoque provehunt
in maius; idem odere vires
omne nefas animo moventes.
testis mearum centimanus Gyas
sententiarum, notus et integrae
temptator Orion Dianae,
virginea domitus sagitta.
iniecta monstris Terra dolet suis
maeretque partus fulmine luridum
missos ad Orcum; nec peredit
inpositam celer ignis Aetnen,
incontinentis nec Tityi iecur
reliquit ales, nequitiae additus
custos: amatorem trecentae
Pirithoum cohibent catenae.

V

Caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem
regnare : praesens divus habebitur
Augustus adiectis Britannis
imperio gravibusque Persis.
milesne Crassi coniuge barbara
turpis maritus vixit, et hostium—
pro curia inversique mores !—
consenuit socerorum in armis
sub rege Medo Marsus et Apulus,
anciliorum et nominis et togae
oblitus aeternaeque Vestae,
incolumi Iove et urbe Roma ?
hoc caverat mens provida Reguli
dissentientis condicionibus
foedis et exemplo trahentis
perniciem veniens in aevum,
si non periret inmiserabilis
captiva pubes. 'signa ego Punicis
adfixa delubris et arma
militibus sine caede,' dixit,
'derepta vidi ; vidi ego civium
retorta tergo bracchia libero,
portasque non clausas et arva
Marte coli populata nostro.
auro repensus scilicet acrior
miles redibit. flagitio additis
damnum : neque amissos colores
lana refert medicata fuco,
nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,
curat reponi deterioribus.
si pugnat extricata densis
cerva plagis, erit ille fortis,
qui perfidis se credidit hostibus
et Marte Poenos proteret altero,
qui lora restrictis lacertis
sensit iners timuitque mortem.
hic, unde vitam sumeret inscius,
pacem duello miscuit. o pudor !
o magna Karthago probrosis
altior Italiae ruinis !'

fertur pudicae coniugis osculum
parvosque natos ut capitis minor
ab se removisse et virilem
torvus humi posuisse vultum,
donec labantes consilio patres
firmaret auctor numquam alias dato,
interque maerentes amicos
egregius properaret exsul.
atqui sciebat quae sibi barbarus
tortor pararet; non aliter tamen
dimovit obstantes propinquos
et populum reditus morantem,
quam si clientum longa negotia
disiudicata lite relinqueret,
tendens Venafranos in agros
aut Lacedaemonium Tarentum.

VI

Delicta maiorum inmeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
aedesque labentes deorum et
foeda nigro simulacra fumo.
dis te minorem quod geris, imperas:
hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.
di multa neclecti dederunt
Hesperiae mala luctuosae.
iam bis Monaeses et Pacori manus
non auspicatos contudit inpetus
nostros et adiecisse praedam
torquibus exiguis renidet.
paene occupatam seditionibus
delevit urbem Dacus et Aethiops,
hic classe formidatus, ille
missilibus melior sagittis.
fecunda culpae saecula nuptias
primum inquinavere et genus et domos:
hoc fonte derivata clades
in patriam populumque fluxit.
motus doceri gaudet Ionicos
matura virgo et fingitur artibus

iam nunc et incestos amores
de tenero meditatur ungui ;
mox iuniores quaerit adulteros
inter mariti vina, neque elegit
cui donet inpermissa raptim
gaudia luminibus remotis,
sed iussa coram non sine conscio
surgit marito, seu vocat institor
seu navis Hispanae magister,
dedecorum pretiosus emptor.
non his iuventus orta parentibus
infecit aequor sanguine Punico
Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit
Antiochum Hannibalemque dirum ;
sed rusticorum mascula militum
proles, Sabellis docta ligonibus
versare glaebas et severae
matris ad arbitrium recisos
portare fustes, sol ubi montium
mutaret umbras et iuga demeret
bobus fatigatis, amicum
tempus agens abeunte curru.
damnosa quid non inminuit dies ?
aetas parentum, peior avis, tulit
nos nequiores, mox daturos
progeniem vitiosiorem.

VII

Quid fles, Asterie, quem tibi candidi
primo restituent vere Favonii
Thyna merce beatum,
constantis iuvenem fide
Gygen ? ille Notis actus ad Oricum
post insana Caprae sidera frigidas
noctes non sine multis
insomnis lacrimis agit.
atqui sollicitae nuntius hospitae,
suspirare Chloen et miseram tuis
dicens ignibus uri,
temptat mille vafer modis.

ut Proetum mulier perfida credulum
falsis inpulerit criminibus nimis
casto Bellerophontae
maturare necem refert.
narrat paene datum Pelea Tartaro,
Magnessam Hippolyten dum fugit abstinens;
et peccare docentes
fallax historias movet;
frustra: nam scopulis surdior Icari
voces audit adhuc integer, at tibi
ne vicinus Enipeus
plus iusto placeat cave;
quamvis non alius flectere equum sciens
aeque conspicitur gramine Martio,
nec quisquam citus aeque
Tusco denatat alveo.
prima nocte domum claude neque in vias
sub cantu querulae despice tibiae
et te saepe vocanti
duram difficilis mane.

VIII

Martiis caelebs quid agam Kalendis,
quid velint flores et acerra turis
plena miraris positusque carbo in
caespite vivo,
docte sermones utriusque linguae.
voveram dulces epulas et album
Libero caprum prope funeratus
arboris ictu.
hic dies anno redeunte festus
corticem adstrictum pice dimovebit
amphorae fumum bibere institutae
consule Tullo.
sume, Maecenas, cyathos amici
sospitis centum et vigiles lucernas
perfer in lucem; procul omnis esto
clamor et ira.
mitte civiles super urbe curas:
occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen,

Medus infestus sibi luctuosis
dissidet armis,
servit Hispanae vetus hostis orae
Cantaber sera domitus catena,
iam Scythae laxo meditantur arcu
cedere campis.
neclegens, ne qua populus laboret,
parce privatus nimium cavere et
dona praesentis cape laetus horae ac
linque severa.

IX

Donec gratus eram tibi,
nec quisquam potior bracchia candidae
cervici iuvenis dabat,
Persarum vigui rege beatior.

donec non alia magis
arsisti, neque erat Lydia post Chloen,
multi Lydia nominis
Romana vigui clarior Ilia.

me nunc Thressa Chloe regit,
dulces docta modos et citharae sciens,
pro qua non metuam mori,
si parcent animae fata superstiti.

me torret face mutua
Thurini Calais filius Ornyti,
pro quo bis patiar mori,
si parcent puero fata superstiti.

quid si prisca redit Venus
diductosque iugo cogit aeneo,
si flava excutitur Chloe
reiectaeque patet ianua Lydiae?

quamquam sidere pulchrior
ille est, tu levior cortice et inprobo
iracundior Hadria,
tecum vivere amem, tecum obeam libens.

X

Extremum Tanain si biberes, Lyce,
saevo nupta viro, me tamen asperas
porrectum ante fores obicere incolis
plorares Aquilonibus.
audis quo strepitu ianua, quo nemus
inter pulchra satum tecta remugiat
ventis, et positas ut glaciet nives
puro numine Iuppiter?
ingratam Veneri pone superbiam,
ne currente retro funis eat rota:
non te Penelopen difficilem procis
Tyrrhenus genuit parens.
o quamvis neque te munera nec preces
nec tinctus viola pallor amantium
nec vir Pieria paelice saucius
curvat, supplicibus tuis
parcas, nec rigida mollior aesculo
nec Mauris animum mitior anguibus.
non hoc semper erit liminis aut aquae
caelestis patiens latus.

XI

Mercuri—nam te docilis magistro
movit Amphion lapides canendo—
tuque testudo resonare septem
callida nervis,
nec loquax olim neque grata, nunc et
divitum mensis et amica templis,
dic modos, Lyde quibus obstinatas
applicet aures,
quae velut latis equa trima campis
ludit exsultim metuitque tangi,
nuptiarum expers et adhuc protervo
cruda marito.
tu potes tigres comitesque silvas
ducere et rivos celeres morari;
cessit inmanis tibi blandienti
ianitor aulae

[Cerberus, quamvis furiale centum
muniant angues caput eius atque
spiritus taeter saniesque manet
ore trilingui.]
quin et Ixion Tityosque vultu
risit invito, stetit urna paulum
sicca, dum grato Danai puellas
carmine mulces.
audiat Lyde scelus atque notas
virginum poenas et inane lymphae
dolium fundo pereuntis imo
seraque fata,
quae manent culpas etiam sub Orco.
inpiae,—nam quid potuere maius?—
inpiae sponsos potuere duro
perdere ferro.
una de multis face nuptiali
digna periurum fuit in parentem
splendide mendax et in omne virgo
nobilis aevum,
'surge' quae dixit iuveni marito,
'surge, ne longus tibi somnus, unde
non times, detur; socerum et scelestas
falle sorores,
quae, velut nactae vitulos leaenae,
singulos eheu lacerant: ego illis
mollior nec te feriam neque intra
claustra tenebo.
me pater saevis oneret catenis,
quod viro clemens misero peperci;
me vel extremos Numidarum in agros
classe releget.
i, pedes quo te rapiunt et aurae,
dum favet nox et Venus, i secundo
omine et nostri memorem sepulchro
scalpe querellam.'

XII

Miserarum est neque amori dare ludum neque dulci
mala vino lavere aut exanimari metuentes
patruae verbera linguae.

Ionic metre

tibi qualum Cythereae puer ales, tibi telas
operosaeque Minervae studium aufert, Neobule,
Liparaei nitor Hebri,
simul unctos Tiberinis umeros lavit in undis,
eques ipso melior Bellerophonte, neque pugno
neque segni pede victus;
catus idem per apertum fugientes agitato
grege cervos iaculari et celer alto latitantem
fruticeto excipere aprum.

XIII

O fons Bandusiae splendidior vitro,
dulci digne mero non sine floribus,
cras donaberis haedo,
cui frons turgida cornibus
primis et venerem et proelia destinat
frustra: nam gelidos inficiet tibi
rubro sanguine rivos
lascivi suboles gregis.
te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae
nescit tangere, tu frigus amabile
fessis vomere tauris
praebes et pecori vago.
fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,
me dicente cavis inpositam ilicem
saxis, unde loquaces
lymphae desiliunt tuae.

XIV

Herculis ritu modo dictus, o plebs,
morte venalem petiisse laurum,
Caesar Hispana repetit Penates
victor ab ora.
unico gaudens mulier marito
prodeat iustis operata sacris
et soror clari ducis et decorae
supplice vitta
virginum matres iuvenumque nuper
sospitum. vos, o pueri et puellae

iam virum expertae, male ominatis
parcite verbis.
hic dies vere mihi festus atras
eximet curas: ego nec tumultum,
nec mori per vim metuam tenente
Caesare terras.
i, pete unguentum, puer, et coronas,
et cadum Marsi memorem duelli,
Spartacum si qua potuit vagantem
fallere testa.
dic et argutae properet Neaerae
murreum nodo cohibere crinem;
si per invisum mora ianitorem
fiet, abito.
lenit albescens animos capillus
litium et rixae cupidos protervae;
non ego hoc ferrem calidus iuventa
consule Planco.

XV

Uxor pauperis Ibyci,
tandem nequitiae fige modum tuae
famosisque laboribus;
maturo propior desine funeri
inter ludere virgines
et stellis nebulam spargere candidis.
non, si quid Pholoen satis,
et te, Chlori, decet: filia rectius
expugnat iuvenum domos,
pulso Thyias uti concita tympano.
illam cogit amor Nothi
lascivae similem ludere capreae:
te lanae prope nobilem
tonsae Luceriam, non citharae decent
nec flos purpureus rosae
nec poti vetulam faece tenus cadi.

XVI

Inclusam Danaen turris aenea
robustaeque fores et vigilum canum

tristes excubiae munierant satis
  nocturnis ab adulteris,
si non Acrisium virginis abditae
custodem pavidum Iuppiter et Venus
risissent: fore enim tutum iter et patens
  converso in pretium deo.
aurum per medios ire satellites
et perrumpere amat saxa potentius
ictu fulmineo: concidit auguris
  Argivi domus ob lucrum
demersa exitio; diffidit urbium
portas vir Macedo et subruit aemulos
reges muneribus; munera navium
  saevos inlaqueant duces.
crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam
maiorumque fames. iure perhorrui
late conspicuum tollere verticem,
  Maecenas, equitum decus.
quanto quisque sibi plura negaverit,
ab dis plura feret: nil cupientium
nudus castra peto et transfuga divitum
  partes linquere gestio,
contemptae dominus splendidior rei,
quam si quidquid arat inpiger Apulus
occultare meis dicerer horreis,
  magnas inter opes inops.
purae rivus aquae silvaque iugerum
paucorum et segetis certa fides meae
fulgentem imperio fertilis Africae
  fallit sorte beatior.
quamquam nec Calabrae mella ferunt apes
nec Laestrygonia Bacchus in amphora
languescit mihi nec pinguia Gallicis
  crescunt vellera pascuis,
inportuna tamen pauperies abest,
nec, si plura velim, tu dare deneges.
contracto melius parva cupidine
  vectigalia porrigam,
quam si Mygdoniis regnum Alyattei
campis continuem. multa petentibus
desunt multa: bene est, cui deus obtulit
  parca quod satis est manu.

XVII

Aeli vetusto nobilis ab Lamo,—
quando et priores hinc Lamias ferunt
denominatos et nepotum
per memores genus omne fastos;
auctore ab illo ducis originem,
qui Formiarum moenia dicitur
princeps et innantem Maricae
litoribus tenuisse Lirim
late tyrannus—cras foliis nemus
multis et alga litus inutili
demissa tempestas ab Euro
sternet, aquae nisi fallit augur
annosa cornix. dum potes, aridum
compone lignum: cras Genium mero
curabis et porco bimestri
cum famulis operum solutis.

XVIII

Faune, Nympharum fugientum amator,
per meos fines et aprica rura
lenis incedas abeasque parvis
aequus alumnis,
si tener pleno cadit haedus anno,
larga nec desunt Veneris sodali
vina craterae, vetus ara multo
fumat odore.
ludit herboso pecus omne campo,
cum tibi Nonae redeunt Decembres;
festus in pratis vacat otioso
cum bove pagus;
inter audaces lupus errat agnos;
spargit agrestes tibi silva frondes;
gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
ter pede terram.



XIX

Quantum distet ab Inacho
Codrus, pro patria non timidus mori,

narras, et genus Aeaci,
  et pugnata sacro bella sub Ilio:
quo Chium pretio cadum
  mercemur, quis aquam temperet ignibus,
quo praebente domum et quota
  Paelignis caream frigoribus, taces.
da lunae propere novae,
  da noctis mediae, da, puer, auguris
Murenae: tribus aut novem
  miscentur cyathis pocula commodis.
qui Musas amat inpares,
  ternos ter cyathos attonitus petet
vates; tres prohibet supra
  rixarum metuens tangere Gratia
nudis iuncta sororibus.
  insanire iuvat: cur Berecyntiae
cessant flamina tibiae?
  cur pendet tacita fistula cum lyra?
parcentes ego dexteras
  odi: sparge rosas; audiat invidus
dementem strepitum Lycus,
  et vicina seni non habilis Lyco.
spissa te nitidum coma,
  puro te similem, Telephe, Vespero
tempestiva petit Rhode:
  me lentus Glycerae torret amor meae.

XX

Non vides, quanto moveas periclo,
Pyrrhe, Gaetulae catulos leaenae?
dura post paulo fugies inaudax
  proelia raptor,
cum per obstantes iuvenum catervas
ibit insignem repetens Nearchum,
grande certamen, tibi praeda cedat
  maior an illi.
interim, dum tu celeres sagittas
promis, haec dentes acuit timendos,
arbiter pugnae posuisse nudo
  sub pede palmam

fertur, et leni recreare vento
sparsum odoratis umerum capillis,
qualis aut Nireus fuit aut aquosa
raptus ab Ida.

XXI

O nata mecum consule Manlio,
seu tu querellas sive geris iocos
seu rixam et insanos amores
seu facilem, pia testa, somnum,
quocumque lectum nomine Massicum
servas, moveri digna bono die,
descende, Corvino iubente
promere languidiora vina.
non ille, quamquam Socraticis madet
sermonibus, te necleget horridus:
narratur et prisci Catonis
saepe mero caluisse virtus.
tu lene tormentum ingenio admoves
plerumque duro; tu sapientium
curas et arcanum iocoso
consilium retegis Lyaeo;
tu spem reducis mentibus anxiis
viresque et addis cornua pauperi,
post te neque iratos trementi
regum apices neque militum arma.
te Liber et, si laeta aderit, Venus
segnesque nodum solvere Gratiae
vivaeque producent lucernae,
dum rediens fugat astra Phoebus.

XXII

Montium custos nemorumque virgo,
quae laborantes utero puellas
ter vocata audis adimisque leto,
diva triformis,
inminens villae tua pinus esto,
quam per exactos ego laetus annos
verris obliquum meditantis ictum
sanguine donem.

XXIII

Caelo supinas si tuleris manus
nascente luna, rustica Phidyle,
si ture placaris et horna
fruge Lares avidaque porca,
nec pestilentem sentiet Africum
fecunda vitis nec sterilem seges
rubiginem aut dulces alumni
pomifero grave tempus anno.
nam quae nivali pascitur Algido
devota quercus inter et ilices
aut crescit Albanis in herbis
victima, pontificum secures
cervice tinguet: te nihil attinet
temptare multa caede bidentium
parvos coronantem marino
rore deos fragilique myrto.
inmunis aram si tetigit manus
non sumptuosa blandior hostia,
mollivit aversos Penates
farre pio et saliente mica.

XXIV

Intactis opulentior
thesauris Arabum et divitis Indiae
caementis licet occupes
terrenum omne tuis et mare publicum,
si figit adamantinos
summis verticibus dira Necessitas
clavos, non animum metu,
non mortis laqueis expedies caput.
campestres melius Scythae,
quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos,
vivunt et rigidi Getae,
inmetata quibus iugera liberas
fruges et Cererem ferunt,
nec cultura placet longior annua,
defunctumque laboribus
aequali recreat sorte vicarius.
illic matre carentibus
privignis mulier temperat innocens,

nec dotata regit virum
  coniunx nec nitido fidit adultero.
dos est magna parentium
  virtus et metuens alterius viri
certo foedere castitas,
  et peccare nefas aut pretium est mori.
o quisquis volet impias
  caedes et rabiem tollere civicam,
si quaeret 'pater urbium'
  subscribi statuis, indomitam audeat
refrenare licentiam,
  clarus postgenitis: quatenus, heu nefas!
virtutem incolumem odimus,
  sublatam ex oculis quaerimus invidi.
quid tristes querimoniae,
  si non supplicio culpa reciditur?
quid leges sine moribus
  vanae proficiunt, si neque fervidis
pars inclusa caloribus
  mundi nec Boreae finitimum latus
durataeque solo nives
  mercatorem abigunt, horrida callidi
vincunt aequora navitae,
  magnum pauperies opprobrium iubet
quidvis et facere et pati
  virtutisque viam deserit arduae?
vel nos in Capitolium,
  quo clamor vocat et turba faventium,
vel nos in mare proximum
  gemmas et lapides aurum et inutile,
summi materiem mali,
  mittamus, scelerum si bene paenitet.
eradenda cupidinis
  pravi sunt elementa et tenerae nimis
mentes asperioribus
  formandae studiis. nescit equo rudis
haerere ingenuus puer
  venarique timet, ludere doctior,
seu Graeco iubeas trocho,
  seu malis vetita legibus alea,
cum periura patris fides
  consortem socium fallat et hospites,

indignoque pecuniam
  heredi properet. scilicet inprobae
crescunt divitiae: tamen
  curtae nescio quid semper abest rei.

XXV

Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui
  plenum? quae nemora aut quos agor in specus,
velox mente nova? quibus
  antris egregii Caesaris audiar
aeternum meditans decus
  stellis inserere et consilio Iovis?
dicam insigne, recens, adhuc
  indictum ore alio. non secus in iugis
exsomnis stupet Euhias
  Hebrum prospiciens et nive candidam
Thracen ac pede barbaro
  lustratam Rhodopen, ut mihi devio
ripas et vacuum nemus
  mirari libet. o Naiadum potens
Baccharumque valentium
  proceras manibus vertere fraxinos,
nil parvum aut humili modo,
  nil mortale loquar. dulce periculum est,
o Lenaee, sequi deum
  cingentem viridi tempora pampino.

XXVI

Vixi puellis nuper idoneus
et militavi non sine gloria:
  nunc arma defunctumque bello
    barbiton hic paries habebit,
laevum marinae qui Veneris latus
custodit. hic, hic ponite lucida
  funalia et vectes et arcus
    oppositis foribus minaces.
o quae beatam diva tenes Cyprum et
Memphin carentem Sithonia nive,
  regina, sublimi flagello
    tange Chloen semel arrogantem.

XXVII

Inpios parrae recinentis omen
ducat et praegnans canis aut ab agro
rava decurrens lupa Lanuvino
  fetaque vulpes ;
rumpat et serpens iter institutum,
si per obliquum similis sagittae
terruit mannos : ego cui timebo
  providus auspex,
antequam stantes repetat paludes
imbrium divina avis inminentum,
oscinem corvum prece suscitabo
  solis ab ortu.
sis licet felix, ubicumque mavis,
et memor nostri, Galatea, vivas,
teque nec laevus vetet ire picus
  nec vaga cornix.
sed vides, quanto trepidet tumultu
pronus Orion. ego quid sit ater
Hadriae novi sinus et quid albus
  peccet Iapyx.
hostium uxores puerique caecos
sentiant motus orientis Austri et
aequoris nigri fremitum et trementes
  verbere ripas.
sic et Europe niveum doloso
credidit tauro latus et scatentem
beluis pontum mediasque fraudes
  palluit audax.
nuper in pratis studiosa florum et
debitae Nymphis opifex coronae
nocte sublustri nihil astra praeter
  vidit et undas.
quae simul centum tetigit potentem
oppidis Creten, 'pater, o relictum
filiae nomen pietasque,' dixit,
  'victa furore !
unde quo veni ? levis una mors est
virginum culpae. vigilansne ploro
turpe commissum, an vitiis carentem
  ludit imago,

vana quae porta fugiens eburna
somnium ducit? meliusne fluctus
ire per longos fuit, an recentes
carpere flores?
si quis infamem mihi nunc iuvencum
dedat iratae, lacerare ferro et
frangere enitar modo multum amati
cornua monstri.
inpudens liqui patrios Penates,
inpudens Orcum moror. o deorum
si quis haec audis, utinam inter errem
nuda leones!
antequam turpis macies decentes
occupet malas, teneraeque sucus
defluat praedae, speciosa quaero
pascere tigres.
"vilis Europe," pater urguet absens,
"quid mori cessas? potes hac ab orno
pendulum zona bene te secuta
laedere collum.
sive te rupes et acuta leto
saxa delectant, age te procellae
crede veloci, nisi erile mavis
carpere pensum
regius sanguis, dominaeque tradi
barbarae paelex."' aderat querenti
perfidum ridens Venus et remisso
filius arcu.
mox, ubi lusit satis, 'abstineto,'
dixit, 'irarum calidaeque rixae,
cum tibi invisus laceranda reddet
cornua taurus.
uxor invicti Iovis esse nescis:
mitte singultus; bene ferre magnam
disce fortunam: tua sectus orbis
nomina ducet.'

XXVIII

Festo quid potius die
Neptuni faciam? prome reconditum

Lyde strenua Caecubum,
  munitaeque adhibe vim sapientiae.
inclinare meridiem
  sentis ac, veluti stet volucris dies,
parcis deripere horreo
  cessantem Bibuli consulis amphoram?
nos cantabimus in vicem
  Neptunum et virides Nereidum comas;
tu curva recines lyra
  Latonam et celeris spicula Cynthiae;
summo carmine, quae Cnidon
  fulgentesque tenet Cycladas et Paphum
iunctis visit oloribus,
  dicetur merita Nox quoque nenia.

XXIX

Tyrrhena regum progenies, tibi
non ante verso lene merum cado
  cum flore, Maecenas, rosarum et
    pressa tuis balanus capillis
iam dudum apud me est: eripe te morae;
ne semper udum Tibur et Aefulae
  declive contempleris arvum et
    Telegoni iuga parricidae.
fastidiosam desere copiam et
molem propinquam nubibus arduis;
  omitte mirari beatae
    fumum et opes strepitumque Romae.
plerumque gratae divitibus vices
mundaeque parvo sub Lare pauperum
  cenae sine aulaeis et ostro
    sollicitam explicuere frontem.
iam clarus occultum Andromedae pater
ostendit ignem, iam Procyon furit
  et stella vesani Leonis,
    sole dies referente siccos;
iam pastor umbras cum grege languido
rivumque fessus quaerit et horridi
  dumeta Silvani caretque
    ripa vagis taciturna ventis.

tu civitatem quis deceat status
curas et urbi sollicitus times
quid Seres et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent Tanaisque discors.
prudens futuri temporis exitum
caliginosa nocte premit deus
ridetque, si mortalis ultra
fas trepidat. quod adest memento
componere aequus; cetera fluminis
ritu feruntur, nunc medio aequore
cum pace delabentis Etruscum
in mare, nunc lapides adesos
stirpesque raptas et pecus et domos
volventis una, non sine montium
clamore vicinaeque silvae,
cum fera diluvies quietos
inritat amnes. ille potens sui
laetusque deget, cui licet in diem
dixisse 'vixi: cras vel atra
nube polum Pater occupato,
vel sole puro; non tamen inritum,
quodcumque retro est, efficiet neque
diffinget infectumque reddet
quod fugiens semel hora vexit.'
Fortuna saevo laeta negotio et
ludum insolentem ludere pertinax
transmutat incertos honores,
nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna.
laudo manentem; si celeres quatit
pinnas, resigno quae dedit et mea
virtute me involvo probamque
pauperiem sine dote quaero.
non est meum, si mugiat Africis
malus procellis, ad miseras preces
decurrere et votis pacisci,
ne Cypriae Tyriaeque merces
addant avaro divitias mari:
tunc me biremis praesidio scaphae
tutum per Aegaeos tumultus
aura feret geminusque Pollux.

XXX

Exegi monimentum aere perennius
regalique situ pyramidum altius,
quod non imber edax, non Aquilo inpotens
possit diruere aut innumerabilis
annorum series et fuga temporum.
non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei
vitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera
crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium
scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.
dicar, qua violens obstrepit Aufidus
et qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium
regnavit populorum, ex humili potens
princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos
deduxisse modos. sume superbiam
quaesitam meritis et mihi Delphica
lauro cinge volens, Melpomene, comam.

LIBER QUARTUS

I

Intermissa, Venus, diu
  rursus bella moves? parce precor, precor.
non sum qualis eram bonae
  sub regno Cinarae. desine, dulcium
mater saeva Cupidinum,
  circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
iam durum imperiis: abi,
  quo blandae iuvenum te revocant preces.
tempestivius in domum
  Pauli purpureis ales oloribus
comissabere Maximi,
  si torrere iecur quaeris idoneum:
namque et nobilis et decens
  et pro sollicitis non tacitus reis
et centum puer artium
  late signa feret militiae tuae,

et quandoque potentior
  largi muneribus riserit aemuli,
Albanos prope te lacus
  ponet marmoream sub trabe citrea.
illic plurima naribus
  duces tura, lyraeque et Berecyntiae
delectabere tibiae
  mixtis carminibus non sine fistula;
illic bis pueri die
  numen cum teneris virginibus tuum
laudantes pede candido
  in morem Salium ter quatient humum.
me nec femina nec puer
  iam nec spes animi credula mutui
nec certare iuvat mero
  nec vincire novis tempora floribus.
sed cur heu, Ligurine, cur
  manat rara meas lacrima per genas?
cur facunda parum decoro
  inter verba cadit lingua silentio?
nocturnis ego somniis
  iam captum teneo, iam volucrem sequor
te per gramina Martii
  Campi, te per aquas, dure, volubiles.

II

Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari,
Iule, ceratis ope Daedalea
nititur pinnis, vitreo daturus
  nomina ponto.
monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
quem super notas aluere ripas,
fervet inmensusque ruit profundo
  Pindarus ore,
laurea donandus Apollinari,
seu per audaces nova dithyrambos
verba devolvit numerisque fertur
  lege solutis;
seu deos regesve canit, deorum
sanguinem, per quos cecidere iusta

morte Centauri, cecidit tremendae
  flamma Chimaerae;
sive quos Elea domum reducit
palma caelestes pugilemve equumve
dicit et centum potiore signis
  munere donat,
flebili sponsae iuvenemve raptum
plorat et vires animumque moresque
aureos educit in astra nigroque
  invidet Orco.
multa Dircaeum levat aura cycnum,
tendit, Antoni, quotiens in altos
nubium tractus: ego apis Matinae
  more modoque
grata carpentis thyma per laborem
plurimum circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
  carmina fingo.
concines maiore poeta plectro
Caesarem, quandoque trahet feroces
per sacrum clivum merita decorus
  fronde Sygambros:
quo nihil maius meliusve terris
fata donavere bonique divi
nec dabunt, quamvis redeant in aurum
  tempora priscum.
concines laetosque dies et urbis
publicum ludum super inpetrato
fortis Augusti reditu forumque
  litibus orbum.
tum meae, si quid loquar audiendum,
vocis accedet bona pars, et 'o sol
pulcher, o laudande!' canam recepto
  Caesare felix.
tuque dum procedis, io Triumphe,
non semel dicemus, io Triumphe,
civitas omnis, dabimusque divis
  tura benignis.
te decem tauri totidemque vaccae,
me tener solvet vitulus, relicta
matre qui largis iuvenescit herbis
  in mea vota,

fronte curvatos imitatus ignes
tertium lunae referentis ortum,
qua notam duxit, niveus videri,
cetera fulvus.

III

Quem tu, Melpomene, semel
nascentem placido lumine videris,
illum non labor Isthmius
clarabit pugilem, non equus inpiger
curru ducet Achaico
victorem, neque res bellica Deliis
ornatum foliis ducem,
quod regum tumidas contuderit minas,
ostendet Capitolio:
sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt,
et spissae nemorum comae
fingent Aeolio carmine nobilem.
Romae principis urbium
dignatur suboles inter amabiles
vatum ponere me choros,
et iam dente minus mordeor invido.
o testudinis aureae
dulcem quae strepitum, Pieri, temperas,
o mutis quoque piscibus
donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum,
totum muneris hoc tui est,
quod monstror digito praetereuntium
Romanae fidicen lyrae:
quod spiro et placeo, si placeo, tuum est.

IV

Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem,
cui rex deorum regnum in aves vagas
permisit expertus fidelem
Iuppiter in Ganymede flavo,
olim iuventas et patrius vigor
nido laborum propulit inscium
vernique iam nimbis remotis
insolitos docuere nisus
venti paventem, mox in ovilia
demisit hostem vividus inpetus,

nunc in reluctantes dracones
egit amor dapis atque pugnae;
qualemve laetis caprea pascuis
intenta fulvae matris ab ubere
iam lacte depulsum leonem,
dente novo peritura vidit:
videre Raetis bella sub Alpibus
Drusum gerentem Vindelici,—quibus
mos unde deductus per omne
tempus Amazonia securi
dextras obarmet, quaerere distuli:
nec scire fas est omnia,—sed diu
lateque victrices catervae
consiliis iuvenis revictae
sensere, quid mens rite, quid indoles
nutrita faustis sub penetralibus
posset, quid Augusti paternus
in pueros animus Nerones.
fortes creantur fortibus et bonis;
est in iuvencis, est in equis patrum
virtus, neque inbellem feroces
progenerant aquilae columbam;
doctrina sed vim promovet insitam,
rectique cultus pectora roborant;
utcumque defecere mores,
indecorant bene nata culpae.
quid debeas, o Roma, Neronibus,
testis Metaurum flumen et Hasdrubal
devictus et pulcher fugatis
ille dies Latio tenebris,
qui primus alma risit adorea,
dirus per urbes Afer ut Italas
ceu flamma per taedas vel Eurus
per Siculas equitavit undas.
post hoc secundis usque laboribus
Romana pubes crevit, et inpio
vastata Poenorum tumultu
fana deos habuere rectos,
dixitque tandem perfidus Hannibal:
'cervi, luporum praeda rapacium,
sectamur ultro, quos opimus
fallere et effugere est triumphus.

gens, quae cremato fortis ab Ilio
iactata Tuscis aequoribus sacra
natosque maturosque patres
pertulit Ausonias ad urbes,
duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus
nigrae feraci frondis in Algido,
per damna, per caedes ab ipso
ducit opes animumque ferro.
non Hydra secto corpore firmior
vinci dolentem crevit in Herculem,
monstrumve summisere Colchi
maius Echioniaeve Thebae.
merses profundo; pulchrior evenit:
luctere; multa proruet integrum
cum laude victorem geretque
proelia coniugibus loquenda.
Karthagini iam non ego nuntios
mittam superbos: occidit, occidit
spes omnis et fortuna nostri
nominis Hasdrubale interempto.
nil Claudiae non perficient manus,
quas et benigno numine Iuppiter
defendit et curae sagaces
expediunt per acuta belli.'

V

Divis orte bonis, optime Romulae
custos gentis, abes iam nimium diu;
maturum reditum pollicitus patrum
sancto concilio, redi.
lucem redde tuae, dux bone, patriae:
instar veris enim vultus ubi tuus
adfulsit populo, gratior it dies
et soles melius nitent.
ut mater iuvenem, quem Notus invido
flatu Carpathii trans maris aequora
cunctantem spatio longius annuo
dulci distinet a domo,
votis ominibusque et precibus vocat,
curvo nec faciem litore dimovet:
sic desideriis icta fidelibus
quaerit patria Caesarem.

tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
nutrit rura Ceres almaque Faustitas,
pacatum volitant per mare navitae,
culpari metuit Fides,
nullis polluitur casta domus stupris,
mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas,
laudantur simili prole puerperae,
culpam poena premit comes.
quis Parthum paveat, quis gelidum Scythen,
quis Germania quos horrida parturit
fetus, incolumi Caesare? quis ferae
bellum curet Hiberiae?
condit quisque diem collibus in suis,
et vitem viduas ducit ad arbores;
hinc ad vina redit laetus et alteris
te mensis adhibet deum;
te multa prece, te prosequitur mero
defuso pateris, et Laribus tuum
miscet numen, uti Graecia Castoris
et magni memor Herculis.
'longas o utinam, dux bone, ferias
praestes Hesperiae!' dicimus integro
sicci mane die, dicimus uvidi,
cum sol Oceano subest.

VI

Dive, quem proles Niobea magnae
vindicem linguae Tityosque raptor
sensit et Troiae prope victor altae
Phthius Achilles,
ceteris maior, tibi miles inpar,
filius quamvis Thetidis marinae
Dardanas turres quateret tremenda
cuspide pugnax.
ille, mordaci velut icta ferro
pinus aut inpulsa cupressus Euro,
procidit late posuitque collum in
pulvere Teucro.
ille non inclusus equo Minervae
sacra mentito male feriatos
Troas et laetam Priami choreis
falleret aulam,

sed palam captis gravis, heu nefas heu,
nescios fari pueros Achivis
ureret flammis, etiam latentem
  matris in alvo,
ni tuis victus Venerisque gratae
vocibus divom Pater adnuisset
rebus Aeneae potiore ductos
  alite muros.
doctor argutae fidicen Thaliae,
Phoebe, qui Xantho lavis amne crines,
Dauniae defende decus Camenae,
  levis Agyieu.
spiritum Phoebus mihi, Phoebus artem
carminis nomenque dedit poetae.
virginum primae puerique claris
  patribus orti,
Deliae tutela deae, fugaces
lyncas et cervos cohibentis arcu,
Lesbium servate pedem meique
  pollicis ictum,
rite Latonae puerum canentes,
rite crescentem face Noctilucam,
prosperam frugum celeremque pronos
  volvere menses.
nupta iam dices: 'ego dis amicum,
saeculo festas referente luces,
reddidi carmen docilis modorum
  vatis Horati.'

VII

Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis
  arboribusque comae,
mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas
  flumina praetereunt,
Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audet
  ducere nuda choros.
inmortalia ne speres, monet annus et almum
  quae rapit hora diem.
frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aestas,
  interitura, simul
pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit, et mox
  bruma recurrit iners.

damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae:
nos, ubi decidimus,
quo pater Aeneas, quo Tullus dives et Ancus,
pulvis et umbra sumus.
quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae
tempora di superi?
cuncta manus avidas fugient heredis, amico
quae dederis animo.
cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos
fecerit arbitria,
non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
restituet pietas:
infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
liberat Hippolytum,
nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro
vincula Pirithoo.

VIII

Donarem pateras grataque commodus,
Censorine, meis aera sodalibus,
donarem tripodas, praemia fortium
Graiorum, neque tu pessima munerum
ferres, divite me scilicet artium,
quas aut Parrhasius protulit aut Scopas,
hic saxo, liquidis ille coloribus
sollers nunc hominem ponere, nunc deum.
sed non haec mihi vis, non tibi talium
res est aut animus deliciarum egens.
gaudes carminibus; carmina possumus
donare et pretium dicere muneri.
non incisa notis marmora publicis,
per quae spiritus et vita redit bonis
post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae
reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
† non incendia Karthaginis inpiae
eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes, quam Calabrae Pierides; neque,
si chartae sileant quod bene feceris,
mercedem tuleris. quid foret Iliae

Mavortisque puer, si taciturnitas
obstaret meritis invida Romuli?
ereptum Stygiis fluctibus Aeacum
virtus et favor et lingua potentium
vatum divitibus consecrat insulis.
dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori;
caelo Musa beat: sic Iovis interest
optatis epulis inpiger Hercules,
clarum Tyndaridae sidus ab infimis
quassas eripiunt aequoribus rates,
ornatus viridi tempora pampino
Liber vota bonos ducit ad exitus.

IX

Ne forte credas interitura, quae
longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum
non ante vulgatas per artes
verba loquor socianda chordis:
non, si priores Maeonius tenet
sedes Homerus, Pindaricae latent
Ceaeque et Alcaei minaces
Stesichorique graves Camenae;
nec, si quid olim lusit Anacreon,
delevit aetas; spirat adhuc amor
vivuntque commissi calores
Aeoliae fidibus puellae.
non sola comptos arsit adulteri
crines et aurum vestibus inlitum
mirata regalesque cultus
et comites Helene Lacaena;
primusve Teucer tela Cydoneo
derexit arcu; non semel Ilios
vexata; non pugnavit ingens
Idomeneus Sthenelusve solus
dicenda Musis proelia; non ferox
Hector vel acer Deiphobus graves
excepit ictus pro pudicis
coniugibus puerisque primus.
vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
multi; sed omnes inlacrimabiles
urguentur ignotique longa
nocte, carent quia vate sacro.

paulum sepultae distat inertiae
celata virtus. non ego te meis
chartis inornatum sileri
totve tuos patiar labores
inpune, Lolli, carpere lividas
obliviones. est animus tibi
rerumque prudens et secundis
temporibus dubiisque rectus,
vindex avarae fraudis et abstinens
ducentis ad se cuncta pecuniae,
consulque non unius anni,
sed quotiens bonus atque fidus
iudex honestum praetulit utili,
reiecit alto dona nocentium
vultu, per obstantes catervas
explicuit sua victor arma.
non possidentem multa vocaveris
recte beatum; rectius occupat
nomen beati, qui deorum
muneribus sapienter uti
duramque callet pauperiem pati
peiusque leto flagitium timet,
non ille pro caris amicis
aut patria timidus perire.

X

O crudelis adhuc et Veneris muneribus potens,
insperata tuae cum veniet pluma superbiae
et, quae nunc umeris involitant, deciderint comae,
nunc et qui color est puniceae flore prior rosae,
mutatus, Ligurine, in faciem verterit hispidam,
dices 'heu' quotiens te speculo videris alterum,
'quae mens est hodie, cur eadem non puero fuit,
vel cur his animis incolumes non redeunt genae?'

XI

Est mihi nonum superantis annum
plenus Albani cadus; est in horto,
Phylli, nectendis apium coronis;
est hederae vis

multa, qua crines religata fulges;
ridet argento domus; ara castis
vincta verbenis avet inmolato
  spargier agno;
cuncta festinat manus, huc et illuc
cursitant mixtae pueris puellae;
sordidum flammae trepidant rotantes
  vertice fumum.
ut tamen noris quibus advoceris
gaudiis: Idus tibi sunt agendae,
qui dies mensem Veneris marinae
  findit Aprilem,
iure sollemnis mihi sanctiorque
paene natali proprio, quod ex hac
luce Maecenas meus adfluentes
  ordinat annos.
Telephum, quem tu petis, occupavit
non tuae sortis iuvenem puella
dives et lasciva tenetque grata
  compede vinctum.
terret ambustus Phaethon avaras
spes, et exemplum grave praebet ales
Pegasus terrenum equitem gravatus
  Bellerophontem,
semper ut te digna sequare et ultra
quam licet sperare nefas putando
disparem vites. age iam, meorum
  finis amorum—
non enim posthac alia calebo
femina—condisce modos, amanda
voce quos reddas: minuentur atrae
  carmine curae.

XII

Iam veris comites, quae mare temperant,
inpellunt animae lintea Thraciae;
iam nec prata rigent, nec fluvii strepunt
  hiberna nive turgidi.
nidum ponit Ityn flebiliter gemens
infelix avis et Cecropiae domus
aeternum opprobrium, quod male barbaras
  regum est ulta libidines.

dicunt in tenero gramine pinguium
custodes ovium carmina fistula
delectantque deum, cui pecus et nigri
colles Arcadiae placent.
adduxere sitim tempora, Vergili:
sed pressum Calibus ducere Liberum
si gestis, iuvenum nobilium cliens,
nardo vina merebere.
nardi parvus onyx eliciet cadum,
qui nunc Sulpiciis accubat horreis,
spes donare novas largus amaraque
curarum eluere efficax.
ad quae si properas gaudia, cum tua
velox merce veni: non ego te meis
inmunem meditor tinguere poculis,
plena dives ut in domo.
verum pone moras et studium lucri,
nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium
misce stultitiam consiliis brevem:
dulce est desipere in loco.

XIII

Audivere, Lyce, di mea vota, di
audivere, Lyce: fis anus, et tamen
vis formosa videri,
ludisque et bibis inpudens,
et cantu tremulo pota Cupidinem
lentum sollicitas. ille virentis et
doctae psallere Chiae
pulchris excubat in genis.
inportunus enim transvolat aridas
quercus et refugit te quia luridi
dentes, te quia rugae
turpant et capitis nives.
nec Coae referunt iam tibi purpurae
nec clari lapides tempora, quae semel
notis condita fastis
inclusit volucris dies.
quo fugit venus, heu, quove color? decens
quo motus? quid habes illius, illius,
quae spirabat amores,
quae me surpuerat mihi,

felix post Cinaram, notaque et artium
gratarum facies? sed Cinarae breves
  annos fata dederunt,
    servatura diu parem
cornicis vetulae temporibus Lycen,
possent ut iuvenes visere fervidi
  multo non sine risu
    dilapsam in cineres facem.

XIV In honor of Tiberius.

Quae cura patrum quaeve Quiritium
plenis honorum muneribus tuas,
  Auguste, virtutes in aevum
    per titulos memoresque fastus
aeternet, o qua sol habitabiles
inlustrat oras, maxime principum?
  quem legis expertes Latinae
    Vindelici didicere nuper,
quid Marte posses. milite nam tuo
Drusus Genaunos, inplacidum genus,
  Brennosque veloces et arces
    Alpibus inpositas tremendis
deiecit acer plus vice simplici;
maior Neronum mox grave proelium
  commisit inmanesque Raetos
    auspiciis pepulit secundis,
spectandus in certamine martio,
devota morti pectora liberae
  quantis fatigaret ruinis,
    indomitas prope qualis undas
exercet Auster, Pleiadum choro
scindente nubes, inpiger hostium
  vexare turmas et frementem
    mittere equum medios per ignes.
sic tauriformis volvitur Aufidus,
qui regna Dauni praefluit Apuli,
  cum saevit horrendamque cultis
    diluviem meditatur agris,
ut barbarorum Claudius agmina
ferrata vasto diruit inpetu,
  primosque et extremos metendo
    stravit humum, sine clade victor,

te copias, te consilium et tuos
praebente divos. nam tibi, quo die
portus Alexandrea supplex
et vacuam patefecit aulam,
Fortuna lustro prospera tertio
belli secundos reddidit exitus,
laudemque et optatum peractis
imperiis decus arrogavit.
te Cantaber non ante domabilis
Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes
miratur, o tutela praesens
Italiae dominaeque Romae.
te fontium qui celat origines
Nilusque et Hister, te rapidus Tigris,
te beluosus qui remotis
obstrepit Oceanus Britannis,
te non paventis funera Galliae
duraeque tellus audit Hiberiae,
te caede gaudentes Sygambri
compositis venerantur armis.

XV

Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui
victas et urbes increpuit lyra,
ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor
vela darem. tua, Caesar, aetas
fruges et agris rettulit uberes,
et signa nostro restituit Iovi
derepta Parthorum superbis
postibus, et vacuum duellis
Ianum Quirini clausit et ordinem
rectum evaganti frena licentiae
iniecit emovitque culpas
et veteres revocavit artes,
per quas Latinum nomen et Italae
crevere vires famaque et imperi
porrecta maiestas ad ortus
solis ab Hesperio cubili.
custode rerum Caesare non furor
civilis aut vis exiget otium,
non ira, quae procudit enses
et miseras inimicat urbes.

non qui profundum Danuvium bibunt
edicta rumpent Iulia, non Getae,
non Seres infidive Persae,
non Tanain prope flumen orti.
nosque et profestis lucibus et sacris
inter iocosi munera Liberi,
cum prole matronisque nostris
rite deos prius adprecati,
virtute functos more patrum duces
Lydis remixto carmine tibiis
Troiamque et Anchisen et almae
progeniem Veneris canemus.

EPODI

I

Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
amice, propugnacula,
paratus omne Caesaris periculum
subire, Maecenas, tuo.
quid nos, quibus te vita si superstite
iucunda, si contra, gravis?
utrumne iussi persequemur otium
non dulce, ni tecum simul,
an hunc laborem, mente laturi decet
qua ferre non molles viros?
feremus, et te vel per Alpium iuga
inhospitalem et Caucasum,
vel Occidentis usque ad ultimum sinum
forti sequemur pectore.
roges, tuum labore quid iuvem meo
inbellis ac firmus parum?
comes minore sum futurus in metu,
qui maior absentes habet;
ut adsidens inplumibus pullis avis
serpentium adlapsus timet
magis relictis, non, ut adsit, auxili
latura plus praesentibus.
libenter hoc et omne militabitur
bellum in tuae spem gratiae,
non ut iuvencis inligata pluribus
aratra nitantur meis
pecusve Calabris ante sidus fervidum
Lucana mutet pascuis,
nec ut superni villa candens Tusculi
Circaea tangat moenia.
satis superque me benignitas tua
ditavit: haud paravero
quod aut avarus ut Chremes terra premam,
discinctus aut perdam ut nepos.

II

'Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,
ut prisca gens mortalium,
paterna rura bobus exercet suis
solutus omni faenore,
neque excitatur classico miles truci
nec horret iratum mare,
forumque vitat et superba civium
potentiorum limina.
ergo aut adulta vitium propagine
altas maritat populos,
aut in reducta valle mugientium
prospectat errantes greges,
inutilesque falce ramos amputans
feliciores inserit,
aut pressa puris mella condit amphoris,
aut tondet infirmas oves;
vel cum decorum mitibus pomis caput
Autumnus agris extulit,
ut gaudet insitiva decerpens pira
certantem et uvam purpurae,
qua muneretur te, Priape, et te, pater
Silvane, tutor finium.
libet iacere modo sub antiqua ilice,
modo in tenaci gramine.
labuntur altis interim ripis aquae,
queruntur in silvis aves,
fontesque lymphis obstrepunt manantibus,
somnos quod invitet leves.
at cum tonantis annus hibernus Iovis
imbres nivesque comparat,
aut trudit acres hinc et hinc multa cane
apros in obstantes plagas,
aut amite levi rara tendit retia,
turdis edacibus dolos,
pavidumque leporem et advenam laqueo gruem
iucunda captat praemia.
quis non malarum, quas amor curas habet,
haec inter obliviscitur?
quodsi pudica mulier in partem iuvet
domum atque dulces liberos,

Sabina qualis aut perusta solibus
pernicis uxor Apuli,
sacrum vetustis exstruat lignis focum
lassi sub adventum viri,
claudensque textis cratibus laetum pecus
distenta siccet ubera,
et horna dulci vina promens dolio
dapes inemptas apparet:
non me Lucrina iuverint conchylia
magisve rhombus aut scari,
si quos Eois intonata fluctibus
hiemps ad hoc vertat mare;
non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum,
non attagen Ionicus
iucundior, quam lecta de pinguissimis
oliva ramis arborum,
aut herba lapathi prata amantis et gravi
malvae salubres corpori,
vel agna festis caesa Terminalibus
vel haedus ereptus lupo.
has inter epulas ut iuvat pastas oves
videre properantes domum,
videre fessos vomerem inversum boves
collo trahentes languido,
postosque vernas, ditis examen domus,
circum renidentes Lares.'
haec ubi locutus faenerator Alfius,
iam iam futurus rusticus,
omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam,
quaerit Kalendis ponere.

III

Parentis olim si quis inpia manu
senile guttur fregerit,
edit cicutis alium nocentius.
o dura messorum ilia!
quid hoc veneni saevit in praecordiis?
num viperinus his cruor
incoctus herbis me fefellit, an malas
Canidia tractavit dapes?

ut Argonautas praeter omnes candidum
  Medea mirata est ducem,
ignota tauris inligaturum iuga
  perunxit hoc Iasonem;
hoc delibutis ulta donis paelicem
  serpente fugit alite.
nec tantus umquam siderum insedit vapor
  siticulosae Apuliae,
nec munus umeris efficacis Herculis
  inarsit aestuosius.
at si quid umquam tale concupiveris,
  iocose Maecenas, precor
manum puella savio opponat tuo,
  extrema et in sponda cubet.

IV

Lupis et agnis quanta sortito obtigit,
  tecum mihi discordia est,
Hibericis peruste funibus latus
  et crura dura compede.
licet superbus ambules pecunia,
  fortuna non mutat genus.
videsne, Sacram metiente te viam
  cum bis trium ulnarum toga,
ut ora vertat huc et huc euntium
  liberrima indignatio?
'sectus flagellis hic triumviralibus
  praeconis ad fastidium
arat Falerni mille fundi iugera
  et Appiam mannis terit
sedilibusque magnus in primis eques
  Othone contempto sedet.
quid attinet tot ora navium gravi
  rostrata duci pondere
contra latrones atque servilem manum,
  hoc, hoc tribuno militum?'

V

'At o deorum quidquid in caelo regit
  terras et humanum genus,
quid iste fert tumultus, et quid omnium
  vultus in unum me truces?

per liberos te, si vocata partubus
  Lucina veris adfuit,
per hoc inane purpurae decus precor,
  per inprobaturum haec Iovem,
quid ut noverca me intueris aut uti
  petita ferro belua?'
ut haec trementi questus ore constitit
  insignibus raptis puer,
inpube corpus, quale posset inpia
  mollire Thracum pectora,
Canidia, brevibus inplicata viperis
  crines et incomptum caput,
iubet sepulchris caprificos erutas,
  iubet cupressos funebres
et uncta turpis ova ranae sanguine
  plumamque nocturnae strigis
herbasque, quas Iolcos atque Hiberia
  mittit venenorum ferax,
et ossa ab ore rapta ieiunae canis
  flammis aduri Colchicis.
at expedita Sagana per totam domum
  spargens Avernales aquas
horret capillis ut marinus asperis
  echinus aut currens aper.
abacta nulla Veia conscientia
  ligonibus duris humum
exhauriebat ingemens laboribus,
  quo posset infossus puer
longo die bis terque mutatae dapis
  inemori spectaculo,
cum promineret ore, quantum exstant aqua
  suspensa mento corpora:
exsecta uti medulla et aridum iecur
  amoris esset poculum,
interminato cum semel fixae cibo
  intabuissent pupulae.
non defuisse masculae libidinis
  Ariminensem Foliam
et otiosa credidit Neapolis
  et omne vicinum oppidum,
quae sidera excantata voce Thessala
  lunamque caelo deripit.

hic inresectum saeva dente livido
  Canidia rodens pollicem
quid dixit aut quid tacuit? 'o rebus meis
  non infideles arbitrae,
Nox et Diana, quae silentium regis,
  arcana cum fiunt sacra,
nunc, nunc adeste, nunc in hostiles domos
  iram atque numen vertite.
formidolosis cum latent silvis ferae
  dulci sopore languidae,
senem, quod omnes rideant, adulterum
  latrent Suburanae canes
nardo perunctum, quale non perfectius
  meae laborarint manus.
quid accidit? cur dira barbarae minus
  venena Medeae valent,
quibus superbam fugit ulta paelicem,
  magni Creontis filiam,
cum palla, tabo munus inbutum, novam
  incendio nuptam abstulit?
atqui nec herba nec latens in asperis
  radix fefellit me locis.
indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
  oblivione paelicum.
a, a, solutus ambulat veneficae
  scientioris carmine.
non usitatis, Vare, potionibus,
  o multa fleturum caput,
ad me recurres, nec vocata mens tua
  Marsis redibit vocibus.
maius parabo, maius infundam tibi
  fastidienti poculum,
priusque caelum sidet inferius mari
  tellure porrecta super,
quam non amore sic meo flagres uti
  bitumen atris ignibus.'
sub haec puer iam non, ut ante, mollibus
  lenire verbis inpias,
sed dubius unde rumperet silentium,
  misit Thyesteas preces:
'venena magnum fas nefasque non valent
  convertere humanam vicem.

diris agam vos; dira detestatio
nulla expiatur victima.
quin, ubi perire iussus exspiravero,
nocturnus occurram furor,
petamque vultus umbra curvis unguibus,
quae vis deorum est Manium,
et inquietis adsidens praecordiis
pavore somnos auferam.
vos turba vicatim hinc et hinc saxis petens
contundet obscenas anus;
post insepulta membra different lupi
et Esquilinae alites,
neque hoc parentes, heu mihi superstites,
effugerit spectaculum.'

VI

Quid inmerentes hospites vexas canis
ignavus adversum lupos?
quin huc inanes, si potes, vertis minas
et me remorsurum petis?
nam qualis aut Molossus aut fulvus Lacon,
amica vis pastoribus,
agam per altas aure sublata nives,
quaecumque praecedet fera;
tu cum timenda voce complesti nemus,
proiectum odoraris cibum.
cave, cave: namque in malos asperrimus
parata tollo cornua,
qualis Lycambae spretus infido gener
aut acer hostis Bupalo.
an si quis atro dente me petiverit,
inultus ut flebo puer?

VII

Quo, quo scelesti ruitis? aut cur dexteris
aptantur enses conditi?
parumne campis atque Neptuno super
fusum est Latini sanguinis,
non ut superbas invidae Karthaginis
Romanus arces ureret,
intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus via,

sed ut secundum vota Parthorum sua
  urbs haec periret dextera?
neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus,
  umquam nisi in dispar feris.
furorne caecus an rapit vis acrior
  an culpa? responsum date.
tacent, et ora pallor albus inficit
  mentesque perculsae stupent.
sic est: acerba fata Romanos agunt
  scelusque fraternae necis,
ut inmerentis fluxit in terram Remi
  sacer nepotibus cruor.

IX

Quando repostum Caecubum ad festas dapes
  victore laetus Caesare
tecum sub alta—sic Iovi gratum—domo,
  beate Maecenas, bibam,
sonante mixtum tibiis carmen lyra,
  hac Dorium, illis barbarum?
ut nuper, actus cum freto Neptunius
  dux fugit ustis navibus,
minatus urbi vincla, quae detraxerat
  servis amicus perfidis.
Romanus eheu—posteri negabitis!—
  emancipatus feminae
fert vallum et arma, miles et spadonibus
  servire rugosis potest,
interque signa turpe militaria
  sol aspicit conopium.
† at huc frementes verterunt bis mille equos
  Galli canentes Caesarem,
hostiliumque navium portu latent
  puppes sinistrorsum citae.
io Triumphe, tu moraris aureos
  currus et intactas boves?
io Triumphe, nec Iugurthino parem
  bello reportasti ducem,
neque Africanum, cui super Karthaginem
  virtus sepulchrum condidit.
terra marique victus hostis punico
  lugubre mutavit sagum.

aut ille centum nobilem Cretam urbibus
ventis iturus non suis,
exercitatas aut petit Syrtes Noto,
aut fertur incerto mari.
capaciores affer huc, puer, scyphos
et Chia vina aut Lesbia
vel, quod fluentem nauseam coerceat,
metire nobis Caecubum.
curam metumque Caesaris rerum iuvat
dulci Lyaeo solvere.

X

Mala soluta navis exit alite
ferens olentem Maevium:
ut horridis utrumque verberes latus,
Auster, memento fluctibus;
niger rudentes Eurus inverso mari
fractosque remos differat;
insurgat Aquilo, quantus altis montibus
frangit trementes ilices;
nec sidus atra nocte amicum appareat,
qua tristis Orion cadit;
quietiore nec feratur aequore,
quam Graia victorum manus,
cum Pallas usto vertit iram ab Ilio
in inpiam Aiacis ratem.
o quantus instat navitis sudor tuis
tibique pallor luteus,
et illa non virilis heiulatio,
preces et aversum ad Iovem,
Ionius udo cum remugiens sinus
Noto carinam ruperit.
opima quodsi praeda curvo litore
porrecta mergos iuveris,
libidinosus inmolabitur caper
et agna Tempestatibus.

XIII

Horrida tempestas caelum contraxit et imbres
nivesque deducunt Iovem: nunc mare, nunc siluae
Threicio Aquilone sonant: rapiamus amici
occasionem de die, dumque virent genua

et decet, obducta solvatur fronte senectus.
tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo;
cetera mitte loqui: deus haec fortasse benigna
reducet in sedem vice. nunc et Achaemenio
perfundi nardo iuvat et fide Cyllenea
levare diris pectora sollicitudinibus,
nobilis ut grandi cecinit Centaurus alumno:
'invicte mortalis dea nate puer Thetide,
te manet Assaraci tellus, quam frigida parvi
findunt Scamandri flumina, lubricus et Simois;
unde tibi reditum certo subtegmine Parcae
rupere nec mater domum caerula te revehet.
illic omne malum vino cantuque levato,
deformis aegrimoniae dulcibus alloquiis.'

XIV

Mollis inertia cur tantam diffuderit imis
oblivionem sensibus,
pocula Lethaeos ut si ducentia somnos
arente fauce traxerim,
candide Maecenas, occidis saepe rogando:
deus, deus nam me vetat
inceptos, olim promissum carmen, iambos
ad umbilicum adducere.
non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo
Anacreonta Teium,
qui persaepe cava testudine flevit amorem
non elaboratum ad pedem.
ureris ipse miser; quodsi non pulchrior ignis
accendit obsessam Ilion,
gaude sorte tua: me libertina nec uno
contenta Phryne macerat.

XV

Pythiambic I. dactylic hexameter
iambic dimeter.

Nox erat et caelo fulgebat luna sereno
inter minora sidera,
cum tu, magnorum numen laesura deorum,
in verba iurabas mea,
artius atque hedera procera adstringitur ilex
lentis adhaerens bracchiis,
dum pecori lupus et nautis infestus Orion
turbaret hibernum mare

intonsosque agitaret Apollinis aura capillos,
  fore hunc amorem mutuum.
o dolitura mea multum virtute Neaera!
  nam si quid in Flacco viri est,
non feret adsiduas potiori te dare noctes
  et quaeret iratus parem,
nec semel offensae cedet constantia formae,
  si certus intrarit dolor.
et tu, quicumque es felicior atque meo nunc
  superbus incedis malo,
sis pecore et multa dives tellure licebit
  tibique Pactolus fluat
nec te Pythagorae fallant arcana renati
  formaque vincas Nirea,
eheu, translatos alio maerebis amores:
  ast ego vicissim risero.

XVI

Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas,
  suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit.
quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi,
  minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus,
aemula nec virtus Capuae nec Spartacus acer
  novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox,
nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube
  parentibusque abominatus Hannibal:
inpia perdemus devoti sanguinis aetas,
  ferisque rursus occupabitur solum.
barbarus heu cineres insistet victor, et urbem
  eques sonante verberabit ungula,
quaeque carent ventis et solibus ossa Quirini,
  nefas videre! dissipabit insolens.
forte quid expediat communiter aut melior pars
  malis carere quaeritis laboribus:
nulla sit hac potior sententia: Phocaeorum
  velut profugit exsecrata civitas
agros atque Lares patrios habitandaque fana
  apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis,
ire, pedes quocumque ferent, quocumque per undas
  Notus vocabit aut protervus Africus,
sic placet? an melius quis habet suadere? secunda
  ratem occupare quid moramur alite?

sed iuremus in haec: simul imis saxa renarint
vadis levata, ne redire sit nefas;
neu conversa domum pigeat dare lintea, quando
Padus Matina laverit cacumina,
in mare seu celsus procurrerit Appenninus,
novaque monstra iunxerit libidine
mirus amor, iuvet ut tigris subsidere cervis,
adulteretur et columba miluo,
credula nec ravos timeant armenta leones,
ametque salsa levis hircus aequora.
haec et quae poterunt reditus abscindere dulces
eamus omnis exsecrata civitas,
aut pars indocili melior grege; mollis et exspes
inominata perpremat cubilia.
vos, quibus est virtus, muliebrem tollite luctum,
Etrusca praeter et volate litora.
nos manet Oceanus circumvagus: arva, beata
petamus arva divites et insulas,
reddit ubi Cererem tellus inarata quotannis
et inputata floret usque vinea,
germinat et numquam fallentis termes olivae
suamque pulla ficus ornat arborem,
mella cava manant ex ilice, montibus altis
levis crepante lympha desilit pede.
illic iniussae veniunt ad mulctra capellae,
refertque tenta grex amicus ubera;
nec vespertinus circumgemit ursus ovile,
neque intumescit alta viperis humus.
pluraque felices mirabimur, ut neque largis
aquosus Eurus arva radat imbribus,
pinguia nec siccis urantur semina glaebis,
utrumque rege temperante caelitum.
non huc Argoo contendit remige pinus
neque inpudica Colchis intulit pedem;
non huc Sidonii torserunt cornua nautae,
laboriosa nec cohors Ulixei;
nulla nocent pecori contagia, nullius astri
gregem aestuosa torret inpotentia.
Iuppiter illa piae secrevit litora genti,
ut inquinavit aere tempus aureum;
aere, dehinc ferro duravit saecula, quorum
piis secunda vate me datur fuga.

XVII

Iam iam efficaci do manus scientiae,
supplex et oro regna per Proserpinae,
per et Dianae non movenda numina,
per atque libros carminum valentium
refixa caelo devocare sidera,
Canidia, parce vocibus tandem sacris
citumque retro solve, solve turbinem.
movit nepotem Telephus Nereium,
in quem superbus ordinarat agmina
Mysorum et in quem tela acuta torserat.
unxere matres Iliae addictum feris
alitibus atque canibus homicidam Hectorem,
postquam relictis moenibus rex procidit
heu pervicacis ad pedes Achillei.
saetosa duris exuere pellibus
laboriosi remiges Ulixei
volente Circa membra; tunc mens et sonus
relapsus atque notus in vultus honor.
dedi satis superque poenarum tibi,
amata nautis multum et institoribus.
fugit iuventas, et verecundus color
reliquit ossa pelle amicta lurida;
tuis capillus albus est odoribus;
nullum ab labore me reclinat otium;
urguet diem nox et dies noctem, neque est
levare tenta spiritu praecordia.
ergo negatum vincor ut credam miser
Sabella pectus increpare carmina
caputque Marsa dissilire nenia.
quid amplius vis? o mare et terra, ardeo
quantum neque atro delibutus Hercules
Nessi cruore, nec Sicana fervida
virens in Aetna flamma. tu, donec cinis
iniuriosis aridus ventis ferar,
cales venenis officina Colchicis.
quae finis aut quod me manet stipendium?
effare: iussas cum fide poenas luam,
paratus expiare, seu poposceris
centum iuvencos, sive mendaci lyra

voles sonari, tu 'pudica,' tu 'proba'
perambulabis astra sidus aureum.
infamis Helenae Castor offensus vice
fraterque magni Castoris, victi prece,
adempta vati reddidere lumina:
et tu—potes nam—solve me dementia,
o nec paternis obsoleta sordibus,
nec in sepulchris pauperum prudens anus
novendiales dissipare pulveres.
tibi hospitale pectus et purae manus,
tuusque venter Pactumeius, et tuo
cruore rubros obstetrix pannos lavit,
utcumque fortis exsilis puerpera.
'quid obseratis auribus fundis preces?
non saxa nudis surdiora navitis
Neptunus alto tundit hibernus salo.
inultus ut tu riseris Cotyttia
vulgata, sacrum liberi Cupidinis,
et Esquilini pontifex venefici
inpune et urbem nomine inpleris meo?
quid proderat ditasse Paelignas anus
velociusve miscuisse toxicum?
sed tardiora fata te votis manent:
ingrata misero vita ducenda est in hoc,
novis ut usque suppetas doloribus.
optat quietem Pelopis infidi pater,
egens benignae Tantalus semper dapis,
optat Prometheus obligatus aliti,
optat supremo collocare Sisyphus
in monte saxum; sed vetant leges Iovis.
voles modo altis desilire turribus,
modo ense pectus Norico recludere,
frustraque vincla gutturi nectes tuo
fastidiosa tristis aegrimonia.
vectabor umeris tunc ego inimicis eques,
meaeque terra cedet insolentiae.
an quae movere cereas imagines,
ut ipse nosti curiosus, et polo
deripere lunam vocibus possim meis,
possim crematos excitare mortuos
desiderique temperare poculum,
plorem artis in te nil agentis exitus?'

CARMEN SAECULARE

PHOEBE silvarumque potens Diana,
lucidum caeli decus, o colendi
semper et culti, date quae precamur
 tempore sacro,
quo Sibyllini monuere versus
virgines lectas puerosque castos
dis, quibus septem placuere colles,
 dicere carmen.
alme Sol, curru nitido diem qui
promis et celas, aliusque et idem
nasceris, possis nihil urbe Roma
 visere maius.
rite maturos aperire partus
lenis, Ilithyia, tuere matres,
sive tu Lucina probas vocari
 seu Genitalis:
diva, producas subolem, patrumque
prosperes decreta super iugandis
feminis prolisque novae feraci
 lege marita,
certus undenos deciens per annos
orbis ut cantus referatque ludos
ter die claro totiensque grata
 nocte frequentes.
vosque veraces cecinisse, Parcae,
quod semel dictum est stabilisque rerum
terminus servet, bona iam peractis
 iungite fata.
fertilis frugum pecorisque tellus
spicea donet Cererem corona;
nutriant fetus et aquae salubres
 et Iovis aurae.
condito mitis placidusque telo
supplices audi pueros, Apollo;
siderum regina bicornis, audi,
 Luna, puellas.

Roma si vestrum est opus Iliaeque
litus Etruscum tenuere turmae,
iussa pars mutare Lares et urbem
sospite cursu,
cui per ardentem sine fraude Troiam
castus Aeneas patriae superstes
liberum munivit iter, daturus
plura relictis:
di, probos mores docili iuventae,
di, senectuti placidae quietem,
Romulae genti date remque prolemque
et decus omne;
quaeque vos bobus veneratur albis
clarus Anchisae Venerisque sanguis,
inpetret, bellante prior, iacentem
lenis in hostem.
iam mari terraque manus potentes
Medus Albanasque timet secures;
iam Scythae responsa petunt superbi
nuper et Indi.
iam fides et pax et honor pudorque
priscus et neclecta redire virtus
audet, apparetque beata pleno
copia cornu.
augur et fulgente decorus arcu
Phoebus acceptusque novem Camenis,
qui salutari levat arte fessos
corporis artus,
si Palatinas videt aequus arces,
remque Romanam Latiumque felix
alterum in lustrum meliusque semper
prorogat aevum.
quaeque Aventinum tenet Algidumque,
quindecim Diana preces virorum
curat et votis puerorum amicas
applicat aures.
haec Iovem sentire deosque cunctos
spem bonam certamque domum reporto,
doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae
dicere laudes.

SERMONUM
LIBER PRIMUS

I

Qui fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem
seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit, illa
contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentes?
'o fortunati mercatores!' gravis annis
miles ait multo iam fractus membra labore.
contra mercator, navem iactantibus Austris:
'militia est potior. quid enim? concurritur; horae
momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.'
agricolam laudat iuris legumque peritus,
sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.
ille datis vadibus qui rure extractus in urbem est,
solos felices viventes clamat in urbe.
cetera de genere hoc, adeo sunt multa, loquacem
delassare valent Fabium. ne te morer, audi
quo rem deducam. si quis deus 'en ego' dicat,
'iam faciam quod vultis: eris tu, qui modo miles,
mercator; tu, consultus modo, rusticus: hinc vos,
vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus. heia!
quid statis?' nolint. atqui licet esse beatis.
quid causae est, merito quin illis Iuppiter ambas
iratus buccas inflet neque se fore posthac
tam facilem dicat, votis ut praebeat aurem?
praeterea, ne sic, ut qui iocularia, ridens
percurram,—quamquam ridentem dicere verum
quid vetat? ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima;
sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo—
ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro,
perfidus hic caupo, miles nautaeque per omne
audaces mare qui currunt, hac mente laborem

sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,
aiunt, cum sibi sint congesta cibaria: sicut
parvula—nam exemplo est—magni formica laboris
ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit acervo
quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri.
quae, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum,
non usquam prorepit et illis utitur ante
quaesitis sapiens, cum te neque fervidus aestus
demoveat lucro, neque hiemps, ignis, mare, ferrum,
nil obstet tibi, dum ne sit te ditior alter.
quid iuvat inmensum te argenti pondus et auri
furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?
'quod si comminuas, vilem redigatur ad assem.'
at, ni id fit, quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?
milia frumenti tua triverit area centum,
non tuus hoc capiet venter plus ac meus; ut si
reticulum panis venales inter onusto
forte vehas umero, nihilo plus accipias quam
qui nil portarit. vel dic, quid referat intra
naturae fines viventi, iugera centum an
mille aret? 'at suave est ex magno tollere acervo.'
dum ex parvo nobis tantundem haurire relinquas,
cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria nostris?
ut tibi si sit opus liquidi non amplius urna
vel cyatho, et dicas, 'magno de flumine mallem
quam ex hoc fonticulo tantundem sumere.' eo fit,
plenior ut si quos delectet copia iusto,
cum ripa simul avulsos ferat Aufidus acer.
at qui tantuli eget, quanto est opus, is neque limo
turbatam haurit aquam neque vitam amittit in undis.
at bona pars hominum decepta cupidine falso
'nil satis est,' inquit, 'quia tanti quantum habeas sis.'
quid facias illi? iubeas miserum esse, libenter
quatenus id facit: ut quidam memoratur Athenis
sordidus ac dives, populi contemnere voces
sic solitus: 'populus me sibilat, at mihi plaudo
ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca.'
Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat
flumina: quid rides? mutato nomine de te
fabula narratur: congestis undique saccis
indormis inhians, et tamquam parcere sacris
cogeris aut pictis tamquam gaudere tabellis.

nescis quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum?
panis ematur, holus, vini sextarius, adde
quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis.
an vigilare metu exanimem, noctesque diesque
formidare malos fures, incendia, servos,
ne te compilent fugientes, hoc iuvat? horum
semper ego optarim pauperrimus esse bonorum.
'at si condoluit temptatum frigore corpus
aut alius casus lecto te adfixit, habes qui
adsideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget, ut te
suscitet ac natis reddat carisque propinquis.'
non uxor salvum te vult, non filius; omnes
vicini oderunt, noti, pueri atque puellae.
miraris, cum tu argento post omnia ponas,
si nemo praestet quem non merearis amorem?
at si cognatos, nullo natura labore
quos tibi dat, retinere velis servareque amicos,
infelix operam perdas, ut si quis asellum
in campo doceat parentem currere frenis.
denique sit finis quaerendi, cumque habeas plus,
pauperiem metuas minus et finire laborem
incipias, parto quod avebas, ne facias quod
Ummidius, qui tam, non longa est fabula, dives
ut metiretur nummos, ita sordidus ut se
non umquam servo melius vestiret, ad usque
supremum tempus, ne se penuria victus
opprimeret, metuebat. at hunc liberta securi
divisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum.
'quid mi igitur suades? ut vivam Maenius, aut sic
ut Nomentanus?' pergis pugnantia secum
frontibus adversis componere: non ego avarum
cum veto te, fieri vappam iubeo ac nebulonem.
est inter Tanain quiddam socerumque Viselli:
est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.
illuc unde abii redeo, qui nemo ut avarus
se probet ac potius laudet diversa sequentes,
quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber,
tabescat, neque se maiori pauperiorum
turbae comparet, hunc atque hunc superare laboret.
sic festinanti semper locupletior obstat,
ut, cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,



instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum
praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.
inde fit ut raro, qui se vixisse beatum
dicat et exacto contentus tempore vita
cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.
iam satis est: ne me Crispini scrinia lippi
compilasse putes, verbum non amplius addam.

II

Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolae,
mendici, mimae, balatrones, hoc genus omne
maestum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli:
quippe benignus erat. contra hic, ne prodigus esse
dicatur metuens, inopi dare nolit amico,
frigus quo duramque famem propellere possit.
hunc si perconteris, avi cur atque parentis
praeclaram ingrata stringat malus ingluvie rem,
omnia conductis coemens obsonia nummis,
sordidus atque animi quod parvi nolit haberi,
respondet. laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis.
Fufidius vappae famam timet ac nebulonis
dives agris, dives positis in faenore nummis:
quinas hic capiti mercedes exsecat, atque
quanto perditior quisque est, tanto acrius urguet;
nomina sectatur, modo sumpta veste virili,
sub patribus duris tironum. 'maxime' quis non
'Iuppiter!' exclamat, simul atque audivit? 'at in se
pro quaestu sumptum facit hic.' vix credere possis,
quam sibi non sit amicus, ita ut pater ille, Terenti
fabula quem miserum nato vixisse fugato
inducit, non se peius cruciaverit atque hic.
si quis nunc quaerat 'quo res haec pertinet?' illuc:
dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.

III

Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus, inter amicos
ut numquam inducant animum cantare rogati,
iniussi numquam desistant. Sardus habebat
ille Tigellius hoc. Caesar, qui cogere posset,
si peteret per amicitiam patris atque suam, non
quicquam proficeret; si collibuisset, ab ovo

usque ad mala citaret 'io Bacchae' modo summa
voce, modo hac, resonat qua e chordis quattuor ima.
nil aequale homini fuit illi: saepe velut qui
currebat fugiens hostem, persaepe velut qui
Iunonis sacra ferret; habebat saepe ducentos,
saepe decem servos; modo reges atque tetrarchas,
omnia magna loquens, modo 'sit mihi mensa tripes et
concha salis puri et toga, quae defendere frigus
quamvis crassa queat.' deciens centena dedisses
huic parco, paucis contento, quinque diebus
nil erat in loculis. noctes vigilabat ad ipsum
mane, diem totum stertebat. nil fuit umquam
sic inpar sibi. nunc aliquis dicat mihi 'quid tu?
nullane habes vitia?' immo alia et fortasse minora.
Maenius absentem Novium cum carperet, 'heus tu'
quidam ait 'ignoras te, an ut ignotum dare nobis
verba putas?' 'egomet mi ignosco' Maenius inquit.
stultus et inprobus hic amor est dignusque notari.
cum tua pervideas oculis mala lippus inunctis,
cur in amicorum vitiis tam cernis acutum,
quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius? at tibi contra
evenit, inquirant vitia ut tua rursus et illi.
iracundior est paulo, minus aptus acutis
naribus horum hominum; rideri possit eo quod
rusticius tonso toga defluit et male laxus
in pede calceus haeret; at est bonus, ut melior vir
non alius quisquam, at tibi amicus, at ingenium ingens
inculto latet hoc sub corpore. denique te ipsum
concute, num qua tibi vitiorum inseverit olim
natura aut etiam consuetudo mala; namque
neclectis urenda filix innascitur agris.
illuc praevertamur, amatorem quod amicae
turpia decipiunt caecum vitia, aut etiam ipsa haec
delectant, veluti Balbinum polypus Hagnae.
vellem in amicitia sic erraremus et isti
errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum.
at pater ut nati, sic nos debemus amici,
si quod sit vitium, non fastidire: strabonem
appellat paetum pater, et pullum, male parvus
si cui filius est, ut abortivus fuit olim
Sisyphus; hunc varum distortis cruribus, illum
balbutit scaurum pravis fultum male talis.

parcius hic vivit: frugi dicatur. ineptus
et iactantior hic paulo est: concinnus amicis
postulat ut videatur. at est truculentior atque
plus aequo liber: simplex fortisque habeatur.
caldior est: acres inter numeretur. opinor,
haec res et iungit, iunctos et servat amicos.
at nos virtutes ipsas invertimus atque
sincerum cupimus vas incrustare. probus quis
nobiscum vivit, multum demissus homo; illi
tardo cognomen pingui damus. hic fugit omnes
insidias nullique malo latus obdit apertum,
cum genus hoc inter vitae versetur, ubi acris
invidia atque vigent ubi crimina; pro bene sano
ac non incauto fictum astutumque vocamus.
simplicior quis et est, qualem me saepe libenter
obtulerim tibi, Maecenas, ut forte legentem
aut tacitum inpellat quovis sermone molestus;
'communi sensu plane caret' inquimus. eheu,
quam temere in nosmet legem sancimus iniquam!
nam vitiis nemo sine nascitur; optimus ille est,
qui minimis urguetur. amicus dulcis, ut aequum est,
cum mea compenset vitiis bona, pluribus hisce,
si modo plura mihi bona sunt, inclinet, amari
si volet; hac lege in trutina ponetur eadem.
qui ne tuberibus propriis offendat amicum
postulat, ignoscet verrucis illius: aequum est,
peccatis veniam poscentem reddere rursus.
denique, quatenus excidi penitus vitium irae,
cetera item nequeunt stultis haerentia, cur non
ponderibus modulisque suis ratio utitur, ac res
ut quaeque est, ita suppliciis delicta coercet?
si quis eum servum, patinam qui tollere iussus
semesos pisces tepidumque ligurrierit ius,
in cruce suffigat, Labeone insanior inter
sanos dicatur. quanto hoc furiosius atque
maius peccatum est! paulum deliquit amicus,
quod nisi concedas, habeare insuavis, acerbus;
odisti et fugis ut Rusonem debitor aeris,
qui nisi, cum tristes misero venere Kalendae,
mercedem aut nummos unde unde extricat, amaras
porrecto iugulo historias captivus ut audit.
comminxit lectum potus mensave catillum

Euandri manibus tritum deiecit: ob hanc rem,
aut positum ante mea quia pullum in parte catini
sustulit esuriens, minus hoc iucundus amicus
sit mihi? quid faciam, si furtum fecerit, aut si
prodiderit commissa fide sponsumve negarit?
quis paria esse fere placuit peccata, laborant,
cum ventum ad verum est: sensus moresque repugnant
atque ipsa utilitas, iusti prope mater et aequi.
cum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
unguibus et pugnis, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
pugnabant armis, quae post fabricaverat usus,
donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
nominaque invenere; dehinc absistere bello,
oppida coeperunt munire et ponere leges,
ne quis fur esset neu latro neu quis adulter.
iura inventa metu iniusti fateare necesse est,
tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.
nec natura potest iusto secernere iniquum,
dividit ut bona diversis, fugienda petendis;
nec vincet ratio hoc, tantundem ut peccet idemque
qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti
et qui nocturnus sacra divom legerit. adsit
regula, peccatis quae poenas inroget aequas,
ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.
nam ut ferula caedas meritum maiora subire
verbera non vereor, cum dicas esse pares res
furta latrociniis et magnis parva mineris
falce recisurum simili te, si tibi regnum
permittant homines. si dives, qui sapiens est,
et sutor bonus et solus formosus et est rex;
cur optas quod habes? 'non nosti, quid pater,' inquit,
Chrysippus dicat: sapiens crepidas sibi numquam
nec soleas fecit, sutor tamen est sapiens.' qui?
'ut quamvis tacet Hermogenes, cantor tamen atque
optimus est modulator; ut Alfenus vafer omni
abiecto instrumento artis clausaque taberna
tonsor erat; sapiens operis sic optimus omnis
est opifex solus, sic rex.' vellunt tibi barbam
lascivi pueri, quos tu nisi fuste coerces,
urgueris turba circum te stante miserque
rumperis et latras, magnorum maxime regum.

ne longum faciam: dum tu quadrante lavatum
rex ibis, neque te quisquam stipator ineptum
praeter Crispinum sectabitur, et mihi dulces
ignoscent, si quid peccaro stultus, amici,
inque vicem illorum patiar delicta libenter,
privatusque magis vivam te rege beatus.

IV

Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae
atque alii quorum comoedia prisca virorum est,
si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur,
quod moechus foret aut sicarius aut alioqui
famosus, multa cum libertate notabant.
hinc omnis pendet Lucilius, hosce secutus
mutatis tantum pedibus numerisque, facetus,
emunctae naris, durus componere versus.
nam fuit hoc vitiosus: in hora saepe ducentos,
ut magnum, versus dictabat stans pede in uno.
cum flueret lutulentus, erat quod tollere velles;
garrulus atque piger scribendi ferre laborem,
scribendi recte: nam ut multum, nil moror. ecce,
Crispinus minimo me provocat: 'accipe, si vis,
accipiam tabulas; detur nobis locus, hora,
custodes; videamus uter plus scribere possit.'
di bene fecerunt, inopis me quodque pusilli
finxerunt animi, raro et perpauca loquentis;
at tu conclusas hircinis follibus auras
usque laborantes dum ferrum molliat ignis,
ut mavis, imitare. beatus Fannius ultro
delatis capsis et imagine, cum mea nemo
scripta legat vulgo recitare timentis ob hanc rem,
quod sunt quos genus hoc minime iuvat, utpote plures
culpari dignos. quemvis media elige turba,
aut ob avaritiam aut misera ambitione laborat.
hunc capit argenti splendor; stupet Albius aere;
hic mutat merces surgente a sole ad eum quo
vespertina tepet regio; quin per mala praeceps
fertur, uti pulvis collectus turbine, ne quid
summa deperdat metuens aut ampliet ut rem.
omnes hi metuunt versus, odere poetas.
'faenum habet in cornu; longe fuge: dummodo risum

excutiat sibi, non hic cuiquam parcet amico,
et quodcumque semel chartis inleverit, omnes
gestiet a furno redeuntes scire lacuque
et pueros et anus.' agedum, pauca accipe contra.
primum ego me illorum, dederim quibus esse poetis,
excerpam numero: neque enim concludere versum
dixeris esse satis; neque, si qui scribat uti nos
sermoni propiora, putes hunc esse poetam.
ingenium cui sit, cui mens divinior atque os
magna sonaturum, des nominis huius honorem.
idcirco quidam comoedia necne poema
esset quaesivere, quod acer spiritus ac vis
nec verbis nec rebus inest, nisi quod pede certo
differt sermoni, sermo merus. 'at pater ardens
saevit, quod meretrice nepos insanus amica
filius uxorem grandi cum dote recuset,
ebrius et, magnum quod dedecus, ambulet ante
noctem cum facibus.' numqui Pomponius istis
audiret leviora, pater si viveret? ergo
non satis est puris versum perscribere verbis,
quem si dissolvas, quivis stomachetur eodem
quo personatus pacto pater. his, ego quae nunc,
olim quae scripsit Lucilius, eripias si
tempora certa modosque et quod prius ordine verbum est
posterius facias praeponens ultima primis,
non, ut si solvas 'postquam Discordia taetra
belli ferratos postes portasque refregit,'
invenias etiam disiecti membra poetae.
hactenus haec: alias iustum sit necne poema,
nunc illud tantum quaeram, meritone tibi sit
suspectum genus hoc scribendi. Sulcius acer
ambulat et Caprius, rauci male cumque libellis,
magnus uterque timor latronibus; at bene si quis
et vivat puris manibus, contemnat utrumque.
ut sis tu similis Caeli Birrique latronum,
non ego sim Capri neque Sulci: cur metuas me?
nulla taberna meos habeat neque pila libellos,
quis manus insudet vulgi Hermogenisque Tigelli;
nec recito cuiquam nisi amicis, idque coactus,
non ubivis coramve quibuslibet. in medio qui
scripta foro recitent, sunt multi, quique lavantes:
suave locus voci resonat conclusus. inanes

hoc iuvat, haud illud quaerentes, num sine sensu,
tempore num faciant alieno. 'laedere gaudes,'
inquit, 'et hoc studio pravus facis.' unde petitum
hoc in me iacis? est auctor quis denique eorum,
vixi cum quibus? absentem qui rodit amicum,
qui non defendit alio culpante, solutos
qui captat risus hominum famamque dicacis,
fingere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere
qui nequit, hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto.
saepe tribus lectis videas cenare quaternos,
e quibus unus amet quavis adspergere cunctos
praeter eum qui praebet aquam, post hunc quoque potus,
condita cum verax aperit praecordia Liber.
hic tibi comis et urbanus liberque videtur
infesto nigris: ego si risi, quod ineptus
pastillos Rufillus olet, Gargonius hircum,
lividus et mordax videor tibi? mentio si quae
de Capitolini furtis iniecta Petilli
te coram fuerit, defendas ut tuus est mos:
'me Capitolinus convictore usus amicoque
a puero est, causaque mea permulta rogatus
fecit, et incolumis laetor quod vivit in urbe;
sed tamen admiror, quo pacto iudicium illud
fugerit.' hic nigrae sucus lolliginis, haec est
aerugo mera; quod vitium procul afore chartis,
atque animo prius, ut si quid promittere de me
possum aliud vere, promitto. liberius si
dixero quid, si forte iocosius, hoc mihi iuris
cum venia dabis: insuevit pater optimus hoc me
ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quaeque notando.
cum me hortaretur, parce frugaliter atque
viverem uti contentus eo quod mi ipse parasset:
'nonne vides, Albi ut male vivat filius utque
Baius inops? magnum documentum, ne patriam rem
perdere quis velit.' a turpi meretricis amore
cum deterreret: 'Sectani dissimilis sis,'
aiebat. 'sapiens, vitatu quidque petitu
sit melius, causas reddet tibi: mi satis est, si
traditum ab antiquis morem servare tuamque,
dum custodis eges, vitam famamque tueri
incolumem possum; simul ac duraverit aetas
membra animumque tuum, nabis sine cortice.' sic me

formabat puerum dictis, et sive iubebat
ut facerem quid, 'habes auctorem, quo facias hoc,'
unum ex iudicibus selectis obiciebat;
sive vetabat, 'an hoc inhonestum et inutile factu
necne sit addubites, flagret rumore malo cum
hic atque ille?' avidos vicinum funus ut aegros
exanimat mortisque metu sibi parcere cogit,
sic teneros animos aliena opprobria saepe
absterrent vitiis. ex hoc ego sanus ab illis,
perniciem quaecumque ferunt, mediocribus et quis
ignoscas vitiis teneor. fortassis et istinc
largiter abstulerit longa aetas, liber amicus,
consilium proprium. neque enim, cum lectulus aut me
porticus excepit, desum mihi. 'rectius hoc est.
hoc faciens vivam melius. sic dulcis amicis
occurram. hoc quidam non belle: numquid ego illi
inprudens olim faciam simile?' haec ego mecum
compressis agito labris; ubi quid datur oti,
inludo chartis. hoc est mediocribus illis
ex vitiis unum; cui si concedere nolis,
multa poetarum veniat manus, auxilio quae
sit mihi: nam multo plures sumus, ac veluti te
Iudaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam.

V

Egressum magna me accepit Aricia Roma
hospitio modico; rhetor comes Heliodorus,
Graecorum longe doctissimus; inde Forum Appi,
differtum nautis cauponibus atque malignis.
hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos
praecinctis unum; minus est gravis Appia tardis.
hic ego propter aquam, quod erat deterrima, ventri
indico bellum, cenantes haud animo aequo
exspectans comites. iam nox inducere terris
umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat;
tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae
ingerere: 'huc appelle!' 'trecentos inseris.' 'ohe
iam satis est.' dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
tota abit hora. mali culices ranaeque palustres
avertunt somnos, absentem ut cantat amicam
multa prolutus vappa nauta atque viator

certatim: tandem fessus dormire viator
incipit, ac missae pastum retinacula mulae
nauta piger saxo religat stertitque supinus.
iamque dies aderat, nil cum procedere lintrem
sentimus; donec cerebrosus prosilit unus
ac mulae nautaeque caput lumbosque saligno
fuste dolat: quarta vix demum exponimur hora.
ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha.
milia tum pransi tria repimus atque subimus
inpositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.
huc venturus erat Maecenas optimus atque
Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque
legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.
hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus
inlinere: interea Maecenas advenit atque
Cocceius, Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem
factus homo, Antoni non ut magis alter amicus.
Fundos Aufidio Lusco praetore libenter
linquimus, insani ridentes praemia scribae,
praetextam et latum clavum prunaeque vatillum.
in Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus,
Murena praebente domum, Capitone culinam.
postera lux oritur multo gratissima; namque
Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Vergiliusque
occurrunt, animae, quales neque candidiores
terra tulit neque quis me sit devinctior alter.
o qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.
proxima Campano ponti quae villula, tectum
praebuit, et parochi quae debent ligna salemque.
hinc muli Capuae clitellas tempore ponunt.
lusum it Maecenas, dormitum ego Vergiliusque;
namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis.
hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa,
quae super est Caudi cauponas. nunc mihi paucis
Sarmenti scurrae pugnam Messique Cicirri,
Musa, velim memores et quo patre natus uterque
contulerit lites. Messi clarum genus Osci;
Sarmenti domina exstat: ab his maioribus orti
ad pugnam venere. prior Sarmentus 'equi te
esse feri similem dico.' ridemus, et ipse
Messius 'accipio,' caput et movet. 'o tua cornu

ni foret exsecto frons' inquit 'quid faceres, cum
sic mutilus minitaris?' at illi foeda cicatrix
saetosam laevi frontem turpaverat oris.
Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta iocatus,
pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat:
nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.
multa Cicirrus ad haec: donasset iamne catenam
ex voto Laribus, quaerebat: scriba quod esset,
nilo deterius dominae ius esse. rogabat
denique cur umquam fugisset, cui satis una
farris libra foret, gracili sic tamque pusillo.
prorsus iucunde cenam producimus illam.
tendimus hinc recta Beneventum, ubi sedulus hospes
paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni;
nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam
Vulcano summum properabat lambere tectum.
convivas avidos cenam servosque timentes
tum rapere atque omnes restinguere velle videres.
incipit ex illo montes Apulia notos
ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus et quos
numquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici
villa recepisset lacrimoso non sine fumo,
udos cum foliis ramos urente camino.
quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia redis,
mansuri oppidulo, quod versu dicere non est,
signis perfacile est: venit vilissima rerum
hic aqua; sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra
callidus ut soleat umeris portare viator;
nam Canusi lapidosus, aquae non ditior urna
qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.
flentibus hinc Varius discedit maestus amicis.
inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum
carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.
postera tempestas melior, via peior ad usque
Bari moenia piscosi. dein Gnatia, lymphis
iratis exstructa, dedit risusque iocosque,
dum flamma sine tura liquescere limine sacro
persuadere cupit. credat Iudaeus Apella,
non ego. namque deos didici securum agere aevum,
nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id
tristes ex alto caeli demittere tecto.
Brundisium longae finis chartaeque viaeque est.

VI

Non quia, Maecenas, Lydorum quidquid Etruscos
incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te,
nec quod avus tibi maternus fuit atque paternus,
olim qui magnis legionibus imperitarent,
ut plerique solent, naso suspendis adunco
ignoto aut, ut me, libertino patre natos.
cum referre negas quali sit quisque parente
natus, dum ingenuus, persuades hoc tibi vere,
ante potestatem Tulli atque ignobile regnum
multos saepe viros nullis maioribus ortos
et vixisse probos amplis et honoribus auctos;
contra Laevinum, Valeri genus, unde Superbus
Tarquinius regno pulsus fugit, unius assis
non umquam pretio pluris licuisse, notante
iudice quo nosti populo, qui stultus honores
saepe dat indignis et famae servit ineptus,
qui stupet in titulis et imaginibus. quid oportet
nos facere a vulgo longe longeque remotos?
namque esto, populus Laevino mallet honorem
quam Decio mandare novo, censorque moveret
Appius, ingenuo si non essem patre natus—
vel merito, quoniam in propria non pelle quiessem—
sed fulgente trahit constrictos Gloria curru
non minus ignotos generosis. quo tibi, Tilli,
sumere depositum clavum fierique tribuno?
invidia adcrevit, privato quae minor esset.
nam ut quisque insanus nigris medium inpediit crus
pellibus et latum demisit pectore clavum,
audit continuo 'quis homo hic?' et 'quo patre natus?'
ut si qui aegrotet quo morbo Barrus, haberi
et cupiat formosus, eat quacumque, puellis
iniciat curam quaerendi singula, quali
sit facie, sura, quali pede, dente, capillo:
sic qui promittit, cives, urbem sibi curae,
imperium fore et Italiam, delubra deorum,
quo patre sit natus, num ignota matre inhonestus,
omnes mortales curare et quaerere cogit.
tune, Syri, Damae, aut Dionysi filius, audes
deicere de saxo cives aut tradere Cadmo?'
'at Novius collega gradu post me sedet uno:

namque est ille, pater quod erat meus.' 'hoc tibi Paulus
et Messalla videris? at hic, si plaustra ducenta
concurrantque foro tria funera, magna sonabit
cornua quod vincatque tubas: saltem tenet hoc nos.'
nunc ad me redeo libertino patre natum,
quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,
nunc quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor, at olim
quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.
dissimile hoc illi est, quia non, ut forsit honorem
iure mihi invideat quivis, ita te quoque amicum,
praesertim cautum dignos adsumere, prava
ambitione procul. felicem dicere non hoc
me possim, casu quod te sortitus amicum:
nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit; optimus olim
Vergilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid essem.
ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus—
infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari—
non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,
sed quod eram narro. respondes, ut tuus est mos,
pauca: abeo, et revocas nono post mense iubesque
esse in amicorum numero. magnum hoc ego duco,
quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum,
non patre praeclaro, sed vita et pectore puro.
atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis
mendosa est natura, alioqui recta, velut si
egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos,
si neque avaritiam neque sordes aut mala lustra
obiciet vere quisquam mihi, purus et insons,
ut me collaudem, si et vivo carus amicis;
causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello
noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere, magni
quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,
laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
ibant octonos referentes Idibus aeris;
sed puerum est ausus Romam portare docendum
artes, quas doceat quivis eques atque senator
semet prognatos. vestem servosque sequentes,
in magno ut populo, si qui vidisset, avita
ex re praeberi sumptus mihi crederet illos.
ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes
circum doctores aderat. quid multa? pudicum,

qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi;
nec timuit, sibi ne vitio quis verteret, olim
si praeco parvas aut, ut fuit ipse, coactor
mercedes sequerer; neque ego essem questus: at hoc nunc
laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.
nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius, eoque
non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars,
quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentes,
sic me defendam. longe mea discrepat istis
et vox et ratio. nam si natura iuberet
a certis annis aevum remeare peractum
atque alios legere ad fastum quoscumque parentes
optaret sibi quisque: meis contentus honestos
fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens
iudicio vulgi, sanus fortasse tuo, quod
nollem onus haud umquam solitus portare molestum.
nam mihi continuo maior quaerenda foret res
atque salutandi plures, ducendus et unus
et comes alter, uti ne solus rusve peregreve
exirem, plures calones atque caballi
pascendi, ducenda petorrita. nunc mihi curto
ire licet mulo vel si libet usque Tarentum,
mantica cui lumbos onere ulceret atque eques armos:
obiciet nemo sordes mihi quas tibi, Tilli,
cum Tiburte via praetorem quinque sequuntur
te pueri lasanum portantes oenophorumque.
hoc ego commodius quam tu, praeclare senator,
milibus atque aliis vivo. quacumque libido est,
incedo solus; percontor quanti holus ac far;
fallacem circum vespertinumque pererro
saepe forum, adsisto divinis; inde domum me
ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum.
cena ministratur pueris tribus, et lapis albus
pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet, adstat echinus
vilis, cum patera gutus, Campana supellex.
deinde eo dormitum, non sollicitus, mihi quod cras
surgendum sit mane, obeundus Marsya, qui se
vultum ferre negat Noviorum posse minoris.
ad quartam iaceo; post hanc vagor, aut ego, lecto
aut scripto quod me tacitum iuvet, unguor olivo,
non quo fraudatis inmundus Natta lucernis.

ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum
admonuit, fugio campum lusumque trigonem.
pransus non avide, quantum interpellet inani
ventre diem durare, domesticus otior. haec est
vita solutorum misera ambitione gravique;
his me consolor victurum suavius, ac si
quaestor avus pater atque meus patruusque fuisset.

VII

Proscripti Regis Rupili pus atque venenum
hybrida quo pacto sit Persius ultus, opinor
omnibus et lippis notum et tonsoribus esse.
Persius hic permagna negotia dives habebat
Clazomenis, etiam lites cum Rege molestas,
durus homo atque odio qui posset vincere Regem,
confidens tumidusque, adeo sermonis amari,
Sisennas, Barros ut equis praecurreret albis.
ad Regem redeo. postquam nihil inter utrumque
convenit,—hoc etenim sunt omnes iure molesti,
quo fortes, quibus adversum bellum incidit: inter
Hectora Priamiden, animosum atque inter Achillem
ira fuit capitalis, ut ultima divideret mors,
non aliam ob causam, nisi quod virtus in utroque
summa fuit; duo si discordia vexet inertes
aut si disparibus bellum incidat, ut Diomedi
cum Lycio Glauco, discedat pigrior, ultro
muneribus missis—Bruto praetore tenente
ditem Asiam Rupili et Persi par pugnat, uti non
compositum melius cum Bitho Bacchius. in ius
acres procurrunt, magnum spectaculum uterque.
Persius exponit causam; ridetur ab omni
conventu; laudat Brutum laudatque cohortem;
solem Asiae Brutum appellat, stellasque salubres
appellat comites, excepto Rege; Canem illum,
invisum agricolis sidus, venisse. ruebat
flumen ut hibernum, fertur quo rara securis.
tum Praenestinus salso multoque fluenti
expressa arbusto regerit convicia, durus
vindemiator et invictus, cui saepe viator
cessisset magna compellans voce cucullum.
at Graecus, postquam est Italo perfusus aceto,

Persius exclamat: 'per magnos, Brute, deos te
oro, qui reges consueris tollere, cur non
hunc Regem iugulas? operum hoc, mihi crede, tuorum est.'

VIII

Olim truncus eram ficulnus, inutile lignum,
cum faber, incertus scamnum faceretne Priapum,
maluit esse deum. deus inde ego, furum aviumque
maxima formido; nam fures dextra coercet:
ast inportunas volucres in vertice harundo
terret fixa vetatque novis considere in hortis.
huc prius angustis eiecta cadavera cellis
conservus vili portanda locabat in arca;
hoc miserae plebi stabat commune sepulchrum,
Pantolabo scurrae Nomentanoque nepoti.
mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
hic dabat, heredes monimentum ne sequeretur.
nunc licet Esquiliis habitare salubribus atque
aggere in aprico spatiari, quo modo tristes
albis informem spectabant ossibus agrum;
cum mihi non tantum furesque feraeque suetae
hunc vexare locum curae sunt atque labori,
quantum carminibus quae versant atque venenis
humanos animos: has nullo perdere possum
nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum
protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentes.
vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla
Canidiam, pedibus nudis passoque capillo,
cum Sagana maiore ululantem. pallor utrasque
fecerat horrendas aspectu. scalpere terram
unguibus et pullam divellere mordicus agnam
coeperunt; cruor in fossam confusus, ut inde
Manes elicerent animas responsa daturas.
lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea; maior
lanea, quae poenis compesceret inferiorem;
cerea suppliciter stabat servilibus ut quae
iam peritura modis. Hecaten vocat altera, saevam
altera Tisiphonen. serpentes atque videres
infernas errare canes, lunamque rubentem,
ne foret his testis, post magna latere sepulchra.
singula quid memorem? quo pacto alterna loquentes

umbrae cum Sagana resonarent triste et acutum,
utque lupi barbam variae cum dente colubrae
abdiderint furtim terris, et imagine cerea
largior arserit ignis, et ut non testis inultus
horruerim voces Furiarum et facta duarum.
Canidiae dentes, altum Saganae caliendrum
excidere atque herbas atque incantata lacertis
vincula cum magno risuque iocoque videres.

IX

Ibam forte via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,
nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis:
accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum,
arreptaque manu 'quid agis, dulcissime rerum?'
'suaviter, ut nunc est,' inquam, 'et cupio omnia quae vis.'
cum adsectaretur, 'numquid vis?' occupo. at ille
'noris nos,' inquit; 'docti sumus.' hic ego 'pluris
hoc,' inquam, 'mihi eris.' misere discedere quaerens,
ire modo ocius, interdum consistere, in aurem
dicere nescio quid puero, cum sudor ad imos
manaret talos. 'o te, Bolane, cerebri
felicem,' aiebam tacitus, cum quidlibet ille
garriret, vicos, urbem laudaret. ut illi
nil respondebam, 'misere cupis,' inquit, 'abire:
iamdudum video: sed nil agis; usque tenebo,
prosequar hinc quo nunc iter est tibi.' 'nil opus est te
circumagi: quendam volo visere non tibi notum;
trans Tiberim longe cubat is prope Caesaris hortos.'
'nil habeo quod agam et non sum piger; usque sequar te.'
demitto auriculas ut iniquae mentis asellus,
cum gravius dorso subiit onus. incipit ille:
'si bene me novi, non Viscum pluris amicum,
non Varium facies: nam quis me scribere plures
aut citius possit versus? quis membra movere
mollius? invideat quod et Hermogenes, ego canto.'
interpellandi locus hic erat: 'est tibi mater,
cognati, quis te salvo est opus?' 'haud mihi quisquam:
omnes composui.' 'felices! nunc ego resto.
confice: namque instat fatum mihi triste, Sabella
quod puero cecinit divina mota anus urna:
"hunc neque dira venena nec hosticus auferet ensis

nec laterum dolor aut tussis nec tarda podagra:
garrulus hunc quando consumet cumque: loquaces,
si sapiat, vitet simul atque adoleverit aetas."'
ventum erat ad Vestae, quarta iam parte diei
praeterita, et casu tum respondere vadato
debebat; quod ni fecisset, perdere litem.
'si me amas,' inquit, 'paulum hic ades.' 'interream, si
aut valeo stare aut novi civilia iura;
et propero quo scis.' 'dubius sum quid faciam,' inquit,
'tene relinquam an rem.' 'me, sodes.' 'non faciam' ille,
et praecedere coepit. ego, ut contendere durum
cum victore, sequor. 'Maecenas quomodo tecum?
hinc repetit. 'paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanae.
nemo dexterius fortuna est usus.' 'haberes
magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,
hunc hominem velles si tradere. dispeream, ni
summosses omnes.' 'non isto vivimus illic
quo tu rere modo: domus hac nec purior ulla est
nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi officit, inquam,
ditior hic aut est quia doctior; est locus uni
cuique suus.' 'magnum narras, vix credibile.' 'atqui
sic habet.' 'accendis quare cupiam magis illi
proximus esse.' 'velis tantummodo: quae tua virtus,
expugnabis; et est qui vinci possit, eoque
difficiles aditus primos habet.' 'haud mihi dero:
muneribus servos corrumpam; non, hodie si
exclusus fuero, desistam; tempora quaeram;
occurram in triviis, deducam. nil sine magno
vita labore dedit mortalibus.' haec dum agit, ecce
Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus et illum
qui pulchre nosset. consistimus. 'unde venis?' et
'quo tendis?' rogat et respondet. vellere coepi
et pressare manu lentissima bracchia, nutans,
distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet. male salsus
ridens dissimulare; meum iecur urere bilis.
'certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui te
aiebas mecum.' 'memini bene, sed meliore
tempore dicam: hodie tricensima sabbata. vin tu
curtis Iudaeis oppedere?' 'nulla mihi,' inquam,
'religio est.' 'at mi: sum paulo infirmior, unus
multorum. ignosces; alias loquar.' huncine solem
tam nigrum surrexe mihi! fugit inprobus ac me

sub cultro linquit. casu venit obvius illi
adversarius et 'quo tu turpissime?' magna
inclamat voce, et 'licet antestari?' ego vero
oppono auriculam. rapit in ius: clamor utrimque,
undique concursus. sic me servavit Apollo.

X

[Lucili, quam sis mendosus, teste Catone
defensore tuo pervincam, qui male factos
emendare parat versus, hoc lenius ille,
quo melior vir est, longe subtilior illo,
qui multum puer et loris et funibus udis
exoratus, ut esset opem qui ferre poetis
antiquis posset contra fastidia nostra,
grammaticorum equitum doctissimus. ut redeam illuc:]

Nempe incomposito dixi pede currere versus
Lucili. quis tam Lucili fautor inepte est,
ut non hoc fateatur? at idem, quod sale multo
urbem defricuit, charta laudatur eadem.
nec tamen hoc tribuens dederim quoque cetera; nam sic
et Laberi mimos ut pulchra poemata mirer.
ergo non satis est risu diducere rictum
auditoris; et est quaedam tamen hic quoque virtus;
est brevitate opus, ut currat sententia neu se
inpediat verbis lassas onerantibus aures;
et sermone opus est modo tristi, saepe iocoso,
defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poetae,
interdum urbani, parcentis viribus atque
extenuantis eas consulto. ridiculum acri
fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.
illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est,
hoc stabant, hoc sunt imitandi; quos neque pulcher
Hermogenes umquam legit, neque simius iste
nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum.
'at magnum fecit quod verbis Graeca Latinis
miscuit.' o seri studiorum, quine putetis
difficile et mirum, Rhodio quod Pitholeonti
contigit? 'at sermo lingua concinnus utraque
suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est.'
cum versus facias, te ipsum percontor, an et cum

dura tibi peragenda rei sit causa Petilli?
scilicet oblitus patriaeque patrisque, Latine
cum Pedius causas exsudet Poplicola atque
Corvinus, patriis intermiscere petita
verba foris malis, Canusini more bilinguis?
atque ego cum Graecos facerem natus mare citra
versiculos, vetuit me tali voce Quirinus,
post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera:
'in silvam non ligna feras insanius ac si
magnas Graecorum malis inplere catervas.'
turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona dumque
defingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo,
quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa,
nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris.
arguta meretrice potes Davoque Chremeta
eludente senem comis garrire libellos
unus vivorum, Fundani; Pollio regum
facta canit pede ter percusso; forte epos acer,
ut nemo, Varius ducit; molle atque facetum
Vergilio adnuerunt gaudentes rure Camenae.
hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino
atque quibusdam aliis, melius quod scribere possem,
inventore minor; neque ego illi detrahere ausim
haerentem capiti cum multa laude coronam.
at dixi fluere hunc lutulentum, saepe ferentem
plura quidem tollenda relinquendis. age, quaeso,
tu nihil in magno doctus reprehendis Homero?
nil comis tragici mutat Lucilius Acci?
non ridet versus Enni gravitate minores,
cum de se loquitur non ut maiore reprensis?
quid vetat et nosmet Lucili scripta legentes
quaerere, num illius, num rerum dura negarit
versiculos natura magis factos et euntes
mollius ac si quis pedibus quid claudere senis,
hoc tantum contentus, amet scripsisse ducentos
ante cibum versus, totidem cenatus? Etrusci
quale fuit Cassi rapido ferventius amni
ingenium, capsis quem fama est esse librisque
ambustum propriis. fuerit Lucilius, inquam,
comis et urbanus, fuerit limatior idem
quam rudis et Graecis intacti carminis auctor,
quamque poetarum seniorum turba; sed ille,

si foret hoc nostrum fato dilatus in aevum,
detereret sibi multa, recideret omne quod ultra
perfectum traheretur, et in versu faciendo
saepe caput scaberet, vivos et roderet ungues.
saepe stilum vertas, iterum quae digna legi sint
scripturus, neque te ut miretur turba labores,
contentus paucis lectoribus. an tua demens
vilibus in ludis dictari carmina malis?
non ego: nam satis est equitem mihi plaudere, ut audax
contemptis aliis explosa Arbuscula dixit.
men moveat cimex Pantilius, aut cruciet quod
vellicet absentem Demetrius, aut quod ineptus
Fannius Hermogenis laedat conviva Tigelli?
Plotius et Varius, Maecenas Vergiliusque,
Valgius et probet haec Octavius optimus atque
Fuscus et haec utinam Viscorum laudet uterque!
ambitione relegata te dicere possum,
Pollio, te, Messalla, tuo cum fratre, simulque
vos, Bibule et Servi, simul his te, candide Furni,
complures alios, doctos ego quos et amicos
prudens praetereo; quibus haec, sint qualiacumque,
adridere velim, doliturus, si placeant spe
deterius nostra. Demetri, teque, Tigelli,
discipularum inter iubeo plorare cathedras.
i, puer, atque meo citus haec subscribe libello.

LIBER SECUNDUS

I

'Sunt quibus in satura videar nimis acer et ultra
legem tendere opus; sine nervis altera, quidquid
composui, pars esse putat similesque meorum
mille die versus deduci posse. Trebati,
quid faciam, praescribe.' 'quiescas.' 'ne faciam, inquis,
omnino versus?' 'aio.' 'peream male, si non
optimum erat; verum nequeo dormire.' 'ter uncti
transnanto Tiberim, somno quibus est opus alto,
inriguumque mero sub noctem corpus habento.
aut si tantus amor scribendi te rapit, aude

Caesaris invicti res dicere, multa laborum
praemia laturus.' 'cupidum, pater optime, vires
deficiunt: neque enim quivis horrentia pilis
agmina nec fracta pereuntes cuspide Gallos
aut labentis equo describit vulnera Parthi.'
'attamen et iustum poteras et scribere fortem,
Scipiadam ut sapiens Lucilius.' 'haud mihi dero,
cum res ipsa feret: nisi dextro tempore, Flacci
verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem,
cui male si palpere, recalcitrat undique tutus.'
'quanto rectius hoc, quam tristi laedere versu
Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem,
cum sibi quisque timet, quamquam est intactus, et odit.'
'quid faciam? saltat Milonius, ut semel icto
accessit fervor capiti numerusque lucernis;
Castor gaudet equis, ovo prognatus eodem
pugnis; quot capitum vivunt, totidem studiorum
milia. me pedibus delectat claudere verba
Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.
ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
credebat libris, neque si male cesserat usquam
decurrens alio, neque si bene: quo fit, ut omnis
votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella
vita senis. sequor hunc, Lucanus an Apulus anceps;
nam Venusinus arat finem sub utrumque colonus,
missus ad hoc, pulsis, vetus est ut fama, Sabellis,
quo ne per vacuum Romano incurreret hostis,
sive quod Apula gens seu quod Lucania bellum
incuteret violenta. sed hic stilus haud petet ultro
quemquam animantem et me veluti custodiet ensis
vagina tectus: quem cur destringere coner
tutus ab infestis latronibus? o pater et rex
Iuppiter, ut pereat positum rubigine telum,
nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! at ille
qui me commorit—melius non tangere, clamo—
flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.
Cervius iratus leges minitatur et urnam,
Canidia Albuci, quibus est inimica, venenum,
grande malum Turius, si quid se iudice certes.
ut quo quisque valet suspectos terreat, utque
imperet hoc natura potens, sic collige mecum.
dente lupus, cornu taurus petit: unde, nisi intus

monstratum? Scaevae vivacem crede nepoti
matrem; nil faciet sceleris pia dextera—mirum,
ut neque calce lupus quemquam neque dente petit bos—
sed mala tollet anum vitiato melle cicuta.
ne longum faciam: seu me tranquilla senectus
exspectat seu mors atris circumvolat alis,
dives, inops, Romae, seu fors ita iusserit exsul,
quisquis erit vitae scribam color.' 'o puer, ut sis
vitalis metuo, et maiorum ne quis amicus
frigore te feriat.' 'quid? cum est Lucilius ausus
primus in hunc operis componere carmina morem,
detrahere et pellem, nitidus qua quisque per ora
cederet, introrsum turpis, num Laelius aut qui
duxit ab oppressa meritum Karthagine nomen,
ingenio offensi aut laeso doluere Metello
famosisque Lupo cooperto versibus! atqui
primores populi arripuit populumque tributim,
scilicet uni aequus virtuti atque eius amicis.
quin ubi se a vulgo et scaena in secreta remorant
virtus Scipiadae et mitis sapientia Laeli,
nugari cum illo et discincti ludere, donec
decoqueretur holus, soliti. quidquid sum ego, quamvis
infra Lucili censum ingeniumque, tamen me
cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque
invidia, et fragili quaerens inlidere dentem,
offendet solido, nisi quid tu, docte Trebati,
dissentis.' 'equidem nihil hinc diffingere possum;
sed tamen ut monitus caveas, ne forte negoti
incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum:
si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est
iudiciumque.' 'esto, si quis mala: sed bona si quis
iudice condiderit laudatus Caesare? si quis
opprobriis dignum latraverit, integer ipse?'
'solventur risu tabulae, tu missus abibis.'

II

Quae virtus et quanta, boni, sit vivere parvo,—
nec meus hic sermo est, sed quae praecepit Ofellus
rusticus, abnormis sapiens crassaque Minerva,—
discite, non inter lances mensasque nitentes,
cum stupet insanis acies fulgoribus et cum

adclinis falsis animus meliora recusat,
verum hic inpransi mecum disquirite. 'cur hoc?'
dicam, si potero. male verum examinat omnis
corruptus iudex. leporem sectatus equove
lassus ab indomito vel, si Romana fatigat
militia adsuetum graecari, seu pila velox,
molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,
seu te discus agit, pete cedentem aera disco :—
cum labor extuderit fastidia, siccus, inanis
sperne cibum vilem ; nisi Hymettia mella Falerno
ne biberis diluta. foris est promus, et atrum
defendens pisces hiemat mare : cum sale panis
latrantem stomachum bene leniet. unde putas aut
qui partum? non in caro nidore voluptas
summa, sed in te ipso est. tu pulmentaria quaere
sudando : pinguem vitiis albumque neque ostrea
nec scarus aut poterit peregrina iuvare lagois.
vix tamen eripiam, posito pavone velis quin
hoc potius quam gallina tergere palatum,
corruptus vanis rerum, quia veneat auro
rara avis et picta pandat spectacula cauda :
tamquam ad rem attineat quicquam. num vesceris ista,
quam laudas, pluma? cocto num adest honor idem?
carne tamen quamvis distat nil, hac magis illam
inparibus formis deceptum te petere! esto :
unde datum sentis, lupus hic Tiberinus an alto
captus hiet? pontesne inter iactatus an amnis
ostia sub Tusci? laudas, insane, trilibrem
mullum, in singula quem minuas pulmenta necesse est.
ducit te species, video. quo pertinet ergo
proceros odisse lupos? quia scilicet illis
maiorem natura modum dedit, his breve pondus.
ieiunus raro stomachus vulgaria temnit.
'porrectum magno magnum spectare catino
vellem' ait Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus. at vos,
praesentes Austri, coquite horum obsonia. quamquam
putet aper rhombusque recens, mala copia quando
aegrum sollicitat stomachum, cum rapula plenus
atque acidas mavult inulas. necdum omnis abacta
pauperies epulis regum : nam vilibus ovis
nigrisque est oleis hodie locus. haud ita pridem
Galloni praeconis erat acipensere mensa

infamis. quid? tum rhombos minus aequor alebat?
tutus erat rhombus tutoque ciconia nido,
donec vos auctor docuit praetorius. ergo
si quis nunc mergos suaves edixerit assos,
parebit pravi docilis Romana iuventus.
sordidus a tenui victu distabit, Ofello
iudice: nam frustra vitium vitaveris illud,
si te alio pravum detorseris. Avidienus,
cui Canis ex vero ductum cognomen adhaeret,
quinquennes oleas est et silvestria corna,
ac nisi mutatum parcit defundere vinum, et
cuius odorem olei nequeas perferre, licebit
ille repotia, natales aliosve dierum
festos albatus celebret, cornu ipse bilibri
caulibus instillat, veteris non parcus aceti.
quali igitur victu sapiens utetur, et horum
utrum imitabitur? hac urguet lupus, hac canis, aiunt.
mundus erit, qua non offendat sordibus atque
in neutram partem cultus miser. hic neque servis,
Albuci senis exemplo, dum munia didit,
saevus erit, nec sic ut simplex Naevius unctam
convivis praebebit aquam: vitium hoc quoque magnum.
accipe nunc, victus tenuis quae quantaque secum
adferat. in primis valeas bene: nam variae res
ut noceant homini credas, memor illius escae,
quae simplex olim tibi sederit; at simul assis
miscueris elixa, simul conchylia turdis,
dulcia se in bilem vertent stomachoque tumultum
lenta feret pituita. vides ut pallidus omnis
cena desurgat dubia? quin corpus onustum
hesternis vitiis animum quoque praegravat una
atque adfigit humo divinae particulam aurae.
alter, ubi dicto citius curata sopori
membra dedit, vegetus praescripta ad munia surgit.
hic tamen ad melius poterit transcurrere quondam,
sive diem festum rediens advexerit annus,
seu recreare volet tenuatum corpus, ubique
accedent anni, tractari mollius aetas
inbecilla volet. tibi quidnam accedet ad istam,
quam puer et validus praesumis, mollitiem, seu
dura valetudo inciderit seu tarda senectus?
rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia nasus

illis nullus erat, sed, credo, hac mente, quod hospes
tardius adveniens vitiatum commodius quam
integrum edax dominus consumeret. hos utinam inter
heroas natum tellus me prima tulisset!
das aliquid famae, quae carmine gratior aurem
occupet humanam: grandes rhombi patinaeque
grande ferunt una cum damno dedecus; adde
iratum patruum, vicinos, te tibi iniquum
et frustra mortis cupidum, cum derit egenti
as, laquei pretium. 'iure,' inquit, 'Trausius istis
iurgatur verbis; ego vectigalia magna
divitiasque habeo tribus amplas regibus.' ergo
quod superat non est melius quo insumere possis?
cur eget indignus quisquam, te divite? quare
templa ruunt antiqua deum? cur, inprobe, carae
non aliquid patriae tanto emetiris acervo?
uni nimirum recte tibi semper erunt res,
o magnus posthac inimicis risus! uterne
ad casus dubios fidet sibi certius? hic qui
pluribus adsuerit mentem corpusque superbum,
an qui contentus parvo metuensque futuri
in pace, ut sapiens, aptarit idonea bello?
quo magis his credas, puer hunc ego parvus Ofellum
integris opibus novi non latius usum
quam nunc accisis. videas metato in agello
cum pecore et natis fortem mercede colonum,
'non ego' narrantem 'temere edi luce profesta
quicquam praeter holus fumosae cum pede pernae.
ac mihi seu longum post tempus venerat hospes,
sive operum vacuo gratus conviva per imbrem
vicinus, bene erat non piscibus urbe petitis,
sed pullo atque haedo; tum pensilis uva secundas
et nux ornabat mensas cum duplice ficu.
post hoc ludus erat culpa potare magistra,
ac venerata Ceres, ita culmo surgeret alto,
explicuit vino contractae seria frontis.
saeviat atque novos moveat fortuna tumultus:
quantum hinc inminuet? quanto aut ego parcius aut vos,
o pueri, nituistis, ut huc novus incola venit?
nam propriae telluris erum natura neque illum
nec me nec quemquam statuit: nos expulit ille;
illum aut nequities aut vafri inscitia iuris,

postremum expellet certe vivacior heres.
nunc ager Umbreni sub nomine, nuper Ofelli
dictus, erit nulli proprius, sed cedet in usum
nunc mihi, nunc alii. quocirca vivite fortes
fortiaque adversis opponite pectora rebus.'

III

'Si raro scribis, ut toto non quater anno
membranam poscas, scriptorum quaeque retexens,
iratus tibi, quod vini somnique benignus
nil dignum sermone canas, quid fiet? at ipsis
Saturnalibus huc fugisti sobrius. ergo
dic aliquid dignum promissis: incipe. nil est:
culpantur frustra calami, inmeritusque laborat
iratis natus paries dis atque poetis.
atqui vultus erat multa et praeclara minantis,
si vacuum tepido cepisset villula tecto.
quorsum pertinuit stipare Platona Menandro?
Eupolin, Archilochum, comites educere tantos?
invidiam placare paras virtute relicta?
contemnere, miser! vitanda est inproba Siren
desidia, aut quidquid vita meliore parasti
ponendum aequo animo.' 'di te, Damasippe, deaeque
verum ob consilium donent tonsore. sed unde
tam bene me nosti?' 'postquam omnis res mea Ianum
ad medium fracta est, aliena negotia curo,
excussus propriis. olim nam quaerere amabam,
quo vafer ille pedes lavisset Sisyphus aere,
quid sculptum infabre, quid fusum durius esset;
callidus huic signo ponebam milia centum;
hortos egregiasque domos mercarier unus
cum lucro noram: unde frequentia Mercuriali
inposuere mihi cognomen compita.' 'novi,
et miror morbi purgatum te illius.' 'atqui
emovit veterem mire novus, ut solet, in cor
traiecto lateris miseri capitisve dolore;
ut lethargicus hic, cum fit pugil et medicum urguet.'
'dum ne quid simile huic, esto ut libet.' 'o bone, ne te
frustrere; insanis et tu stultique prope omnes,
si quid Stertinius veri crepat, unde ego mira
descripsi docilis praecepta haec, tempore quo me

solatus iussit sapientem pascere barbam
atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti.
nam male re gesta, cum vellem mittere operto
me capite in flumen, dexter stetit et "cave faxis
te quicquam indignum: pudor," inquit, "te malus angit,
insanos qui inter vereare insanus haberi.
primum nam inquiram, quid sit furere: hoc si erit in te
solo, nil verbi, pereas quin fortiter, addam.
quem mala stultitia et quemcumque inscitia veri
caecum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex
autumat. haec populos, haec magnos formula reges,
excepto sapiente, tenet. nunc accipe, quare
desipiant omnes aeque ac tu, qui tibi nomen
insano posuere. velut silvis, ubi passim
palantes error certo de tramite pellit,
ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum abit; unus utrique
error, sed variis inludit partibus; hoc te
crede modo insanum, nihilo ut sapientior ille,
qui te deridet, caudam trahat. est genus unum
stultitiae nihilum metuenda timentis, ut ignes,
ut rupes fluviosque in campo obstare queratur;
alterum et huic varum et nihilo sapientius ignes
per medios fluviosque ruentis; clamet amica
mater, honesta soror, cum cognatis pater, uxor:
'hic fossa est ingens, hic rupes maxima: serva!'
non magis audierit, quam Fufius ebrius olim,
cum Ilionam edormit, Catienis mille ducentis
'mater, te appello!' clamantibus. huic ego vulgus
errori similem cunctum insanire docebo.
insanit veteres statuas Damasippus emendo:
integer est mentis Damasippi creditor? esto.
'accipe quod numquam reddas mihi' si tibi dicam,
tune insanus eris si acceperis, an magis excors
reiecta praeda, quam praesens Mercurius fert?
scribe decem a Nerio; non est satis: adde Cicutae
nodosi tabulas centum, mille adde catenas;
effugiet tamen haec sceleratus vincula Proteus.
cum rapies in ius malis ridentem alienis,
fiet aper, modo avis, modo saxum et, cum volet, arbor.
si male rem gerere insani est, contra bene sani,
putidius multo cerebrum est, mihi crede, Perelli
dictantis, quod tu numquam rescribere possis.

audire atque togam iubeo componere, quisquis
ambitione mala aut argenti pallet amore,
quisquis luxuria tristive superstitione
aut alio mentis morbo calet: huc propius me,
dum doceo insanire omnes vos ordine, adite.
danda est ellebori multo pars maxima avaris;
nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem.
heredes Staberi summam incidere sepulchro,
ni sic fecissent, gladiatorum dare centum
damnati populo paria atque epulum arbitrio Arri,
frumenti quantum metit Africa. 'sive ego prave
seu recte hoc volui, ne sis patruus mihi.' credo
hoc Staberi prudentem animum vidisse. 'quid ergo
sensit, cum summam patrimoni insculpere saxo
heredes voluit?' quoad vixit, credidit ingens
pauperiem vitium et cavit nihil acrius, ut, si
forte minus locuples uno quadrante periret,
ipse videretur sibi nequior: omnis enim res,
virtus, fama, decus, divina humanaque pulchris
divitiis parent; quas qui construxerit, ille
clarus erit, fortis, iustus. 'sapiensne?' etiam, et rex
et quidquid volet. hoc, veluti virtute paratum,
speravit magnae laudi fore. quid simile isti
Graecus Aristippus? qui servos proicere aurum
in media iussit Libya, quia tardius irent
propter onus segnes. uter est insanior horum?
nil agit exemplum, litem quod lite resolvit.
si quis emat citharas, emptas comportet in unum,
nec studio citharae nec Musae deditus ulli,
si scalpra et formas non sutor, nautica vela
aversus mercaturis, delirus et amens
undique dicatur merito. qui discrepat istis,
qui nummos aurumque recondit, nescius uti
compositis metuensque velut contingere sacrum?
si quis ad ingentem frumenti semper acervum
porrectus vigilet cum longo fuste, neque illinc
audeat esuriens dominus contingere granum,
ac potius foliis parcus vescatur amaris;
si positis intus Chii veterisque Falerni
mille cadis, nihil est, ter centum milibus acre,
potet acetum; age, si et stramentis incubet unde-
octoginta annos natus, cui stragula vestis,

blattarum ac tinearum epulae, putrescat in arca:
nimirum insanus paucis videatur, eo quod
maxima pars hominum morbo iactatur eodem.
filius aut etiam haec libertus ut ebibat heres,
dis inimice senex, custodis? ne tibi desit?
quantulum enim summae curtabit quisque dierum,
unguere si caules oleo meliore caputque
coeperis inpexa foedum porrigine? quare,
si quidvis satis est, periuras, surripis, aufers
undique? tun sanus? populum si caedere saxis
incipias servosve tuos, quos aere pararis,
insanum te omnes pueri clamentque puellae:
cum laqueo uxorem interemis matremque veneno,
incolumi capite es? quid enim? neque tu hoc facis Argis,
nec ferro ut demens genetricem occidis Orestes.
an tu reris eum occisa insanisse parente,
ac non ante malis dementem actum Furiis quam
in matris iugulo ferrum tepefecit acutum?
quin, ex quo est habitus male tutae mentis Orestes,
nil sane fecit quod tu reprehendere possis:
non Pyladen ferro violare aususve sororem
Electram, tantum maledicit utrique vocando
hanc Furiam, hunc aliud, iussit quod splendida bilis.
pauper Opimius argenti positi intus et auri,
qui Veientanum festis potare diebus
Campana solitus trulla vappamque profestis,
quondam lethargo grandi est oppressus, ut heres
iam circum loculos et claves laetus ovansque
curreret. hunc medicus multum celer atque fidelis
excitat hoc pacto: mensam poni iubet atque
effundi saccos nummorum, accedere plures
ad numerandum; hominem sic erigit; addit et illud:
'ni tua custodis, avidus iam haec auferet heres.'
'men vivo?' 'ut vivas igitur, vigila. hoc age!' 'quid vis?'
'deficient inopem venae te, ni cibus atque
ingens accedit stomacho fultura ruenti.
tu cessas? agedum, sume hoc tisanarium oryzae.'
'quanti emptae?' 'parvo.' 'quanti ergo?' 'octussibus.'
'eheu,
quid refert, morbo an furtis pereamque rapinis?'—
'quisnam igitur sanus?' 'qui non stultus.' 'quid avarus?'
'stultus et insanus.' 'quid, si quis non sit avarus,

continuo sanus?' 'minime.' 'cur, Stoice?' 'dicam.
non est cardiacus—Craterum dixisse putato—
hic aeger: recte est igitur, surgetque? negabit,
quod latus aut renes morbo temptentur acuto.
non est periurus neque sordidus; inmolet aequis
hic porcum Laribus: verum ambitiosus et audax;
naviget Anticyram. quid enim differt barathrone
dones quidquid habes, an numquam utare paratis?'
Servius Oppidius Canusi duo praedia, dives
antiquo censu, natis divisse duobus
fertur et hoc moriens pueris dixisse vocatis
ad lectum: 'postquam te talos, Aule, nucesque
ferre sinu laxo, donare et ludere vidi,
te, Tiberi, numerare, cavis abscondere tristem;
extimui, ne vos ageret insania discors,
tu Nomentanum, tu ne sequerere Cicutam.
quare per divos oratus uterque Penates,
tu cave ne minuas, tu ne maius facias id,
quod satis esse putat pater et natura coercet.
praeterea ne vos titillet gloria, iure
iurando obstringam ambo: uter aedilis fueritve
vestrum praetor, is intestabilis et sacer esto.
in cicere atque faba bona tu perdasque lupinis,
latus ut in circo spatiere et aeneus ut stes,
nudus agris, nudus nummis, insane, paternis;
scilicet ut plausus, quos fert Agrippa, feras tu,
astuta ingenuum vulpes imitata leonem.'—
'ne quis humasse velit Aiacem, Atrida, vetas cur?'
'rex sum.' 'nil ultra quaero plebeius.' 'et aequam
rem imperito, ac si cui videor non iustus, inulto
dicere quod sentit permitto.' 'maxime regum,
di tibi dent capta classem reducere Troia.
ergo consulere et mox respondere licebit?'
'consule.' 'cur Aiax, heros ab Achille secundus,
putrescit, totiens servatis clarus Achivis?
gaudeat ut populus Priami Priamusque inhumato,
per quem tot iuvenes patrio caruere sepulchro?'
'mille ovium insanus morti dedit, inclitum Ulixen
et Menelaum una mecum se occidere clamans.'
'tu cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide natam
ante aras spargisque mola caput, inprobe, salsa,
rectum animi servas cursum? insanus quid enim Aiax

fecit, cum stravit ferro pecus? abstinuit vim
uxore et nato; mala multa precatus Atridis
non ille aut Teucrum aut ipsum violavit Ulixen.'
'verum ego, ut haerentes adverso litore naves
eriperem, prudens placavi sanguine divos.'
'nempe tuo, furiose.' 'meo, sed non furiosus.'
qui species alias veris scelerisque tumultu
permixtas capiet, commotus habebitur, atque
stultitiane erret, nihilum distabit, an ira.
Aiax inmeritos cum occidit desipit agnos;
cum prudens scelus ob titulos admittis inanes,
stas animo, et purum est vitio tibi, cum tumidum est, cor?
si quis lectica nitidam gestare amet agnam,
huic vestem, ut natae, paret ancillas, paret aurum,
Rufam aut Pusillam appellet fortique marito
destinet uxorem; interdicto huic omne adimat ius
praetor et ad sanos abeat tutela propinquos.
quid? si quis natam pro muta devovet agna,
integer est animi? ne dixeris. ergo ubi prava
stultitia, hic summa est insania; qui sceleratus,
et furiosus erit; quem cepit vitrea fama,
hunc circumtonuit gaudens Bellona cruentis.
nunc age, luxuriam et Nomentanum arripe mecum:
vincet enim stultos ratio insanire nepotes.
hic simul accepit patrimoni mille talenta,
edicit, piscator uti, pomarius, auceps,
unguentarius ac Tusci turba inpia vici,
cum scurris fartor, cum Velabro omne macellum
mane domum veniant. quid tum? venere frequentes;
verba facit leno: 'quidquid mihi, quidquid et horum
cuique domi est, id crede tuum et vel nunc pete vel cras.'
accipe quid contra haec iuvenis responderit aequus.
'in nive Lucana dormis ocreatus, ut aprum
cenem ego; tu pisces hiberno ex aequore verris.
segnis ego indignus qui tantum possideam: aufer.
sume tibi deciens; tibi tantundem; tibi triplex.'
filius Aesopi detractam ex aure Metellae,
scilicet ut deciens solidum absorberet, aceto
diluit insignem bacam: qui sanior, ac si
illud idem in rapidum flumen iaceretve cloacam?
Quinti progenies Arri, par nobile fratrum,
nequitia et nugis, pravorum et amore gemellum,

luscinias soliti inpenso prandere coemptas,
quorsum abeant, sani ut creta, an carbone notati?
aedificare casas, plostello adiungere mures,
ludere par inpar, equitare in harundine longa
si quem delectet barbatum, amentia verset.
si puerilius his ratio esse evincet amare,
nec quicquam differre, utrumne in pulvere, trimus
quale prius, ludas opus an meretricis amore
sollicitus plores: quaero, faciasne quod olim
mutatus Polemon? ponas insignia morbi,
fasciolas, cubital, focalia, potus ut ille
dicitur ex collo furtim carpsisse coronas,
postquam est inpransi correptus voce magistri?
porrigis irato puero cum poma, recusat;
'sume, catelle.' negat. si non des, optet. amator
exclusus qui distat, agit ubi secum, eat an non,
quo rediturus erat non arcessitus, et haeret
invisis foribus? 'nec nunc, cum me vocet ultro,
accedam? an potius mediter finire dolores?
exclusit: revocat. redeam? non, si obsecret.' ecce
servus, non paulo sapientior: 'o ere, quae res
nec modum habet neque consilium, ratione modoque
tractari non vult. in amore haec sunt mala, bellum,
pax rursum: haec si quis tempestatis prope ritu
mobilia et caeca fluitantia sorte laboret
reddere certa sibi, nihilo plus explicet, ac si
insanire paret certa ratione modoque.'
quid? cum Picenis excerpens semina pomis
gaudes, si cameram percusti forte, penes te es?
quid? cum balba feris annoso verba palato,
aedificante casas qui sanior? adde cruorem
stultitiae, atque ignem gladio scrutare. modo, inquam,
Hellade percussa Marius cum praecipitat se,
cerritus fuit? an commotae crimine mentis
absolves hominem et sceleris damnabis eundem,
ex more inponens cognata vocabula rebus?
libertinus erat, qui circum compita siccus
lautis mane senex manibus currebat et 'unum,
quid tam magnum?' addens, 'unum me surpite morti!
dis etenim facile est' orabat, sanus utrisque
auribus atque oculis; mentem, nisi litigiosus,
exciperet dominus, cum venderet. hoc quoque vulgus

Chrysippus ponit fecunda in gente Meneni.
'Iuppiter, ingentes qui das adimisque dolores,'
mater ait pueri menses iam quinque cubantis,
'frigida si puerum quartana reliquerit, illo
mane die, quo tu indicis ieiunia, nudus
in Tiberi stabit.' casus medicusve levarit
aegrum ex praecipiti; mater delira necabit
in gelida fixum ripa febremque reducet.
quone malo mentem concussa? timore deorum."
haec mihi Stertinius, sapientum octavus, amico
arma dedit, posthac ne compellarer inultus.
dixerit insanum qui me, totidem audiet atque
respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo.'
'Stoice, post damnum sic vendas omnia pluris,
qua me stultitia, quoniam non est genus unum,
insanire putas? ego nam videor mihi sanus.'
'quid? caput abscissum manibus cum portat Agave
nati infelicis, sibi tunc furiosa videtur?'
'stultum me fateor—liceat concedere veris—
atque etiam insanum; tantum hoc edissere, quo me
aegrotare putes animi vitio.' 'accipe: primum
aedificas, hoc est longos imitaris, ab imo
ad summum totus moduli bipedalis: et idem
corpore maiorem rides Turbonis in armis
spiritum et incessum: qui ridiculus minus illo?
an quodcumque facit Maecenas, te quoque verum est,
tantum dissimilem, et tanto certare minorem?
absentis ranae pullis vituli pede pressis
unus ubi effugit, matri denarrat ut ingens
belua cognatos eliserit. illa rogare:
'quantane? num tantum,' sufflans se, 'magna fuisset?'
'maior dimidio.' 'num tantum?' cum magis atque
se magis inflaret, 'non, si te ruperis,' inquit,
'par eris.' haec a te non multum abludit imago.
adde poemata nunc, hoc est, oleum adde camino:
quae si quis sanus fecit, sanus facis et tu.
non dico horrendam rabiem.' 'iam desine!' 'cultum
maiorem censu.' 'teneas, Damasippe, tuis te.
o maior, tandem parcas, insane, minori!'

IV

‘Unde et quo Catius?’ ‘non est mihi tempus, aventi
ponere signa novis praeceptis, qualia vincunt
Pythagoran Anytique reum doctumque Platona.’
‘peccatum fateor, cum te sic tempore laevo
interpellarim; sed des veniam bonus, oro.
quodsi interciderit tibi nunc aliquid, repetes mox,
sive est naturae hoc sive artis, mirus utroque.’
‘quin id erat curae, quo pacto cuncta tenerem,
utpote res tenues tenui sermone peractas.’
‘ede hominis nomen, simul et, Romanus an hospes.’
‘ipsa memor praecepta canam, celabitur auctor.
longa quibus facies ovis erit, illa memento,
ut suci melioris et ut magis alba rotundis,
ponere; namque marem cohibent callosa vitellum.
cole suburbano qui siccis crevit in agris
dulcior; inriguo nihil est elutius horto.
si vespertinus subito te oppresserit hospes,
ne gallina malum responset dura palato,
doctus eris vivam musto mersare Falerno;
hoc teneram faciet. pratensibus optima fungis
natura est; aliis male creditur. ille salubres
aestates peraget, qui nigris prandia moris
finiet, ante gravem quae legerit arbore solem.
Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno,
mendose; quoniam vacuis committere venis
nil nisi lene decet; leni praecordia mulso
prolueris melius. si dura morabitur alvus,
mitulus et viles pellent obstantia conchae
et lapathi brevis herba, sed albo non sine Coo.
lubrica nascentes inplent conchylia lunae;
sed non omne mare est generosae fertile testae:
murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris,
ostrea Circeiis, Miseno oriuntur echini,
pectinibus patulis iactat se molle Tarentum.
nec sibi cenarum quivis temere arroget artem,
non prius exacta tenui ratione saporum.
nec satis est cara pisces averrere mensa
ignarum quibus est ius aptius et quibus assis
languidus in cubitum iam se conviva reponet.
Umber et iligna nutritus glande rotundas

curvat aper lances carnem vitantis inertem:
nam Laurens malus est, ulvis et harundine pinguis.
vinea summittit capreas non semper edules.
fecundae leporis sapiens sectabitur armos.
piscibus atque avibus quae natura et foret aetas,
ante meum nulli patuit quaesita palatum.
sunt quorum ingenium nova tantum crustula promit.
nequaquam satis in re una consumere curam;
ut si quis solum hoc, mala ne sint vina, laboret,
quali perfundat pisces securus olivo.
Massica si caelo suppones vina sereno,
nocturna, si quid crassi est, tenuabitur aura,
et decedet odor nervis inimicus; at illa
integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem.
Surrentina vafer qui miscet faece Falerna
vina, columbino limum bene colligit ovo,
quatenus ima petit volvens aliena vitellus.
tostis marcentem squillis recreabis et Afra
potorem coclea; nam lactuca innatat acri
post vinum stomacho; perna magis et magis hillis
flagitat inmorsus refici; quin omnia malit
quaecumque inmundis fervent allata popinis.
est operae pretium duplicis pernoscere iuris
naturam. simplex e dulci constat olivo,
quod pingui miscere mero muriaque decebit
non alia, quam qua Byzantia putuit orca.
hoc ubi confusum sectis inferbuit herbis
Corycioque croco sparsum stetit, insuper addes
pressa Venafranae quod baca remisit olivae.
Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia suco;
nam facie praestant. vennuncula convenit ollis;
rectius Albanam fumo duraveris uvam.
hanc ego cum malis, ego faecem primus et allec,
primus et invenior piper album cum sale nigro
incretum puris circumposuisse catillis.
inmane est vitium dare milia terna macello
angustoque vagos pisces urguere catino.
magna movet stomacho fastidia, seu puer unctis
tractavit calicem manibus, dum furta ligurrit,
sive gravis veteri craterae limus adhaesit.
vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe quantus
consistit sumptus? neclectis, flagitium ingens.

ten lapides varios lutulenta radere palma
et Tyrias dare circum inluta toralia vestes,
oblitum, quanto curam sumptumque minorem
haec habeant, tanto reprehendi iustius illis,
quae nisi divitibus nequeunt contingere mensis?'
'docte Cati, per amicitiam divosque rogatus
ducere me auditum, perges quocumque, memento.
nam quamvis memori referas mihi pectore cuncta,
non tamen interpres tantundem iuveris. adde
vultum habitumque hominis, quem tu vidisse beatus
non magni pendis, quia contigit; at mihi cura
non mediocris inest, fontes ut adire remotos
atque haurire queam vitae praecepta beatae.'

V

'Hoc quoque, Teresia, praeter narrata petenti
responde, quibus amissas reparare queam res
artibus atque modis. quid rides?' 'iamne doloso
non satis est Ithacam revehi patriosque Penates
aspicere?' 'o nulli quicquam mentite, vides ut
nudus inopsque domum redeam te vate, neque illic
aut apotheca procis intacta est aut pecus; atqui
et genus et virtus, nisi cum re, vilior alga est.'
'quando pauperiem missis ambagibus horres,
accipe qua ratione queas ditescere. turdus
sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc,
res ubi magna nitet domino sene; dulcia poma
et quoscumque feret cultus tibi fundus honores,
ante Larem gustet venerabilior Lare dives;
qui quamvis periurus erit, sine gente, cruentus
sanguine fraterno, fugitivus, ne tamen illi
tu comes exterior, si postulet, ire recuses.'
'utne tegam spurco Damae latus? haud ita Troiae
me gessi, certans semper melioribus.' 'ergo
pauper eris.' 'fortem hoc animum tolerare iubebo:
et quondam maiora tuli. tu protinus unde
divitias aerisque ruam dic, augur, acervos.'
'dixi equidem et dico: captes astutus ubique
testamenta senum, neu, si vafer unus et alter
insidiatorem praeroso fugerit hamo,
aut spem deponas aut artem inlusus omittas.

magna minorve foro si res certabitur olim,
vivet uter locuples sine natis, inprobus, ultro
qui meliorem audax vocet in ius, illius esto
defensor; fama civem causaque priorem
sperne, domi si natus erit fecundave coniunx.
"Quinte," puta, aut "Publi"—gaudent praenomine molles
auriculae—"tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum;
ius anceps novi, causas defendere possum;
eripiet quivis oculos citius mihi quam te
contemptum cassa nuce te pauperet: haec mea cura est,
ne quid tu perdas neu sis iocus." ire domum atque
pelliculam curare iube; fi cognitor ipse;
persta atque obdura, seu rubra Canicula findet
infantes statuas, seu pingui tentus omaso
Furius hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpes.
"nonne vides," aliquis cubito stantem prope tangens
inquiet, "ut patiens, ut amicis aptus, ut acer?"
plures adnabunt thunni et cetaria crescent.
si cui praeterea validus male filius in re
praeclara sublatus aletur, ne manifestum
caelibis obsequium nudet te, leniter in spem
adrepe officiosus, ut et scribare secundus
heres et, si quis casus puerum egerit Orco,
in vacuum venias; perraro haec alea fallit.
qui testamentum tradet tibi cumque legendum,
abnuere et tabulas a te removere memento,
sic tamen, ut limis rapias, quid prima secundo
cera velit versu; solus multisne coheres,
veloci percurre oculo. plerumque recoctus
scriba ex quinqueviro corvum deludet hiantem,
captatorque dabit risus Nasica Corano.'
'num furis? an prudens ludis me obscura canendo?'
'o Laertiade, quidquid dicam, aut erit aut non:
divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.'
'quid tamen ista velit sibi fabula, si licet, ede.'
'tempore, quo iuvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto
demissum genus Aenea, tellure marique
magnus erit, forti nubet procera Corano
filia Nasicae, metuentis reddere soldum.
tum gener hoc faciet: tabulas socero dabit atque
ut legat orabit; multum Nasica negatas
accipiet tandem et tacitus leget invenietque

nil sibi legatum praeter plorare suisque.
illud ad haec iubeo: mulier si forte dolosa
libertusve senem delirum temperet, illis
accedas socius; laudes, lauderis ut absens.
me sene quod dicam factum est: anus inproba Thebis
ex testamento sic est elata: cadaver
unctum oleo largo nudis umeris tulit heres,
scilicet elabi si posset mortua; credo,
quod nimium institerat viventi. cautus adito,
neu desis operae neve inmoderatus abundes.
difficilem et morosum offendet garrulus: ultra
non etiam sileas. Davus sis comicus atque
stes capite obstipo, multum similis metuenti.
obsequio grassare; mone, si increbruit aura,
cautus uti velet carum caput; extrahe turba
oppositis umeris; aurem substringe loquaci.
inportunus amat laudari; donec "ohe iam!"
ad caelum manibus sublatis dixerit, urgue;
crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem.
cum te servitio longo curaque levarit,
et certum vigilans "quartae sit partis Ulixes"
audieris "heres": "ergo nunc Dama sodalis
nusquam est? unde mihi tam fortem tamque fidelem?"
sparge subinde et, si paulum potes, inlacrimare: est
gaudia prodentem vultum celare. sepulchrum
permissum arbitrio sine sordibus exstrue; funus
egregie factum laudet vicinia. si quis
forte coheredum senior male tussiet, huic tu
dic, ex parte tua seu fundi sive domus sit
emptor, gaudentem nummo te addicere. sed me
imperiosa trahit Proserpina: vive valeque.'

VI

Hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magnus,
hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons
et paulum silvae super his foret. auctius atque
di melius fecere. bene est. nil amplius oro,
Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis.
si neque maiorem feci ratione mala rem,
nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem;
si veneror stultus nihil horum: 'o si angulus ille
proximus accedat, qui nunc denormat agellum!

o si urnam argenti fors quae mihi monstret, ut illi,
thesauro invento qui mercennarius agrum
illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
Hercule !' si, quod adest, gratum iuvat, hac prece te oro
pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter
ingenium, utque soles, custos mihi maximus adsis.
ergo ubi me in montes et in arcem ex urbe removi,
quid prius inlustrem saturis Musaque pedestri ?
nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus Auster
autumnusque gravis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae.
Matutine pater, seu Iane libentius audis,
unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores
instituunt—sic dis placitum—tu carminis esto
principium. Romae sponsorem me rapis. 'heia,
ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urgue.'
sive Aquilo radit terras seu bruma nivalem
interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.
postmodo, quod mi obsit, clare certumque locuto
luctandum in turba et facienda iniuria tardis.
'quid vis, insane, et quas res agis ?' inprobus urguet
iratis precibus : 'tu pulses omne quod obstat,
ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras ?'
hoc iuvat et melli est, non mentiar. at simul atras
ventum est Esquilias, aliena negotia centum
per caput et circa saliunt latus. 'ante secundam
Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad puteal cras.'
'de re communi scribae magna atque nova te
orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti.'
'inprimat his, cura, Maecenas signa tabellis.'
dixeris 'experiar'; 'si vis, potes' addit et instat.
septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus,
ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum
in numero, dumtaxat ad hoc, quem tollere reda
vellet iter faciens, et cui concredere nugas
hoc genus : 'hora quota est ?' 'Thraex est Gallina Syro par ?'
'matutina parum cautos iam frigora mordent,'
et quae rimosa bene deponuntur in aure.
per totum hoc tempus subiectior in diem et horam
invidiae noster. ludos spectaverit una,
luserit in campo : 'Fortunae filius' omnes.
frigidus a rostris manat per compita rumor :
quicumque obvius est, me consulit : 'o bone—nam te

scire, deos quoniam propius contingis, oportet—
numquid de Dacis audisti?' 'nil equidem.' 'ut tu
semper eris derisor.' 'at omnes di exagitent me,
si quicquam. 'quid? militibus promissa Triquetra
praedia Caesar an est Itala tellure daturus?'
iurantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum
scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti.
perditur haec inter misero lux, non sine votis:
o rus, quando ego te aspiciam, quandoque licebit
nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis
ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae?
o quando faba Pythagorae cognata simulque
uncta satis pingui ponentur holuscula lardo?
o noctes cenaeque deum, quibus ipse meique
ante Larem proprium vescor vernasque procaces
pasco libatis dapibus. prout cuique libido est,
siccat inaequales calices conviva solutus
legibus insanis, seu quis capit acria fortis
pocula seu modicis uvescit lentius. ergo
sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis,
nec male necne Lepos saltet, sed, quod magis ad nos
pertinet et nescire malum est, agitamus, utrumne
divitiis homines an sint virtute beati,
quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos,
et quae sit natura boni summumque quid eius.
Cervius haec inter vicinus garrit aniles
ex re fabellas. si quis nam laudat Arelli
sollicitas ignarus opes, sic incipit: 'olim
rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum,
asper et attentus quaesitis, ut tamen artum
solveret hospitiis animum. quid multa? neque ille
sepositi ciceris nec longae invidit avenae,
aridum et ore ferens acinum semesaque lardi
frusta dedit, cupiens varia fastidia cena
vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo;
cum pater ipse domus palea porrectus in horna
esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens.
tandem urbanus ad hunc "quid te iuvat," inquit, "amice,
praerupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso?
vis tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?
carpe viam, mihi crede, comes; terrestria quando

mortales animas vivunt sortita, neque ulla est
aut magno aut parvo leti fuga: quo, bone, circa,
dum licet, in rebus iucundis vive beatus,
vive memor, quam sis aevi brevis." haec ubi dicta
agrestem pepulere, domo levis exsilit; inde
ambo propositum peragunt iter, urbis aventes
moenia nocturni subrepere. iamque tenebat
nox medium caeli spatium, cum ponit uterque
in locuplete domo vestigia, rubro ubi cocco
tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos,
multaque de magna superessent fercula cena,
quae procul exstructis inerant hesterna canistris.
ergo ubi purpurea porrectum in veste locavit
agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes
continuatque dapes, nec non verniliter ipsis
fungitur officiis, praelambens omne quod adfert.
ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte bonisque
rebus agit laetum convivam, cum subito ingens
valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque.
currere per totum pavidi conclave, magisque
exanimes trepidare, simul domus alta Molossis
personuit canibus. tum rusticus "haud mihi vita
est opus hac" ait "et valeas: me silva cavusque
tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo." '

VII

'Iamdudum ausculto et cupiens tibi dicere servus
pauca reformido.' 'Davusne?' 'ita, Davus, amicum
mancipium domino et frugi quod sit satis, hoc est,
ut vitale putes.' 'age, libertate Decembri,
quando ita maiores voluerunt, utere; narra.'
'pars hominum vitiis gaudet constanter et urguet
propositum; pars multa natat, modo recta capessens,
interdum pravis obnoxia. saepe notatus
cum tribus anellis, modo laeva Priscus inani,
vixit inaequalis, clavum ut mutaret in horas;
aedibus ex magnis subito se conderet, unde
mundior exiret vix libertinus honeste;
iam moechus Romae, iam mallet doctus Athenis
vivere, Vertumnis quotquot sunt natus iniquis.
scurra Volanerius, postquam illi iusta cheragra

contudit articulos, qui pro se tolleret atque
mitteret in phimum talos, mercede diurna
conductum pavit: quanto constantior isdem
in vitiis, tanto levius miser ac prior illo,
qui iam contento, iam laxo fune laborat.'
'non dices hodie quorsum haec tam putida tendant,
furcifer?' 'ad te, inquam.' 'quo pacto, pessime?' 'laudas
fortunam et mores antiquae plebis, et idem,
si quis ad illa deus subito te agat, usque recuses,
aut quia non sentis, quod clamas rectius esse,
aut quia non firmus rectum defendis et haeres
nequiquam caeno cupiens evellere plantam.
Romae rus optas; absentem rusticus urbem
tollis ad astra levis. si nusquam es forte vocatus
ad cenam, laudas securum holus ac velut usquam
vinctus eas, ita te felicem dicis amasque
quod nusquam tibi sit potandum. iusserit ad se
Maecenas serum sub lumina prima venire
convivam: "nemon oleum fert ocius? ecquis
audit?" cum magno blateras clamore fugisque.
Mulvius et scurrae, tibi non referenda precati,
discedunt. "etenim fateor me," dixerit ille,
"duci ventre levem, nasum nidore supinor,
inbecillus, iners, si quid vis, adde, popino.
tu cum sis quod ego et fortassis nequior, ultro
insectere velut melior, verbisque decoris
obvolvas vitium?" quid, si me stultior ipso
quingentis empto drachmis deprenderis? aufer
me vultu terrere; manum stomachumque teneto,
dum, quae Crispini docuit me ianitor, edo.
"non sum moechus" ais. neque ego, hercule, fur, ubi vasa
praetereo sapiens argentea; tolle periclum,
iam vaga prosiliet frenis natura remotis.
tune mihi dominus, rerum imperiis hominumque
tot tantisque minor, quem ter vindicta quaterque
inposita haud umquam misera formidine privet?
adde super, dictis quod non levius valeat: nam,
sive vicarius est qui servo paret, uti mos
vester ait, seu conservus: tibi quid sum ego? nempe
tu, mihi qui imperitas, alii servis miser atque
duceris, ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.
quisnam igitur liber? sapiens, sibique imperiosus,

quem neque pauperies neque mors neque vincula terrent,
responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
fortis, et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus,
externi ne quid valeat per leve morari,
in quem manca ruit semper fortuna. potesne
ex his ut proprium quid noscere? quinque talenta
poscit te mulier, vexat foribusque repulsum
perfundit gelida, rursus vocat. eripe turpi
colla iugo, "liber, liber sum" dic age. non quis:
urguet enim dominus mentem non lenis et acres
subiectat lasso stimulos versatque negantem.
vel cum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella,
qui peccas minus atque ego, cum Fulvi Rutubaeque
aut Pacideiani contento poplite miror
proelia rubrica picta aut carbone, velut si
re vera pugnent, feriant vitentque moventes
arma viri? nequam et cessator Davus; at ipse
subtilis veterum iudex et callidus audis.
nil ego, si ducor libo fumante: tibi ingens
virtus atque animus cenis responsat opimis?
obsequium ventris mihi perniciosius est cur?
tergo plector enim. qui tu inpunitior illa,
quae parvo sumi nequeunt, obsonia captas?
nempe inamarescunt epulae sine fine petitae,
inlusique pedes vitiosum ferre recusant
corpus. an hic peccat, sub noctem qui puer uvam
furtiva mutat strigili? qui praedia vendit,
nil servile gulae parens habet? adde quod idem
non horam tecum esse potes, non otia recte
ponere, teque ipsum vitas fugitivus et erro,
iam vino quaerens, iam somno fallere curam;
frustra: nam comes atra premit sequiturque fugacem.'
'unde mihi lapidem?' 'quorsum est opus?' 'unde sagittas?'
'aut insanit homo aut versus facit.' 'ocius hinc te
ni rapis, accedes opera agro nona Sabino.'

VIII

'Ut Nasidieni iuvit te cena beati?
nam mihi quaerenti convivam dictus here illic
de medio potare die.' 'sic, ut mihi numquam

in vita fuerit melius.' 'da, si grave non est,
quae prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca.'
'in primis Lucanus aper leni fuit Austro
captus, ut aiebat cenae pater; acria circum
rapula, lactucae, radices, qualia lassum
pervellunt stomachum, siser, allec, faecula Coa.
his ubi sublatis puer alte cinctus acernam
gausape purpureo mensam pertersit, et alter
sublegit quodcumque iaceret inutile quodque
posset cenantes offendere, ut Attica virgo
cum sacris Cereris procedit fuscus Hydaspes
Caecuba vina ferens, Alcon Chium maris expers.
hic erus: "Albanum, Maecenas, sive Falernum
te magis appositis delectat: habemus utrumque."'
'divitias miseras! sed quis cenantibus una,
Fundani, pulchre fuerit tibi, nosse laboro.'
'summus ego, et prope me Viscus Thurinus et infra,
si memini, Varius, cum Servilio Balatrone
Vibidius, quos Maecenas adduxerat umbras.
Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra,
ridiculus totas semel absorbere placentas.
Nomentanus ad hoc, qui, si quid forte lateret,
indice monstraret digito: nam cetera turba,
nos, inquam, cenamus aves, conchylia, pisces,
longe dissimilem noto celantia sucum,
ut vel continuo patuit, cum passeris atque
ingustata mihi porrexerit ilia rhombi.
post hoc me docuit melimela rubere minorem
ad lunam delecta: quid hoc intersit, ab ipso
audieris melius. tum Vibidius Balatroni:
"nos nisi damnose bibimus, moriemur inulti,"
et calices poscit maiores. vertere pallor
tum parochi faciem, nil sic metuentis ut acres
potores, vel quod maledicunt liberius vel
fervida quod subtile exsurdant vina palatum.
invertunt Allifanis vinaria tota
Vibidius Balatroque: secutis omnibus, imi
convivae lecti nihilum nocuere lagoenis.
adfertur squillas inter murena natantes
in patina porrecta. sub hoc erus "haec gravida," inquit,
"capta est, deterior post partum carne futura.
his mixtum ius est: oleo, quod prima Venafri

pressit cella, garo de sucis piscis Hiberi,
vino quinquenni, verum citra mare nato,
dum coquitur—cocto Chium sic convenit, ut non
hoc magis ullum aliud—pipere albo non sine aceto,
quod Methymnaeam vitio mutaverit uvam.
erucas virides, inulas ego primus amaras
monstravi incoquere, inlutos Curtillus echinos,
ut melius muria quod testa marina remittit."
interea suspensa graves aulaea ruinas
in patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atri
quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris.
nos maius veriti, postquam nihil esse pericli
sensimus, erigimur. Rufus posito capite, ut si
filius inmaturus obisset, flere. quis esset
finis, ni sapiens sic Nomentanus amicum
tolleret: "heu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos
te deus? ut semper gaudes inludere rebus
humanis!" Varius mappa compescere risum
vix poterat. Balatro suspendens omnia naso,
"haec est condicio vivendi," aiebat, "eoque
responsura tuo numquam est par fama labori.
tene, ut ego accipiar laute, torquerier omni
sollicitudine districtum, ne panis adustus,
ne male conditum ius apponatur, ut omnes
praecincti recte pueri comptique ministrent?
adde hos praeterea casus, aulaea ruant si,
ut modo; si patinam pede lapsus frangat agaso.
sed convivatoris uti ducis ingenium res
adversae nudare solent, celare secundae."
Nasidienus ad haec: "tibi di quaecumque preceris,
commoda dent; ita vir bonus es convivaque comis,"
et soleas poscit. tum in lecto quoque videres
stridere secreta divisos aure susurros.'
'nullos his mallem ludos spectasse; sed illa
redde age quae deinceps risisti.' 'Vibidius dum
quaerit de pueris, num sit quoque fracta lagoena,
quod sibi poscenti non dantur pocula, dumque
ridetur fictis rerum, Balatrone secundo,
Nasidiene, redis mutatae frontis, ut arte
emendaturus fortunam; deinde secuti
mazonomo pueri magno discerpta ferentes
membra gruis, sparsi sale multo non sine farre,

pinguibus et ficis pastum iecur anseris albae,
et leporum avulsos, ut multo suavius, armos,
quam si cum lumbis quis edit. tum pectore adusto
vidimus et merulas poni et sine clune palumbes;
suaves res, si non causas narraret earum et
naturas dominus: quem nos sic fugimus ulti,
ut nihil omnino gustaremus, velut illis
Canidia adflasset peior serpentibus Afris.'

EPISTULARUM

LIBER PRIMUS

I

PRIMA dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena,
spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris,
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
non eadem est aetas, non mens. Veianius armis
Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro,
ne populum extrema totiens exoret harena.
est mihi purgatam crebro qui personet aurem
'solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
peccet ad extremum ridendus et ilia ducat.'
nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono;
quid verum atque decens curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum:
condo et compono quae mox depromere possim.
ac ne forte roges quo me duce, quo Lare tuter,
nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri,
quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes.
nunc agilis fio et mersor civilibus undis,
virtutis verae custos rigidusque satelles;
nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor
et mihi res, non me rebus subiungere conor.
ut nox longa quibus mentitur amica, diesque
longa videtur opus debentibus, ut piger annus
pupillis quos dura premit custodia matrum,
sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quae spem
consiliumque morantur agendi naviter id quod
aeque pauperibus prodest, locupletibus aeque,
aeque neclectum pueris senibusque nocebit.
restat ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis.
non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus,
non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungui;
nec, quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis,

nodosa corpus nolis prohibere cheragra.
est quadam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.
fervet avaritia miseroque cupidine pectus:
sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem
possis et magnam morbi deponere partem.
laudis amore tumes: sunt certa piacula, quae te
ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.
invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,
nemo adeo ferus est, ut non mitescere possit,
si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.
virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
stultitia caruisse. vides, quae maxima credis
esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam,
quanto devites animi capitisque labore;
inpiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,
per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes:
ne cures ea, quae stulte miraris et optas,
discere et audire et meliori credere non vis?
quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax
magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes,
cui sit condicio dulcis sine pulvere palmae?
vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.
'o cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est;
virtus post nummos!' haec Ianus summus ab imo
prodocet, haec recinunt iuvenes dictata senesque,
laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.
est animus tibi, sunt mores, est lingua fidesque,
sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt:
plebs eris. at pueri ludentes 'rex eris' aiunt
'si recte facies.' hic murus aeneus esto,
nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.
Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex an puerorum est
nenia, quae regnum recte facientibus offert,
et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis?
isne tibi melius suadet, qui rem facias, rem,
si possis, recte, si non, quocumque modo rem,
ut propius spectes lacrimosa poemata Pupi,
an qui Fortunae te responsare superbae
liberum et erectum praesens hortatur et aptat?
quodsi me populus Romanus forte roget, cur
non ut porticibus sic iudiciis fruar isdem,
nec sequar aut fugiam quae diligit ipse vel odit,

olim quod vulpes aegroto cauta leoni
respondit referam: 'quia me vestigia terrent,
omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.'
belua multorum es capitum. nam quid sequar aut quem?
pars hominum gestit conducere publica; sunt qui
frustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras
excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant;
multis occulto crescit res faenore. verum
esto aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri:
idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes?
'nullus in orbe sinus Baiis praelucet amoenis'
si dixit dives, lacus et mare sentit amorem
festinantis eri; cui si vitiosa libido
fecerit auspicium, cras ferramenta Teanum
tolletis, fabri. lectus genialis in aula est:
nil ait esse prius, melius nil caelibe vita;
si non est, iurat bene solis esse maritis.
quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?
quid pauper? ride: mutat cenacula, lectos,
balnea, tonsores, conducto navigio aeque
nauseat ac locuples, quem ducit priva triremis.
si curatus inaequali tonsore capillos
occurri, rides; si forte subucula pexae
trita subest tunicae, vel si toga dissidet inpar,
rides: quid, mea cum pugnat sententia secum,
quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
aestuat et vitae disconvenit ordine toto,
diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis?
insanire putas sollemnia me neque rides,
nec medici credis nec curatoris egere
a praetore dati, rerum tutela mearum
cum sis et prave sectum stomacheris ob unguem
de te pendentis, te respicientis amici.
ad summam, sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives,
liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum,
praecipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.

II

Troiani belli scriptorem, Maxime Lolli,
dum tu declamas Romae, Praeneste relegi:
qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,

planius ac melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit.
cur ita crediderim, nisi quid te distinet, audi.
fabula, qua Paridis propter narratur amorem
Graecia barbariae lento collisa duello,
stultorum regum et populorum continet aestus.
Antenor censet belli praecidere causam.
quid Paris? ut salvus regnet vivatque beatus,
cogi posse negat. Nestor componere lites
inter Peliden festinat et inter Atriden:
hunc amor, ira quidem communiter urit utrumque.
quidquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.
seditione, dolis, scelere atque libidine et ira
Iliacos intra muros peccatur et extra.
rursus, quid virtus et quid sapientia possit,
utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulixen,
qui domitor Troiae multorum providus urbes
et mores hominum inspexit, latumque per aequor,
dum sibi, dum sociis reditum parat, aspera multa
pertulit, adversis rerum inmersabilis undis.
Sirenum voces et Circae pocula nosti:
quae si cum sociis stultus cupidusque bibisset,
sub domina meretrice fuisset turpis et excors,
vixisset canis inmundus vel amica luto sus.
nos numerus sumus et fruges consumere nati,
sponsi Penelopae nebulones Alcinoique
in cute curanda plus aequo operata iuventus,
cui pulchrum fuit in medios dormire dies et
ad strepitum citharae cessatum ducere curam.
ut iugulent hominem surgunt de nocte latrones:
ut te ipsum serves non expergisceris? atqui,
si noles sanus, curres hydropicus; et ni
posces ante diem librum cum lumine, si non
intendes animum studiis et rebus honestis,
invidia vel amore vigil torquebere. nam cur,
quae laedunt oculum, festinas demere; si quid
est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum?
dimidium facti qui coepit habet: sapere aude;
incipe! qui recte vivendi prorogat horam,
rusticus exspectat dum defluat amnis: at ille
labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.
quaeritur argentum puerisque beata creandis
uxor et incultae pacantur vomere silvae.

quod satis est cui contingit, nihil amplius optet.
non domus et fundus, non aeris acervus et auri
aegroto domini deduxit corpore febres,
non animo curas: valeat possessor oportet,
si comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti.
qui cupit aut metuit, iuvat illum sic domus et res,
ut lippum pictae tabulae, fomenta podagram,
auriculas citharae collecta sorde dolentes.
sincerum est nisi vas, quodcumque infundis acescit.
sperne voluptates: nocet empta dolore voluptas.
semper avarus eget: certum voto pete finem.
invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis;
invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni
maius tormentum. qui non moderabitur irae,
infectum volet esse, dolor quod suaserit et mens,
dum poenas odio per vim festinat inulto.
ira furor brevis est: animum rege; qui nisi paret,
imperat: hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catena.
fingit equum tenera docilem cervice magister
ire viam qua monstret eques; venaticus, ex quo
tempore cervinam pellem latravit in aula,
militat in silvis catulus. nunc adbibe puro
pectore verba puer, nunc te melioribus offer.
quo semel est inbuta recens, servabit odorem
testa diu. quodsi cessas aut strenuus anteis,
nec tardum opperior nec praecedentibus insto.

III

Iuli Flore, quibus terrarum militet oris
Claudius Augusti privignus, scire laboro.
Thracane vos Hebrusque nivali compede vinctus,
an freta vicinas inter currentia turres,
an pingues Asiae campi collesque morantur?
quid studiosa cohors operum struit? hoc quoque curo.
quis sibi res gestas Augusti scribere sumit?
bella quis et paces longum diffundit in aevum?
quid Titius, Romana brevi venturus in ora,
Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus,
fastidire lacus et rivos ausus apertos?
ut valet? ut meminit nostri? fidibusne Latinis
Thebanos aptare modos studet auspice Musa,

an tragica desaevit et ampullatur in arte?
quid mihi Celsus agit, monitus multumque monendus,
privatas ut quaerat opes et tangere vitet
scripta Palatinus quaecumque recepit Apollo,
ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim
grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum
furtivis nudata coloribus? ipse quid audes?
quae circumvolitas agilis thyma? non tibi parvum
ingenium, non incultum est et turpiter hirtum:
seu linguam causis acuis seu civica iura
respondere paras seu condis amabile carmen,
prima feres hederae victricis praemia. quodsi
frigida curarum fomenta relinquere posses,
quo te caelestis sapientia duceret, ires.
hoc opus, hoc studium parvi properemus et ampli,
si patriae volumus, si nobis vivere cari.
debes hoc etiam rescribere, sit tibi curae
quantae conveniat Munatius. an male sarta
gratia nequiquam coit et rescinditur, ac vos
seu calidus sanguis seu rerum inscitia vexat
indomita cervice feros? ubicumque locorum
vivitis, indigni fraternum rumpere foedus,
pascitur in vestrum reditum votiva iuvenca.

IV

Albi, nostrorum sermonum candide iudex,
quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?
scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat,
an tacitum silvas inter reptare salubres,
curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonoque est?
non tu corpus eras sine pectore: di tibi formam,
di tibi divitias dederunt artemque fruendi.
quid voveat dulci nutricula maius alumno,
qui sapere et fari possit quae sentiat, et cui
gratia, fama, valetudo contingat abunde,
et mundus victus, non deficiente crumena?
inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras
omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum:
grata superveniet quae non sperabitur hora.
me pinguem et nitidum bene curata cute vises,
cum ridere voles, Epicuri de grege porcum.

V

Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis
nec modica cenare times holus omne patella,
supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo.
vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa palustres
inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum:
si melius quid habes, arcesse, vel imperium fer.
iamdudum splendet focus et tibi munda supellex.
mitte leves spes et certamina divitiarum
et Moschi causam: cras nato Caesare festus
dat veniam somnumque dies; inpune licebit
aestivam sermone benigno tendere noctem.
quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?
parcus ob heredis curam nimiumque severus
adsidet insano: potare et spargere flores
incipiam patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.
quid non ebrietas dissignat? operta recludit,
spes iubet esse ratas, ad proelia trudit inertem,
sollicitis animis onus eximit, addocet artes.
fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum,
contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?
haec ego procurare et idoneus imperor et non
invitus, ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
conruget nares, ne non et cantharus et lanx
ostendat tibi te, ne fidos inter amicos
sit qui dicta foras eliminet, ut coeat par
iungaturque pari. Butram tibi Septiciumque
et nisi cena prior potiorque puella Sabinum
detinet adsumam: locus est et pluribus umbris;
sed nimis arta premunt olidae convivia caprae.
tu quotus esse velis rescribe et rebus omissis
atria servantem postico falle clientem.

VI

Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
solaque quae possit facere et servare beatum.
hunc solem et stellas et decedentia certis
tempora momentis sunt qui formidine nulla
inbuti spectent. quid censes munera terrae?
quid maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos?

ludicra quid, plausus et amici dona Quiritis?
quo spectanda modo, quo sensu credis et ore?
qui timet his adversa, fere miratur eodem
quo cupiens pacto: pavor est utrobique molestus,
inprovisa simul species exterret utrumque.
gaudeat an doleat, cupiat metuatne, quid ad rem,
si, quidquid vidit melius peiusve sua spe,
defixis oculis animoque et corpore torpet?
insani sapiens nomen ferat, aequus iniqui,
ultra quam satis est virtutem si petat ipsam.
i nunc, argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artes
suspice, cum gemmis Tyrios mirare colores;
gaude quod spectant oculi te mille loquentem;
navus mane forum et vespertinus pete tectum,
ne plus frumenti dotalibus emetat agris
Mutus et—indignum, quod sit peioribus ortus—
hic tibi sit potius quam tu mirabilis illi.
quidquid sub terra est, in apricum proferet aetas,
defodiet condetque nitentia. cum bene notum
porticus Agrippae et via te conspexerit Appi,
ire tamen restat, Numa quo devenit et Ancus.
si latus aut renes morbo temptantur acuto,
quaere fugam morbi. vis recte vivere: quis non?
si virtus hoc una potest dare, fortis omissis
hoc age deliciis. virtutem verba putas et
lucum ligna: cave ne portus occupet alter,
ne Cibyratica, ne Bithyna negotia perdas;
mille talenta rotundentur, totidem altera, porro et
tertia succedant et quae pars quadrat acervum.
scilicet uxorem cum dote fidemque et amicos
et genus et formam regina Pecunia donat,
ac bene nummatum decorat Suadela Venusque.
mancupiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex:
ne fueris hic tu. chlamydes Lucullus, ut aiunt,
si posset centum scaenae praebere rogatus,
'qui possum tot?' ait; 'tamen et quaeram, et quot habebo
mittam.' post paulo scribit sibi milia quinque
esse domi chlamydum; partem vel tolleret omnes.
exilis domus est ubi non et multa supersunt
et dominum fallunt et prosunt furibus. ergo
si res sola potest facere et servare beatum,
hoc primus repetas opus, hoc postremus omittas.

si fortunatum species et gratia praestat,
mercemur servum, qui dictet nomina, laevum
qui fodicet latus et cogat trans pondera dextram
porrigere: 'hic multum in Fabia valet, ille Velina;
cui libet hic fasces dabit eripietque curule
qui volet inportunus ebur.' 'frater' 'pater' adde;
ut cuique est aetas, ita quemque facetus adopta.
si bene qui cenat bene vivit, lucet, eamus
quo ducit gula, piscemur, venemur, ut olim
Gargilius, qui mane plagas, venabula, servos
differtum transire forum populumque iubebat,
unus ut e multis populo spectante referret
emptum mulus aprum. crudi tumidique lavemur,
quid deceat, quid non, obliti, Caerite cera
digni, remigium vitiosum Ithacensis Ulixei,
cui potior patria fuit interdicta voluptas.
si, Mimnermus uti censet, sine amore iocisque
nil est iucundum, vivas in amore iocisque.
vive, vale. si quid novisti rectius istis,
candidus inperti: si nil, his utere mecum.

VII

Quinque dies tibi pollicitus me rure futurum,
Sextilem totum mendax desideror. atqui,
si me vivere vis sanum recteque valentem,
quam mihi das aegro, dabis aegrotare timenti,
Maecenas, veniam, dum ficus prima calorque
dissignatorem decorat lictoribus atris,
dum pueris omnis pater et matercula pallet,
officiosaque sedulitas et opella forensis
adducit febres et testamenta resignat.
quodsi bruma nives Albanis inlinet agris,
ad mare descendet vates tuus et sibi parcet
contractusque leget; te, dulcis amice, reviset
cum Zephyris, si concedes, et hirundine prima.
non quo more piris vesci Calaber iubet hospes
tu me fecisti locupletem. 'vescere sodes.'
'iam satis est.' 'at tu quantum vis tolle.' 'benigne.'
'non invisa feres pueris munuscula parvis.'
'tam teneor dono, quam si dimittar onustus.'
'ut libet: haec porcis hodie comedenda relinques.'

prodigus et stultus donat quae spernit et odit :
haec seges ingratos tulit et feret omnibus annis.
vir bonus et sapiens dignis ait esse paratus,
nec tamen ignorat quid distent aera lupinis.
dignum praestabo me etiam pro laude merentis.
quodsi me noles usquam discedere, reddes
forte latus, nigros angusta fronte capillos,
reddes dulce loqui, reddes ridere decorum et
inter vina fugam Cinarae maerere protervae.
forte per angustam tenuis vulpecula rimam
repserat in cumeram frumenti, pastaque rursus
ire foras pleno tendebat corpore frustra.
cui mustela procul 'si vis,' ait, 'effugere istinc,
macra cavum repetes artum, quem macra subisti.'
hac ego si compellor imagine, cuncta resigno ;
nec somnum plebis laudo satur altilium, nec
otia divitiis Arabum liberrima muto.
saepe verecundum laudasti, rexque paterque
audisti coram, nec verbo parcius absens :
inspice, si possum donata reponere laetus.
haud male Telemachus, proles patientis Ulixei :
'non est aptus equis Ithace locus, ut neque planis
porrectus spatiis nec multae prodigus herbae :
Atride, magis apta tibi tua dona relinquam.'
parvum parva decent : mihi iam non regia Roma,
sed vacuum Tibur placet aut inbelle Tarentum.
strenuus et fortis causisque Philippus agendis
clarus ab officiis octavam circiter horam
dum redit atque foro nimium distare Carinas
iam grandis natu queritur, conspexit, ut aiunt,
adrasum quendam vacua tonsoris in umbra
cultello proprios purgantem leniter ungues.
'Demetri,'—puer hic non laeve iussa Philippi
accipiebat—'abi, quaere et refer, unde domo, quis,
cuius fortunae, quo sit patre quove patrono.'
it, redit et narrat, Vulteium nomine Menam,
praeconem, tenui censu, sine crimine, notum
et properare loco et cessare et quaerere et uti,
gaudentem parvisque sodalibus et lare certo
et ludis et post decisa negotia campo.
'scitari libet ex ipso quodcumque refers : dic
ad cenam veniat.' non sane credere Mena ;

mirari secum tacitus. quid multa? 'benigne'
respondet. 'neget ille mihi?' 'negat inprobus et te
neclegit aut horret.' Vulteium mane Philippus
vilia vendentem tunicato scruta popello
occupat et salvere iubet prior; ille Philippo
excusare laborem et mercennaria vincla,
quod non mane domum venisset, denique quod non
providisset eum. 'sic ignovisse putato
me tibi, si cenas hodie mecum.' 'ut libet.' 'ergo
post nonam venies; nunc i, rem strenuus auge.'
ut ventum ad cenam est, dicenda tacenda locutus
tandem dormitum dimittitur. hic ubi saepe
occultum visus decurrere piscis ad hamum,
mane cliens et iam certus conviva, iubetur
rura suburbana indictis comes ire Latinis.
inpositus mannis arvum caelumque Sabinum
non cessat laudare. videt ridetque Philippus,
et sibi dum requiem, dum risus undique quaerit,
dum septem donat sestertia, mutua septem
promittit, persuadet uti mercetur agellum.
mercatur. ne te longis ambagibus ultra
quam satis est morer, ex nitido fit rusticus atque
sulcos et vineta crepat mera, praeparat ulmos,
inmoritur studiis et amore senescit habendi.
verum ubi oves furto, morbo periere capellae,
spem mentita seges, bos est enectus arando,
offensus damnis media de nocte caballum
arripit iratusque Philippi tendit ad aedes.
quem simul aspexit scabrum intonsumque Philippus,
'durus,' ait, 'Vultei, nimis attentusque videris
esse mihi.' 'pol me miserum, patrone, vocares,
si velles' inquit 'verum mihi ponere nomen.
quod te per Genium dextramque deosque Penates
obsecro et obtestor, vitae me redde priori!'
qui semel aspexit, quantum dimissa petitis
praestent, mature redeat repetatque relicta.
metiri se quemque suo modulo ac pede verum est.

VIII

Celso gaudere et bene rem gerere Albinovano
Musa rogata refer, comiti scribaeque Neronis.

si quaeret quid agam, dic multa et pulchra minantem
vivere nec recte nec suaviter; haud quia grando
contuderit vites oleamque momorderit aestus,
nec quia longinquis armentum aegrotet in agris;
sed quia mente minus validus quam corpore toto
nil audire velim, nil discere, quod levet aegrum;
fidis offendar medicis, irascar amicis,
cur me funesto properent arcere veterno;
quae nocuere sequar, fugiam quae profore credam;
Romae Tibur amem ventosus, Tibure Romam.
post haec, ut valeat, quo pacto rem gerat et se
ut placeat iuveni percontare utque cohorti.
si dicet 'recte,' primum gaudere, subinde
praeceptum auriculis hoc instillare memento:
'ut tu fortunam, sic nos te, Celse, feremus.'

IX

Septimius, Claudi, nimirum intellegit unus,
quanti me facias. nam cum rogat et prece cogit,
scilicet ut tibi se laudare et tradere coner,
dignum mente domoque legentis honesta Neronis;
munere cum fungi propioris censet amici,
quid possim videt ac novit me valdius ipso.
multa quidem dixi, cur excusatus abirem;
sed timui mea ne finxisse minora putarer,
dissimulator opis propriae, mihi commodus uni.
sic ego, maioris fugiens opprobria culpae,
frontis ad urbanae descendi praemia. quodsi
depositum laudas ob amici iussa pudorem,
scribe tui gregis hunc et fortem crede bonumque.

X

Urbis amatorem Fuscum salvere iubemus
ruris amatores. hac in re scilicet una
multum dissimiles, at cetera paene gemelli,
fraternis animis, quidquid negat alter, et alter
adnuimus pariter: vetuli notique columbi,
tu nidum servas, ego laudo ruris amoeni
rivos et musco circumlita saxa nemusque.
quid quaeris? vivo et regno, simul ista reliqui

quae vos ad caelum effertis rumore secundo,
utque sacerdotis fugitivus, liba recuso,
pane egeo iam mellitis potiore placentis.
vivere naturae si convenienter oportet,
ponendaeque domo quaerenda est area primum,
novistine locum potiorem rure beato?
est ubi plus tepeant hiemes? ubi gratior aura
leniat et rabiem Canis et momenta Leonis,
cum semel accepit solem furibundus acutum?
est ubi divellat somnos minus invida cura?
deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?
purior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum,
quam quae per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum?
nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas,
laudaturque domus, longos quae prospicit agros.
naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret
et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix.
non qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro
nescit Aquinatem potantia vellera fucum,
certius accipiet damnum propiusve medullis,
quam qui non poterit vero distinguere falsum.
quem res plus nimio delectavere secundae,
mutatae quatient. si quid mirabere, pones
invitus. fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto
reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos.
cervus equum pugna melior communibus herbis
pellebat, donec minor in certamine longo
inploravit opes hominis frenumque recepit;
sed postquam victor violens discessit ab hoste,
non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.
sic qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis
libertate caret, dominum vehet inprobus atque
serviet aeternum, quia parvo nesciet uti.
cui non conveniet sua res, ut calceus olim,
si pede maior erit, subvertet, si minor, uret.
laetus sorte tua vives sapienter, Aristi,
nec me dimittes incastigatum, ubi plura
cogere quam satis est ac non cessare videbor.
imperat aut servit collecta pecunia cuique,
tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem.
haec tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunae,
excepto quod non simul esses, cetera laetus.

XI

Quid tibi visa Chios, Bullati, notaque Lesbos?
quid concinna Samos? quid Croesi regia Sardis?
Zmyrna quid et Colophon? maiora minorave fama,
cunctane prae campo et Tiberino flumine sordent?
an venit in votum Attalicis ex urbibus una?
an Lebedum laudas odio maris atque viarum?
'scis Lebedus quid sit. Gabiis desertior atque
Fidenis vicus; tamen illic vivere vellem,
oblitusque meorum, obliviscendus et illis,
Neptunum procul e terra spectare furentem.'
sed neque qui Capua Romam petit, imbre lutoque
adspersus volet in caupona vivere; nec qui
frigus collegit, furnos et balnea laudat
ut fortunatam plene praestantia vitam;
nec, si te validus iactaverit Auster in alto,
idcirco navem trans Aegaeum mare vendas.
incolumi Rhodos et Mytilene pulchra facit quod
paenula solstitio, campestre nivalibus auris,
per brumam Tiberis, Sextili mense caminus.
dum licet ac vultum servat Fortuna benignum,
Romae laudetur Samos et Chios et Rhodos absens.
tu quamcumque deus tibi fortunaverit horam
grata sume manu, neu dulcia differ in annum;
ut, quocumque loco fueris, vixisse libenter
te dicas. nam si ratio et prudentia curas,
non locus effusi late maris arbiter aufert,
caelum, non animum, mutant qui trans mare currunt.
strenua nos exercet inertia: navibus atque
quadrigis petimus bene vivere. quod petis, hic est,
est Ulubris, animus si te non deficit aequus.

XII

Fructibus Agrippae Siculis, quos colligis, Icci,
si recte frueris, non est ut copia maior
ab Iove donari possit tibi. tolle querellas;
pauper enim non est cui rerum suppetit usus.
si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil
divitiae poterunt regales addere maius.
si forte in medio positorum abstemius herbis

vivis et urtica, sic vives protinus, ut te
confestim liquidus fortunae rivus inauret,
vel quia naturam mutare pecunia nescit,
vel quia cuncta putas una virtute minora.
miramur, si Democriti pecus edit agellos
cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox;
cum tu inter scabiem tantam et contagia lucri
nil parvum sapias et adhuc sublimia cures,
quae mare compescant causae, quid temperet annum,
stellae sponte sua iussaene vagentur et errent,
quid premat obscurum lunae, quid proferat orbem,
quid velit et possit rerum concordia discors,
Empedocles an Stertinium deliret acumen.
verum, seu pisces seu porrum et caepe trucidas,
utere Pompeio Grospho, et si quid petet ultro
defer: nil Grosphus nisi verum orabit et aequum.
vilis amicorum est annona, bonis ubi quid deest.
ne tamen ignores quo sit Romana loco res,
Cantaber Agrippae, Claudi virtute Neronis
Armenius cecidit; ius imperiumque Prahates
Caesaris accepit genibus minor; aurea fruges
Italiae pleno defundit Copia cornu.

XIII

Ut proficiscentem docui te saepe diuque,
Augusto reddes signata volumina, Vini,
si validus, si laetus erit, si denique poscet;
ne studio nostri pecces odiumque libellis
sedulus inportes opera vehemente minister.
si te forte meae gravis uret sarcina chartae,
abicito potius, quam quo perferre iuberis
clitellas ferus inpingas Asinaeque paternum
cognomen vertas in risum et fabula fias.
viribus uteris per clivos, flumina, lamas.
victor propositi simul ac perveneris illuc,
sic positum servabis onus, ne forte sub ala
fasciculum portes librorum, ut rusticus agnum,
ut vinosa glomus furtivae Pyrria lanae,
ut cum pilleolo soleas conviva tribulis.
ne vulgo narres te sudavisse ferendo
carmina quae possint oculos auresque morari

Caesaris; oratus multa prece, nitere porro.
vade, vale; cave ne titubes mandataque frangas.

XIV

Vilice silvarum et mihi me reddentis agelli,
quem tu fastidis habitatum quinque focis et
quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere patres,
certemus, spinas animone ego fortius an tu
evellas agro, et melior sit Horatius an res.
me quamvis Lamiae pietas et cura moratur,
fratrem maerentis, rapto de fratre dolentis
insolabiliter, tamen istuc mens animusque
fert et amat spatiis obstantia rumpere claustra.
rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum:
cui placet alterius, sua nimirum est odio sors.
stultus uterque locum inmeritum causatur inique:
in culpa est animus, qui se non effugit umquam.
tu mediastinus tacita prece rura petebas,
nunc urbem et ludos et balnea vilicus optas;
me constare mihi scis et discedere tristem,
quandocumque trahunt invisa negotia Romam.
non eadem miramur; eo disconvenit inter
meque et te: nam quae deserta et inhospita tesqua
credis, amoena vocat mecum qui sentit, et odit
quae tu pulchra putas. fornix tibi et uncta popina
incutiunt urbis desiderium, video, et quod
angulus iste feret piper et tus ocius uva,
nec vicina subest vinum praebere taberna
quae possit tibi, nec meretrix tibicina, cuius
ad strepitum salias terrae gravis: et tamen urgues
iampridem non tacta ligonibus arva bovemque
disiunctum curas et strictis frondibus exples;
addit opus pigro rivus, si decidit imber,
multa mole docendus aprico parcere prato.
nunc age, quid nostrum concentum dividat, audi.
quem tenues decuere togae nitidique capilli,
quem scis inmunem Cinarae placuisse rapaci,
quem bibulum liquidi media de luce Falerni,
cena brevis iuvat et prope rivum somnus in herba;
nec lusisse pudet, sed non incidere ludum.
non istic obliquo oculo mea commoda quisquam

limat, non odio obscuro morsuque venenat:
rident vicini glaebas et saxa moventem.
cum servis urbana diaria rodere mavis;
horum tu in numerum voto ruis: invidet usum
lignorum et pecoris tibi calo argutus et horti.
optat ephippia bos, piger optat arare caballus:
quam scit uterque, libens, censebo, exerceat artem.

XV

Quae sit hiemps Veliae, quod caelum, Vala, Salerni,
quorum hominum regio et qualis via—nam mihi Baias
Musa supervacuas Antonius, et tamen illis
me facit invisum, gelida cum perluor unda
per medium frigus. sane murteta relinqui
dictaque cessantem nervis elidere morbum
sulpura contemni vicus gemit, invidus aegris,
qui caput et stomachum supponere fontibus audent
Clusinis Gabiosque petunt et frigida rura.
mutandus locus est et deversoria nota
praeteragendus equus. 'quo tendis? non mihi Cumas
est iter aut Baias' laeva stomachosus habena
dicet eques; sed equis frenato est auris in ore—
maior utrum populum frumenti copia pascat,
collectosne bibant imbres puteosne perennes
iugis aquae—nam vina nihil moror illius orae;
rure meo possum quidvis perferre patique:
ad mare cum veni, generosum et lene requiro,
quod curas abigat, quod cum spe divite manet
in venas animumque meum, quod verba ministret,
quod me Lucanae iuvenem commendet amicae—
tractus uter plures lepores, uter educet apros,
utra magis pisces et echinos aequora celent,
pinguis ut inde domum possim Phaeaxque reverti,
scribere te nobis, tibi nos adcredere par est.
Maenius, ut rebus maternis atque paternis
fortiter absumptis urbanus coepit haberi
scurra, vagus, non qui certum praesaepe teneret,
inpransus non qui civem dignosceret hoste,
quaelibet in quemvis opprobria fingere saevus,
pernicies et tempestas barathrumque macelli,
quidquid quaesierat, ventri donabat avaro.

hic, ubi nequitiae fautoribus et timidis nil
aut paulum abstulerat, patinas cenabat omasi
vilis et agninae, tribus ursis quod satis esset;
scilicet ut ventres lamna candente nepotum
diceret urendos correctus Bestius: idem,
quidquid erat nanctus praedae maioris, ubi omne
verterat in fumum et cinerem, 'non hercule miror,'
aiebat, 'si qui comedunt bona, cum sit obeso
nil melius turdo, nil vulva pulchrius ampla.'
nimirum hic ego sum: nam tuta et parvula laudo,
cum res deficiunt, satis inter vilia fortis:
verum ubi quid melius contingit et unctius, idem
vos sapere et solos aio bene vivere, quorum
conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis.

XVI

Ne perconteris, fundus meus, optime Quincti,
arvo pascat erum an bacis opulentet olivae,
pomisne an pratis an amicta vitibus ulmo,
scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri.
continui montes, ni dissocientur opaca
valle, sed ut veniens dextrum latus aspiciat sol,
laevum discedens curru fugiente vaporet.
temperiem laudes. quid, si rubicunda benigni
corna vepres et pruna ferant? si quercus et ilex
multa fruge pecus, multa dominum iuvet umbra?
dicas adductum propius frondere Tarentum.
fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec
frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus,
infirmo capiti fluit utilis, utilis alvo.
hae latebrae dulces, etiam, si credis, amoenae,
incolumem tibi me praestant Septembribus horis.
tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod audis.
iactamus iam pridem omnis te Roma beatum;
sed vereor, ne cui de te plus quam tibi credas,
neve putes alium sapiente bonoque beatum,
neu, si te populus sanum recteque valentem
dictitet, occultam febrem sub tempus edendi
dissimules, donec manibus tremor incidat unctis.
stultorum incurata pudor malus ulcera celat.
si quis bella tibi terra pugnata marique

dicat et his verbis vacuas permulceat aures:
'tene magis salvum populus velit an populum tu,
servet in ambiguo qui consulit et tibi et urbi
Iuppiter,' Augusti laudes adgnoscere possis:
cum pateris sapiens emendatusque vocari,
respondesne tuo, dic sodes, nomine? 'nempe
vir bonus et prudens dici delector ego ac tu.'
qui dedit hoc hodie, cras, si volet, auferet, ut si
detulerit fasces indigno, detrahet idem.
'pone, meum est' inquit: pono tristisque recedo.
idem si clamet furem, neget esse pudicum,
contendat laqueo collum pressisse paternum,
mordear opprobriis falsis mutemque colores?
falsus honor iuvat et mendax infamia terret
quem nisi mendosum et medicandum? vir bonus est quis?
'qui consulta patrum, qui leges iuraque servat,
quo multae magnaeque secantur iudice lites,
quo res sponsore et quo causae teste tenentur.'
sed videt hunc omnis domus et vicinia tota
introrsum turpem, speciosum pelle decora.
'nec furtum feci nec fugi' si mihi dicat
servus, 'habes pretium, loris non ureris' aio.
'non hominem occidi.' 'non pasces in cruce corvos.'
'sum bonus et frugi.' renuit negitatque Sabellus.
cautus enim metuit foveam lupus accipiterque
suspectos laqueos et opertum miluus hamum.
oderunt peccare boni virtutis amore;
tu nihil admittes in te formidine poenae:
sit spes fallendi, miscebis sacra profanis.
nam de mille fabae modiis cum surripis unum,
damnum est, non facinus, mihi pacto lenius isto.
vir bonus, omne forum quem spectat et omne tribunal,
quandocumque deos vel porco vel bove placat,
'Iane pater!' clare, clare cum dixit 'Apollo!'
labra movet metuens audiri 'pulchra Laverna,
da mihi fallere, da iusto sanctoque videri,
noctem peccatis et fraudibus obice nubem.'
qui melior servo, qui liberior sit avarus,
in triviis fixum cum se demittit ob assem,
non video: nam qui cupiet, metuet quoque: porro
qui metuens vivet, liber mihi non erit umquam.
perdidit arma, locum virtutis deseruit, qui

semper in augenda festinat et obruitur re.
vendere cum possis captivum, occidere noli:
serviet utiliter: sine pascat durus aretque,
naviget ac mediis hiemet mercator in undis,
annonae prosit, portet frumenta penusque.
vir bonus et sapiens audebit dicere 'Pentheu,
rector Thebarum, quid me perferre patique
indignum coges?' 'adimam bona.' 'nempe pecus, rem,
lectos, argentum: tollas licet.' 'in manicis et
compedibus saevo te sub custode tenebo.'
'ipse deus, simul atque volam, me solvet.' opinor,
hoc sentit 'moriar.' mors ultima linea rerum est.

XVII

Quamvis, Scaeva, satis per te tibi consulis et scis,
quo tandem pacto deceat maioribus uti:
disce, docendus adhuc quae censet amiculus, ut si
caecus iter monstrare velit; tamen aspice si quid
et nos, quod cures proprium fecisse, loquamur.
si te grata quies et primam somnus in horam
delectat, si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum,
si laedit caupona, Ferentinum ire iubebo.
nam neque divitibus contingunt gaudia solis,
nec vixit male, qui natus moriensque fefellit.
si prodesse tuis pauloque benignius ipsum
te tractare voles, accedes siccus ad unctum.
'si pranderet holus patienter, regibus uti
nollet Aristippus.' 'si sciret regibus uti,
fastidiret holus, qui me notat.' utrius horum
verba probes et facta, doce, vel iunior audi
cur sit Aristippi potior sententia. namque
mordacem Cynicum sic eludebat, ut aiunt:
'scurror ego ipse mihi, populo tu: rectius hoc et
splendidius multo est. equus ut me portet, alat rex,
officium facio: tu poscis vilia, verum
dante minor, quamvis fers te nullius egentem.'
omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res,
temptantem maiora, fere praesentibus aequum.
contra, quem duplici panno patientia velat,
mirabor, vitae via si conversa decebit.
alter purpureum non exspectabit amictum,

quidlibet indutus celeberrima per loca vadet
personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque;
alter Mileti textam cane peius et angui
vitabit chlamydem; morietur frigore, si non
rettuleris pannum. refer et sine vivat ineptus.
res gerere et captos ostendere civibus hostes
attingit solium Iovis et caelestia temptat.
principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est.
non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum.
sedit qui timuit ne non succederet: esto.
quid? qui pervenit fecitne viriliter? atqui
hic est aut nusquam, quod quaerimus. hic onus horret,
ut parvis animis et parvo corpore maius;
hic subit et perfert. aut virtus nomen inane est,
aut decus et pretium recte petit experiens vir.
coram rege sua de paupertate tacentes
plus poscente ferent: distat, sumasne pudenter
an rapias; atqui rerum caput hoc erat, hic fons.
'indotata mihi soror est, paupercula mater,
et fundus nec vendibilis nec pascere firmus'
qui dicit, clamat 'victum date!' succinit alter
'et mihi!' dividuo findetur munere quadra:
sed tacitus pasci si posset corvus, haberet
plus dapis et rixae multo minus invidiaeque.
Brundisium comes aut Surrentum ductus amoenum
qui queritur salebras et acerbum frigus et imbres,
aut cistam effractam et subducta viatica plorat,
nota refert meretricis acumina, saepe catellam,
saepe periscelidem raptam sibi flentis, uti mox
nulla fides damnis verisque doloribus adsit.
nec semel inrisus triviis attollere curat
fracto crure planum. licet illi plurima manet
lacrima, per sanctum iuratus dicat Osirim
'credite, non ludo; crudeles, tollite claudum!'
'quaere peregrinum!' vicinia rauca reclamat.

XVIII

Si bene te novi, metues, liberrime Lolli,
scurrantis speciem praebere, professus amicum.
ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque
discolor, infido scurrae distabit amicus.

est huic diversum vitio vitium prope maius,
asperitas agrestis et inconcinna gravisque,
quae se commendat tonsa cute, dentibus atris,
dum vult libertas dici mera veraque virtus.
virtus est medium vitiorum et utrimque reductum.
alter in obsequium plus aequo pronus et imi
derisor lecti sic nutum divitis horret,
sic iterat voces et verba cadentia tollit,
ut puerum saevo credas dictata magistro
reddere vel partes mimum tractare secundas;
alter rixatur de lana saepe caprina,
propugnat nugis armatus: 'scilicet ut non
sit mihi prima fides et, vere quod placet, ut non
acriter elatrem? pretium aetas altera sordet.'
ambigitur quid enim? Castor sciat an Docilis plus;
Brundisium Minuci melius via ducat an Appi.
quem damnosa venus, quem praeceps alea nudat,
gloria quem supra vires et vestit et unguit,
quem tenet argenti sitis inportuna famesque,
quem paupertatis pudor et fuga, dives amicus,
saepe decem vitiis instructior, odit et horret,
aut, si non odit, regit ac veluti pia mater
plus quam se sapere et virtutibus esse priorem
vult et ait prope vera: 'meae—contendere noli—
stultitiam patiuntur opes; tibi parvula res est:
arta decet sanum comitem toga: desine mecum
certare.' Eutrapelus, cuicumque nocere volebat,
vestimenta dabat pretiosa: 'beatus enim iam
cum pulchris tunicis sumet nova consilia et spes:
dormiet in lucem, scorto postponet honestum
officium, nummos alienos pascet, ad imum
Thraex erit, aut holitoris aget mercede caballum.'
arcanum neque tu scrutaberis illius umquam,
commissumque teges et vino tortus et ira.
nec tua laudabis studia aut aliena reprendes,
nec, cum venari volet ille, poemata panges.
gratia sic fratrum geminorum, Amphionis atque
Zethi, dissiluit, donec suspecta severo
conticuit lyra. fraternis cessisse putatur
moribus Amphion: tu cede potentis amici
lenibus imperiis, quotiensque educet in agros
Aetolis onerata plagis iumenta canesque,

surge et inhumanae senium depone Camenae,
cenes ut pariter pulmenta laboribus empta;
Romanis sollemne viris opus, utile famae
vitaeque et membris, praesertim cum valeas et
vel cursu superare canem vel viribus aprum
possis; adde virilia quod speciosius arma
non est qui tractet: scis, quo clamore coronae
proelia sustineas campestria; denique saevam
militiam puer et Cantabrica bella tulisti
sub duce qui templis Parthorum signa refigit
nunc, et, si quid abest, Italis adiudicat armis.
ac ne te retrahas et inexcusabilis absis,
quamvis nil extra numerum fecisse modumque
curas, interdum nugaris rure paterno:
partitur lintres exercitus, Actia pugna
te duce per pueros hostili more refertur,
adversarius est frater, lacus Hadria, donec
alterutrum velox victoria fronde coronet.
consentire suis studiis qui crediderit te,
fautor utroque tuum laudabit pollice ludum.
protinus ut moneam,—si quid monitoris eges tu—
quid de quoque viro et cui dicas, saepe videto.
percontatorem fugito: nam garrulus idem est,
nec retinent patulae commissa fideliter aures,
et semel emissum volat inrevocabile verbum.
non ancilla tuum iecur ulceret ulla puerve
intra marmoreum venerandi limen amici,
ne dominus pueri pulchri caraeve puellae
munere te parvo beet aut incommodus angat.
qualem commendes etiam atque etiam aspice, ne mox
incutiant aliena tibi peccata pudorem.
fallimur et quondam non dignum tradimus: ergo
quem sua culpa premet, deceptus omitte tueri,
ut penitus notum, si temptent crimina, serves
tuterisque tuo fidentem praesidio: qui
dente Theonino cum circumroditur, ecquid
ad te post paulo ventura pericula sentis?
nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet,
et neclecta solent incendia sumere vires.
dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici;
expertus metuet. tu, dum tua navis in alto est,
hoc age, ne mutata retrorsum te ferat aura.

oderunt hilarem tristes tristemque iocosi,
sedatum celeres, agilem navumque remissi,
potores bibuli media de nocte Falerni
oderunt porrecta negantem pocula, quamvis
nocturnos iures te formidare tepores.
deme supercilio nubem: plerumque modestus
occupat obscuri speciem, taciturnus acerbi.
inter cuncta leges et percontabere doctos,
qua ratione queas traducere leniter aevum,
num te semper inops agitet vexetque cupido,
num pavor et rerum mediocriter utilium spes,
virtutem doctrina paret naturane donet,
quid minuat curas, quid te tibi reddat amicum,
quid pure tranquillet, honos an dulce lucellum,
an secretum iter et fallentis semita vitae.
me quotiens reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
quem Mandela bibit, rugosus frigore pagus,
quid sentire putas? quid credis, amice, precari?
'sit mihi quod nunc est, etiam minus, ut mihi vivam
quod superest aevi, si quid superesse volunt di;
sit bona librorum et provisae frugis in annum
copia, neu fluitem dubiae spe pendulus horae.
sed satis est orare Iovem, quae ponit et aufert:
det vitam, det opes; aequum mi animum ipse parabo.'

XIX

Prisco si credis, Maecenas docte, Cratino,
nulla placere diu nec vivere carmina possunt
quae scribuntur aquae potoribus. ut male sanos
adscripsit Liber Satyris Faunisque poetas,
vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camenae.
laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus;
Ennius ipse pater numquam nisi potus ad arma
prosiluit dicenda. 'forum putealque Libonis
mandabo siccis, adimam cantare severis.'
hoc simul edixi, non cessavere poetae
nocturno certare mero, putere diurno.
quid? si quis vultu torvo ferus et pede nudo
exiguaeque togae simulet textore Catonem,
virtutemne repraesentet moresque Catonis?
rupit Iarbitam Timagenis aemula lingua,
dum studet urbanus tenditque disertus haberi.

decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile; quodsi
pallerem casu, biberent exsangue cuminum.
o imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi saepe
bilem, saepe iocum vestri movere tumultus!
libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps,
non aliena meo pressi pede. qui sibi fidet,
dux reget examen. Parios ego primus iambos
ostendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi, non res et agentia verba Lycamben.
ac ne me foliis ideo brevioribus ornes,
quod timui mutare modos et carminis artem,
temperat Archilochi Musam pede mascula Sappho,
temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar,
nec socerum quaerit, quem versibus oblinat atris,
nec sponsae laqueum famoso carmine nectit.
hunc ego, non alio dictum prius ore, Latinus
vulgavi fidicen; iuvat inmemorata ferentem
ingenuis oculisque legi manibusque teneri.
scire velis, mea cur ingratus opuscula lector
laudet ametque domi, premat extra limen iniquus:
non ego ventosae plebis suffragia venor
inpensis cenarum et tritae munere vestis;
non ego nobilium scriptorum auditor et ultor
grammaticas ambire tribus et pulpita dignor.
hinc illae lacrimae. 'spissis indigna theatris
scripta pudet recitare et nugis addere pondus'
si dixi, 'rides' ait 'et Iovis auribus ista
servas: fidis enim manare poetica mella
te solum, tibi pulcher.' ad haec ego naribus uti
formido et, luctantis acuto ne secer ungui,
'displicet iste locus' clamo et diludia posco.
ludus enim genuit trepidum certamen et iram,
ira truces inimicitias et funebre bellum.

XX

Vertumnum Ianumque, liber, spectare videris,
scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus.
odisti claves et grata sigilla pudico,
paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas,
non ita nutritus. fuge, quo descendere gestis:
non erit emisso reditus tibi. 'quid miser egi?

quid volui?' dices, ubi quid te laeserit, et scis
in breve te cogi, cum plenus languet amator.
quodsi non odio peccantis desipit augur,
carus eris Romae donec te deserat aetas;
contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere vulgi
coeperis, aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertes,
aut fugies Uticam aut vinctus mitteris Ilerdam.
ridebit monitor non exauditus, ut ille,
qui male parentem in rupes protrusit asellum
iratus: quis enim invitum servare laboret?
hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.
cum tibi sol tepidus plures admoverit aures,
me libertino natum patre et in tenui re
maiores pinnas nido extendisse loqueris,
ut quantum generi demas, virtutibus addas;
me primis urbis belli placuisse domique,
corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum,
irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.
forte meum si quis te percontabitur aevum,
me quater undenos sciat inplevisse Decembres,
collegam Lepidum quo dixit Lollius anno.

LIBER SECUNDUS

I

Cum tot sustineas et tanta negotia solus,
res Italas armis tuteris, moribus ornes,
legibus emendes, in publica commoda peccem,
si longo sermone morer tua tempora, Caesar.
Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux,
post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti,
dum terras hominumque colunt genus, aspera bella
componunt, agros adsignant, oppida condunt,
ploravere suis non respondere favorem
speratum meritis. diram qui contudit hydram
notaque fatali portenta labore subegit,
comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.
urit enim fulgore suo, qui praegravat artes

infra se positas, exstinctus amabitur idem.
praesenti tibi maturos largimur honores
iurandasque tuum per numen ponimus aras,
nil oriturum alias, nil ortum tale fatentes.
sed tuus hic populus, sapiens et iustus in uno
te nostris ducibus, te Grais anteferendo,
cetera nequaquam simili ratione modoque
aestimat et, nisi quae terris semota suisque
temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit et odit,
sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes
quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, foedera regum
vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis,
pontificum libros, annosa volumina vatum
dictitet Albano Musas in monte locutas.
si, quia Graiorum sunt antiquissima quaeque
scripta vel optima, Romani pensantur eadem
scriptores trutina, non est quod multa loquamur:
nil intra est olea, nil extra est in nuce duri,
venimus ad summum fortunae, pingimus atque
psallimus et luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.
si meliora dies, ut vina, poemata reddit,
scire velim, chartis pretium quotus arroget annus.
scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter
perfectos veteresque referri debet an inter
viles atque novos? excludat iurgia finis.
'est vetus atque probus, centum qui perficit annos.'
quid? qui deperiit minor uno mense vel anno,
inter quos referendus erit? veteresne poetas,
an quos et praesens et postera respuat aetas?
'iste quidem veteres inter ponetur honeste,
qui vel mense brevi vel toto est iunior anno.'
utor permisso, caudaeque pilos ut equinae
paulatim vello et demo unum, demo etiam unum,
dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi,
qui redit in fastos et virtutem aestimat annis
miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit.
Ennius et sapiens et fortis et alter Homerus
ut critici dicunt, leviter curare videtur,
quo promissa cadant et somnia Pythagorea.
Naevius in manibus non est et mentibus haeret
paene recens? adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema.
ambigitur quotiens, uter utro sit prior, aufert

Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti,
dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro,
Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi,
vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.
hos ediscit et hos arto stipata theatro
spectat Roma potens, habet hos numeratque poetas
ad nostrum tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo.
interdum vulgus rectum videt; est ubi peccat.
si veteres ita miratur laudatque poetas
ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet, errat;
si quaedam nimis antique, si pleraque dure
dicere credit eos, ignave multa fatetur,
et sapit et mecum facit et Iove iudicat aequo.
non equidem insector delendave carmina Livi
esse reor, memini quae plagosum mihi parvo
Orbilium dictare; sed emendata videri
pulchraque et exactis minimum distantia miror.
inter quae verbum emicuit si forte decorum,
si versus paulo concinnior unus et alter,
iniuste totum ducit venditque poema.
indignor quicquam reprehendi, non quia crasse
compositum inlepideve putetur, sed quia nuper,
nec veniam antiquis, sed honorem et praemia posci.
recte necne crocum floresque perambulet Attae
fabula si dubitem, clament periisse pudorem
cuncti paene patres, ea cum reprehendere coner,
quae gravis Aesopus, quae doctus Roscius egit:
vel quia nil rectum, nisi quod placuit sibi, ducunt,
vel quia turpe putant parere minoribus, et quae
inberbi didicere, senes perdenda fateri.
iam Saliare Numae carmen qui laudat et illud,
quod mecum ignorat, solus vult scire videri,
ingeniis non ille favet plauditque sepultis,
nostra sed inpugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit.
quodsi tam Graecis novitas invisa fuisset
quam nobis, quid nunc esset vetus? aut quid haberet,
quod legeret tereretque viritim publicus usus?
ut primum positis nugari Graecia bellis
coepit et in vitium fortuna labier aequa,
nunc athletarum studiis, nunc arsit equorum,
marmoris aut eboris fabros aut aeris amavit,
suspendit picta vultum mentemque tabella,

nunc tibicinibus, nunc est gavisa tragoedis;
sub nutrice puella velut si luderet infans,
quod cupide petiit, mature plena reliquit.
hoc paces habuere bonae ventique secundi.
Romae dulce diu fuit et sollemne reclusa
mane domo vigilare, clienti promere iura,
cautos nominibus rectis expendere nummos,
maiores audire, minori dicere, per quae
crescere res posset, minui damnosa libido.
quid placet aut odio est, quod non mutabile credas?
mutavit mentem populus levis et calet uno
scribendi studio: pueri patresque severi
fronde comas vincti cenant et carmina dictant.
ipse ego, qui nullos me adfirmo scribere versus,
invenior Parthis mendacior et prius orto
sole vigil calamum et chartas et scrinia posco.
navem agere ignarus navis timet; habrotonum aegro
non audet nisi qui didicit dare; quod medicorum est
promittunt medici; tractant fabrilia fabri:
scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim.
hic error tamen et levis haec insania quantas
virtutes habeat, sic collige. vatis avarus
non temere est animus; versus amat, hoc studet unum;
detrimenta, fugas servorum, incendia ridet;
non fraudem socio puerove incogitat ullam
pupillo; vivit siliquis et pane secundo;
militiae quamquam piger et malus, utilis urbi,
si das hoc, parvis quoque rebus magna iuvari.
os tenerum pueri balbumque poeta figurat,
torquet ab obscenis iam nunc sermonibus aurem,
mox etiam pectus praeceptis format amicis,
asperitatis et invidiae corrector et irae,
recte facta refert, orientia tempora notis
instruit exemplis, inopem solatur et aegrum.
castis cum pueris ignara puella mariti
disceret unde preces, vatem ni Musa dedisset?
poscit opem chorus et praesentia numina sentit,
caelestes inplorat aquas docta prece blandus,
avertit morbos, metuenda pericula pellit,
inpetrat et pacem et locupletem frugibus annum:
carmine di superi placantur, carmine Manes.
agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati,

condita post frumenta levantes tempore festo
corpus et ipsum animum spe finis dura ferentem,
cum sociis operum pueris et coniuge fida
Tellurem porco, Silvanum lacte piabant,
floribus et vino Genium memorem brevis aevi.
Fescennina per hunc inventa licentia morem
versibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit,
libertasque recurrentes accepta per annos
lusit amabiliter, donec iam saevus apertam
in rabiem coepit verti iocus et per honestas
ire domos inpune minax. doluere cruento
dente lacessiti, fuit intactis quoque cura
condicione super communi: quin etiam lex
poenaque lata, malo quae nollet carmine quemquam
describi; vertere modum formidine fustis
ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.
Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes
intulit agresti Latio: sic horridus ille
defluxit numerus Saturnius et grave virus
munditiae pepulere; sed in longum tamen aevum
manserunt hodieque manent vestigia ruris.
serus enim Graecis admovit acumina chartis
et post Punica bella quietus quaerere coepit,
quid Sophocles et Thespis et Aeschylus utile ferrent.
temptavit quoque rem si digne vertere posset,
et placuit sibi natura sublimis et acer:
nam spirat tragicum satis et feliciter audet,
sed turpem putat inscite metuitque lituram.
creditur, ex medio quia res arcessit, habere
sudoris minimum, sed habet comoedia tanto
plus oneris quanto veniae minus. aspice Plautus
quo pacto partes tutetur amantis ephebi,
ut patris attenti, lenonis ut insidiosi,
quantus sit Dossennus edacibus in parasitis,
quam non adstricto percurrat pulpita socco:
gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere, post hoc
securus cadat an recto stet fabula talo.
quem tulit ad scaenam ventoso Gloria curru,
exanimat lentus spectator, sedulus inflat:
sic leve, sic parvum est, animum quod laudis avarum
subruit aut reficit. valeat res ludicra, si me
palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum.

saepe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poetam,
quod numero plures, virtute et honore minores,
indocti stolidique et depugnare parati
si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt
aut ursum aut pugiles: his nam plebecula gaudet.
verum equitis quoque iam migravit ab aure voluptas
omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana.
quattuor aut plures aulaea premuntur in horas,
dum fugiunt equitum turmae peditumque catervae;
mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis,
esseda festinant, pilenta, petorrita, naves,
captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus.
si foret in terris, rideret Democritus, seu
diversum confusa genus panthera camelo
sive elephans albus vulgi converteret ora:
spectaret populum ludis attentius ipsis,
ut sibi praebentem nimio spectacula plura,
scriptores autem narrare putaret asello
fabellam surdo. nam quae pervincere voces
evaluere sonum, referunt quem nostra theatra?
Garganum mugire putes nemus aut mare Tuscum,
tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur et artes
divitiaeque peregrinae, quibus oblitus actor
cum stetit in scaena, concurrit dextera laevae.
'dixit adhuc aliquid?' 'nil sane.' 'quid placet ergo?'
'lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno.'
ac ne forte putes me, quae facere ipse recusem,
cum recte tractent alii, laudare maligne:
ille per extentum funem mihi posse videtur
ire poeta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit,
inritat, mulcet, falsis terroribus inplet
ut magus, et modo me Thebis modo ponit Athenis.
verum age et his, qui se lectori credere malunt
quam spectatoris fastidia ferre superbi,
curam redde brevem, si munus Apolline dignum
vis complere libris et vatibus addere calcar,
ut studio maiore petant Helicona virentem.
multa quidem nobis facimus mala saepe poetae,—
ut vineta egomet caedam mea,—cum tibi librum
sollicito damus aut fesso; cum laedimur, unum
si quis amicorum est ausus reprehendere versum;
cum loca iam recitata revolvimus inrevocati;

cum lamentamur non apparere labores
nostros et tenui deducta poemata filo;
cum speramus eo rem venturam ut, simul atque
carmina rescieris nos fingere, commodus ultro
arcessas et egere vetes et scribere cogas.
sed tamen est operae pretium cognoscere quales
aedituos habeat belli spectata domique
virtus, indigno non committenda poetae.
gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille
Choerilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis
rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos.
sed veluti tractata notam labemque remittunt
atramenta, fere scriptores carmine foedo
splendida facta linunt. idem rex ille, poema
qui tam ridiculum tam care prodigus emit,
edicto vetuit, ne quis se praeter Apellen
pingeret aut alius Lysippo duceret aera
fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia. quodsi
iudicium subtile videndis artibus illud
ad libros et ad haec Musarum dona vocares,
Boeotum in crasso iurares aere natum.
at neque dedecorant tua de se iudicia atque
munera, quae multa dantis cum laude tulerunt
dilecti tibi Vergilius Variusque poetae,
nec magis expressi vultus per aenea signa,
quam per vatis opus mores animique virorum
clarorum apparent. nec sermones ego mallem
repentes per humum quam res componere gestas,
terrarumque situs et flumina dicere et arces
montibus inpositas et barbara regna tuisque
auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem,
claustraque custodem pacis cohibentia Ianum
et formidatam Parthis te principe Romam,
si, quantum cuperem, possem quoque; sed neque parvum
carmen maiestas recipit tua, nec meus audet
rem temptare pudor, quam vires ferre recusent.
sedulitas autem stulte, quem diligit, urguet,
praecipue cum se numeris commendat et arte:
discit enim citius meminitque libentius illud
quod quis deridet, quam quod probat et veneratur.
nil moror officium quod me gravat, ac neque ficto
in peius vultu proponi cereus usquam

nec prave factis decorari versibus opto,
ne rubeam pingui donatus munere et una
cum scriptore meo capsa porrectus operta
deferar in vicum vendentem tus et odores
et piper et quidquid chartis amicitur ineptis.

II

Flore, bono claroque fidelis amice Neroni,
si quis forte velit puerum tibi vendere natum
Tibure vel Gabiis et tecum sic agat 'hic et
candidus et talos a vertice pulcher ad imos
fiet eritque tuus nummorum milibus octo,
verna ministeriis ad nutus aptus eriles,
litterulis Graecis inbutus, idoneus arti
cuilibet, argilla quidvis imitaberis uda;
quin etiam canet indoctum, sed dulce bibenti.
multa fidem promissa levant, ubi plenius aequo
laudat venales qui vult extrudere merces.
res urguet me nulla: meo sum pauper in aere.
nemo hoc mangonum faceret tibi; non temere a me
quivis ferret idem. semel hic cessavit et, ut fit,
in scalis latuit metuens pendentis habenae:
des nummos, excepta nihil te si fuga laedit:'
ille ferat pretium poenae securus, opinor.
prudens emisti vitiosum, dicta tibi est lex:
insequeris tamen hunc et lite moraris iniqua.
dixi me pigrum proficiscenti tibi, dixi
talibus officiis prope mancum, ne mea saevus
iurgares ad te quod epistula nulla rediret.
quid tum profeci, mecum facientia iura
si tamen adtemptas? quereris super hoc etiam, quod
exspectata tibi non mittam carmina mendax.
Luculli miles collecta viatica multis
aerumnis, lassus dum noctu stertit, ad assem
perdiderat: post hoc vehemens lupus, et sibi et hosti
iratus pariter, ieiunis dentibus acer,
praesidium regale loco deiecit, ut aiunt,
summe munito et multarum divite rerum.
clarus ob id factum donis ornatur honestis,
accipit et bis dena super sestertia nummum.
forte sub hoc tempus castellum evertere praetor

nescio quod cupiens hortari coepit eundem
verbis, quae timido quoque possent addere mentem:
'i, bone, quo virtus tua te vocat, i pede fausto,
grandia laturus meritorum praemia! quid stas?'
post haec ille catus, quantumvis rusticus, 'ibit,
ibit eo quo vis qui zonam perdidit' inquit.
Romae nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri,
iratus Grais quantum nocuisset Achilles.
adiecere bonae paulo plus artis Athenae,
scilicet ut vellem curvo dignoscere rectum
atque inter silvas Academi quaerere verum.
dura sed emovere loco me tempora grato,
civilisque rudem belli tulit aestus in arma
Caesaris Augusti non responsura lacertis.
unde simul primum me dimisere Philippi,
decisis humilem pinnis inopemque paterni
et Laris et fundi paupertas inpulit audax
ut versus facerem: sed quod non desit habentem
quae poterunt umquam satis expurgare cicutae,
ni melius dormire putem quam scribere versus?
singula de nobis anni praedantur euntes:
eripuere iocos, venerem, convivia, ludum;
tendunt extorquere poemata: quid faciam vis?
denique non omnes eadem mirantur amantque:
carmine tu gaudes, hic delectatur iambis,
ille Bioneis sermonibus et sale nigro.
tres mihi convivae prope dissentire videntur,
poscentes vario multum diversa palato.
quid dem? quid non dem? renuis tu, quod iubet alter;
quod petis, id sane est invisum acidumque duobus.
praeter cetera me Romaene poemata censes
scribere posse inter tot curas totque labores?
hic sponsum vocat, hic auditum scripta, relictis
omnibus officiis; cubat hic in colle Quirini,
hic extremo in Aventino, visendus uterque:
intervalla vides humane commoda. 'verum
purae sunt plateae, nihil ut meditantibus obstet.'
festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemptor,
torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum,
tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris,
hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus:
i nunc et versus tecum meditare canoros!

scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem,
rite cliens Bacchi somno gaudentis et umbra:
tu me inter strepitus nocturnos atque diurnos
vis canere et contracta sequi vestigia vatum?
ingenium, sibi quod vacuas desumpsit Athenas
et studiis annos septem dedit insenuitque
libris et curis, statua taciturnius exit
plerumque et risu populum quatit: hic ego rerum
fluctibus in mediis et tempestatibus urbis
verba lyrae motura sonum conectere digner?
frater erat Romae consulti rhetor, ut alter
alterius sermone meros audiret honores,
Gracchus ut hic illi, foret huic ut Mucius ille.
qui minus argutos vexat furor iste poetas?
carmina compono, hic elegos. 'mirabile visu
caelatumque novem Musis opus!' aspice primum,
quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum
spectemus vacuam Romanis vatibus aedem;
mox etiam, si forte vacas, sequere et procul audi,
quid ferat et quare sibi nectat uterque coronam.
caedimur et totidem plagis consumimus hostem
lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello.
discedo Alcaeus puncto illius; ille meo quis?
quis nisi Callimachus? si plus adposcere visus,
fit Mimnermus et optivo cognomine crescit.
multa fero, ut placem genus inritabile vatum,
cum scribo et supplex populi suffragia capto:
idem, finitis studiis et mente recepta,
obturem patulas inpune legentibus aures.
ridentur mala qui componunt carmina; verum
gaudent scribentes et se venerantur et ultro,
si taceas, laudant quidquid scripsere beati.
at qui legitimum cupiet fecisse poema,
cum tabulis animum censoris sumet honesti;
audebit, quaecumque parum splendoris habebunt
et sine pondere erunt et honore indigna ferentur,
verba movere loco, quamvis invita recedant
et versentur adhuc intra penetralia Vestae;
obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque
proferet in lucem speciosa vocabula rerum,
quae priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis
nunc situs informis premit et deserta vetustas:

adsciscet nova, quae genitor produxerit usus.
vemens et liquidus puroque simillimus amni
fundet opes Latiumque beabit divite lingua;
luxuriantia conpescet, nimis aspera sano
levabit cultu, virtute carentia tollet,
ludentis speciem dabit et torquebitur, ut qui
nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur.
praetulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri,
dum mea delectent mala me vel denique fallant,
quam sapere et ringi. fuit haud ignobilis Argis,
qui se credebat miros audire tragoedos
in vacuo laetus sessor plausorque theatro;
cetera qui vitae servaret munia recto
more, bonus sane vicinus, amabilis hospes,
comis in uxorem, posset qui ignoscere servis
et signo laeso non insanire lagoenae,
posset qui rupem et puteum vitare patentem.
hic ubi cognatorum opibus curisque refectus
expulit elleboro morbum bilemque meraco,
et redit ad sese, 'pol! me occidistis, amici,
non servastis' ait, 'cui sic extorta voluptas
et demptus per vim mentis gratissimus error.'
nimirum sapere est abiectis utile nugis,
et tempestivum pueris concedere ludum,
ac non verba sequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,
sed verae numerosque modosque ediscere vitae.
quocirca mecum loquor haec tacitusque recordor:
si tibi nulla sitim finiret copia lymphae,
narrares medicis: quod, quanto plura parasti
tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audes?
si vulnus tibi monstrata radice vel herba
non fieret levius, fugeres radice vel herba
proficiente nihil curarier: audieras, cui
rem di donarent, illi decedere pravam
stultitiam, et cum sis nihilo sapientior ex quo
plenior es, tamen uteris monitoribus isdem?
at si divitiae prudentem reddere possent,
si cupidum timidumque minus te, nempe ruberes,
viveret in terris te si quis avarior uno.
si proprium est, quod quis libra mercatus et aere est,
quaedam, si credis consultis, mancipat usus,
qui te pascit ager, tuus est, et vilicus Orbi,

cum segetes occat tibi mox frumenta daturas,
te dominum sentit. das nummos, accipis uvam,
pullos, ova, cadum temeti. nempe modo isto
paulatim mercaris agrum, fortasse trecentis
aut etiam supra nummorum milibus emptum.
quid refert, vivas numerato nuper an olim?
emptor Aricini quondam Veientis et arvi
emptum cenat holus, quamvis aliter putat, emptis
sub noctem gelidam lignis calefactat aenum:
sed vocat usque suum, qua populus adsita certis
limitibus vicina refugit iurgia; tamquam
sit proprium quicquam, puncto quod mobilis horae
nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc morte suprema
permutet dominos et cedat in altera iura.
sic quia perpetuus nulli datur usus et heres
heredem alterius velut unda supervenit undam,
quid vici prosunt aut horrea? quidve Calabris
saltibus adiecti Lucani, si metit Orcus
grandia cum parvis, non exorabilis auro?
gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas,
argentum, vestes Gaetulo murice tinctas
sunt qui non habeant, est qui non curat habere.
cur alter fratrum cessare et ludere et ungui
praeferat Herodis palmetis pinguibus, alter
dives et inportunus ad umbram lucis ab ortu
silvestrem flammis et ferro mitiget agrum,
scit Genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum
quodque caput, vultu mutabilis, albus et ater.
utar et ex modico, quantum res poscet, acervo
tollam, nec metuam, quid de me iudicet heres,
quod non plura datis invenerit; et tamen idem
scire volam, quantum simplex hilarisque nepoti
discrepet et quantum discordet parcus avaro.
distat enim, spargas tua prodigus, an neque sumptum
invitus facias neque plura parare labores,
ac potius, puer ut festis quinquatribus olim,
exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim.
pauperies inmunda domus procul absit: ego utrum
nave ferar magna an parva, ferar unus et idem.
non agimur tumidis velis Aquilone secundo,
non tamen adversis aetatem ducimus Austris,

viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re
extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.
non es avarus: abi. quid? cetera iam simul isto
cum vitio fugere? caret tibi pectus inani
ambitione? caret mortis formidine et ira?
somnia, terrores, magicos, miracula, sagas,
nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides?
natales grate numeras? ignoscis amicis?
lenior et melior fis accedente senecta?
quid te exempta levat spinis de pluribus una?
vivere si recte nescis, decede peritis.
lusisti satis, edisti satis atque bibisti:
tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius aequo
rideat et pulset lasciva decentius aetas.

Epistles more finished in form than Satires. They are H's best.
Called this by Quint.

DE ARTE POETICA

Simplicity and consistency in subject

HUMANO capiti cervicem pictor equinam
iungere si velit et varias inducere plumas
undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,
spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?
credite, Pisones, isti tabulae fore librum
persimilem, cuius velut aegri somnia vanae
fingentur species, ut nec pes nec caput uni
reddatur formae. 'pictoribus atque poetis
quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas.'
scimus, et hanc veniam petimusque damusque vicissim;
sed non ut placidis coeant inmitia, non ut
serpentes avibus geminentur, tigribus agni.
inceptis gravibus plerumque et magna professis
purpureus, late qui splendeat, unus et alter
adsuitur pannus, cum lucus et ara Dianae
et properantis aquae per amoenos ambitus agros
aut flumen Rhenum aut pluvius describitur arcus;
sed nunc non erat his locus. et fortasse cupressum
scis simulare: quid hoc, si fractis enatat exspes
navibus, aere dato qui pingitur? amphora coepit
institui: currente rota cur urceus exit?
denique sit quidvis simplex dumtaxat et unum.

avoid extremes

maxima pars vatum, pater et iuvenes patre digni,
decipimur specie recti: brevis esse laboro,
obscurus fio; sectantem levia nervi
deficiunt animique; professus grandia turget;
serpit humi tutus nimium timidusque procellae;
qui variare cupit rem prodigialiter unam,
delphinum silvis adpingit, fluctibus aprum.
in vitium ducit culpae fuga, si caret arte.
Aemilium circa ludum faber imus et ungues
exprimet et molles imitabitur aere capillos,
infelix operis summa, quia ponere totum

nesciet: hunc ego me, si quid componere curem,
non magis esse velim quam naso vivere pravo,
spectandum nigris oculis nigroque capillo.
sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, aequam
viribus et versate diu, quid ferre recusent,
quid valeant umeri. cui lecta potenter erit res,
nec facundia deseret hunc nec lucidus ordo.
ordinis haec virtus erit et venus, aut ego fallor,
ut iam nunc dicat iam nunc debentia dici,
pleraque differat et praesens in tempus omittat.
in verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis
hoc amet, hoc spernat promissi carminis auctor.
dixeris egregie, notum si callida verbum
reddiderit iunctura novum. si forte necesse est
indiciis monstrare recentibus abdita rerum,
fingere cinctutis non exaudita Cethegis
continget, dabiturque licentia sumpta pudenter;
et nova fictaque nuper habebunt verba fidem, si
Graeco fonte cadent parce detorta. quid autem
Caecilio Plautoque dabit Romanus ademptum
Vergilio Varioque? ego cur, adquirere pauca
si possum, invideor, cum lingua Catonis et Enni
sermonem patrium ditaverit et nova rerum
nomina protulerit? licuit semperque licebit
signatum praesente nota producere nomen.
ut silvae foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
prima cadunt, ita verborum vetus interit aetas,
et iuvenum ritu florent modo nata vigentque.
debemur morti nos nostraque; sive receptus
terra Neptunus classes Aquilonibus arcet,
regis opus, sterilisve palus diu † aptaque remis
vicinas urbes alit et grave sentit aratrum,
seu cursum mutavit iniquum frugibus amnis,
doctus iter melius, mortalia facta peribunt,
nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.
multa renascentur quae iam cecidere, cadentque
quae nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi.
res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella
quo scribi possent numero, monstravit Homerus.
versibus inpariter iunctis querimonia primum,
post etiam inclusa est voti sententia compos;

quis tamen exiguos elegos emiserit auctor,
grammatici certant, et adhuc sub iudice lis est.
Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo:
hunc socci cepere pedem grandesque cothurni,
alternis aptum sermonibus et populares
vincentem strepitus et natum rebus agendis.
Musa dedit fidibus divos puerosque deorum
et pugilem victorem et equum certamine primum
et iuvenum curas et libera vina referre.
descriptas servare vices operumque colores
cur ego si nequeo ignoroque, poeta salutor?
cur nescire pudens prave quam discere malo?
versibus exponi tragicis res comica non vult:
indignatur item privatis ac prope socco
dignis carminibus narrari cena Thyestae.
singula quaeque locum teneant sortita decenter.
interdum tamen et vocem comoedia tollit,
iratusque Chremes tumido delitigat ore;
et tragicus plerumque dolet sermone pedestri
Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exsul uterque
proicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba,
si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querella.
non satis est pulchra esse poemata: dulcia sunto
et quocumque volent animum auditoris agunto.
ut ridentibus adrident, ita flentibus adsunt
humani vultus: si vis me flere, dolendum est
primum ipsi tibi: tunc tua me infortunia laedent,
Telephe vel Peleu; male si mandata loqueris,
aut dormitabo aut ridebo. tristia maestum
vultum verba decent, iratum plena minarum,
ludentem lasciva, severum seria dictu.
format enim natura prius nos intus ad omnem
fortunarum habitum; iuvat aut inpellit ad iram,
aut ad humum maerore gravi deducit et angit;
post effert animi motus interprete lingua.
si dicentis erunt fortunis absona dicta,
Romani tollent equites peditesque cachinnum.
intererit multum, divusne loquatur an heros,
maturusne senex an adhuc florente iuventa
fervidus, et matrona potens an sedula nutrix,
mercatorne vagus cultorne virentis agelli,
Colchus an Assyrius, Thebis nutritus an Argis.

aut famam sequere aut sibi convenientia finge.
scriptor honoratum si forte reponis Achillem,
inpiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer
iura neget sibi nata, nihil non arroget armis.
sit Medea ferox invictaque, flebilis Ino,
perfidus Ixion, Io vaga, tristis Orestes.
si quid inexpertum scaenae committis et audes
personam formare novam, servetur ad imum,
qualis ab incepto processerit, et sibi constet.
difficile est proprie communia dicere ; tuque
rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus,
quam si proferres ignota indictaque primus.
publica materies privati iuris erit, si
non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem,
nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus
interpres, nec desilies imitator in artum,
unde pedem proferre pudor vetet aut operis lex.
nec sic incipies, ut scriptor cyclicus olim :
'fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum.'
quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu ?
parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.
quanto rectius hic, qui nil molitur inepte :
'dic mihi, Musa, virum, captae post tempora Troiae
qui mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes.'
non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem
cogitat, ut speciosa dehinc miracula promat,
Antiphaten Scyllamque et cum Cyclope Charybdim.
nec reditum Diomedis ab interitu Meleagri,
nec gemino bellum Troianum orditur ab ovo ;
semper ad eventum festinat et in medias res
non secus ac notas auditorem rapit, et quae
desperat tractata nitescere posse, relinquit ;
atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum.
tu, quid ego et populus mecum desideret, audi.
si plausoris eges aulaea manentis et usque
sessuri, donec cantor 'vos plaudite' dicat,
aetatis cuiusque notandi sunt tibi mores,
mobilibusque decor naturis dandus et annis.
reddere qui voces iam scit puer et pede certo
signat humum, gestit paribus colludere, et iram
colligit ac ponit temere, et mutatur in horas.

inberbus iuvenis, tandem custode remoto,
gaudet equis canibusque et aprici gramine campi,
cereus in vitium flecti, monitoribus asper,
utilium tardus provisor, prodigus aeris,
sublimis cupidusque et amata relinquere pernix.
conversis studiis aetas animusque virilis
quaerit opes et amicitias, inservit honori,
commisisse cavet quod mox mutare laboret.
multa senem circumveniunt incommoda, vel quod
quaerit et inventis miser abstinet ac timet uti,
vel quod res omnes timide gelideque ministrat,
dilator, spe longus, iners, avidusque futuri,
difficilis, querulus, laudator temporis acti
se puero, castigator censorque minorum.
multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum,
multa recedentes adimunt; ne forte seniles
mandentur iuveni partes pueroque viriles,
semper in adiunctis aevoque morabimur aptis.
aut agitur res in scaenis aut acta refertur.
segnius inritant animos demissa per aurem
quam quae sunt oculis subiecta fidelibus, et quae
ipse sibi tradit spectator; non tamen intus
digna geri promes in scaenam, multaque tolles
ex oculis, quae mox narret facundia praesens,
ne pueros coram populo Medea trucidet,
aut humana palam coquat exta nefarius Atreus,
aut in avem Procne vertatur, Cadmus in anguem.
quodcumque ostendis mihi sic, incredulus odi.
neve minor neu sit quinto productior actu
fabula quae posci vult et spectanda reponi;
nec deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
inciderit; nec quarta loqui persona laboret.
actoris partes chorus officiumque virile
defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus
quod non proposito conducat et haereat apte.
ille bonis faveatque et consilietur amice,
et regat iratos, et amet peccare timentes;
ille dapes laudet mensae brevis, ille salubrem
iustitiam legesque et apertis otia portis;
ille tegat commissa, deosque precetur et oret
ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis.
tibia non, ut nunc, orichalco vincta tubaeque

aemula, sed tenuis simplexque foramine pauco
adspirare et adesse choris erat utilis atque
nondum spissa nimis complere sedilia flatu;
quo sane populus numerabilis, utpote parvus,
et frugi castusque verecundusque coibat.
postquam coepit agros extendere victor et urbes
latior amplecti murus vinoque diurno
placari Genius festis inpune diebus,
accessit numerisque modisque licentia maior;
indoctus quid enim saperet liberque laborum
rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto?
sic priscae motumque et luxuriem addidit arti
tibicen traxitque vagus per pulpita vestem;
sic etiam fidibus voces crevere severis,
et tulit eloquium insolitum facundia praeceps,
utiliumque sagax rerum et divina futuri
sortilegis non discrepuit sententia Delphis.
carmine qui tragico vilem certavit ob hircum,
mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit et asper
incolumi gravitate iocum temptavit, eo quod
inlecebris erat et grata novitate morandus
spectator functusque sacris et potus et exlex.
verum ita risores, ita commendare dicaces
conveniet Satyros, ita vertere seria ludo,
ne quicumque deus, quicumque adhibebitur heros,
regali conspectus in auro nuper et ostro,
migret in obscuras humili sermone tabernas,
aut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet.
effutire leves indigna tragoedia versus,
ut festis matrona moveri iussa diebus,
intererit Satyris paulum pudibunda protervis.
non ego inornata et dominantia nomina solum
verbaque, Pisones, Satyrorum scriptor amabo;
nec sic enitar tragico differre colori,
ut nihil intersit Davusne loquatur et audax
Pythias emuncto lucrata Simone talentum,
an custos famulusque dei Silenus alumni.
ex noto fictum carmen sequar, ut sibi quivis
speret idem, sudet multum frustraque laboret
ausus idem: tantum series iuncturaque pollet,
tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris.
silvis deducti caveant me iudice Fauni,

ne velut innati triviis ac paene forenses
aut nimium teneris iuvenentur versibus umquam,
aut inmunda crepent ignominiosaque dicta:
offenduntur enim quibus est equus et pater et res,
nec, si quid fricti ciceris probat et nucis emptor,
aequis accipiunt animis donantve corona.
syllaba longa brevi subiecta vocatur iambus,
pes citus; unde etiam trimetris adcrescere iussit
nomen iambeis, cum senos redderet ictus
primus ad extremum similis sibi. non ita pridem,
tardior ut paulo graviorque veniret ad aures,
spondeos stabiles in iura paterna recepit
commodus et patiens, non ut de sede secunda
cederet aut quarta socialiter. hic et in Acci
nobilibus trimetris apparet rarus, et Enni
in scaenam missos cum magno pondere versus
aut operae celeris nimium curaque carentis
aut ignoratae premit artis crimine turpi.
non quivis videt inmodulata poemata iudex,
et data Romanis venia est indigna poetis.
idcircone vager scribamque licenter? an omnes
visuros peccata putem mea, tutus et intra
spem veniae cautus? vitavi denique culpam,
non laudem merui. vos exemplaria Graeca
nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.
at vestri proavi Plautinos et numeros et
laudavere sales, nimium patienter utrumque,
ne dicam stulte, mirati, si modo ego et vos
scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto
legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure.
ignotum tragicae genus invenisse Camenae
dicitur et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,
quae canerent agerentque peruncti faecibus ora.
post hunc personae pallaeque repertor honestae
Aeschylus et modicis instravit pulpita tignis
et docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno.
successit vetus his comoedia, non sine multa
laude; sed in vitium libertas excidit et vim
dignam lege regi: lex est accepta, chorusque
turpiter obticuit sublato iure nocendi.
nil intemptatum nostri liquere poetae;
nec minimum meruere decus vestigia Graeca

ausi deserere et celebrare domestica facta,
vel qui praetextas vel qui docuere togatas.
nec virtute foret clarisve potentius armis
quam lingua Latium, si non offenderet unum
quemque poetarum limae labor et mora. vos, o
Pompilius sanguis, carmen reprehendite, quod non
multa dies et multa litura coercuit atque
praesectum deciens non castigavit ad unguem.
ingenium misera quia fortunatius arte
credit et excludit sanos Helicone poetas
Democritus, bona pars non ungues ponere curat,
non barbam, secreta petit loca, balnea vitat.
nanciscetur enim pretium nomenque poetae,
si tribus Anticyris caput insanabile numquam
tonsori Licino commiserit. o ego laevus,
qui purgor bilem sub verni temporis horam!
non alius faceret meliora poemata: verum
nil tanti est. ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
reddere quae ferrum valet exsors ipsa secandi;
munus et officium, nil scribens ipse, docebo,
unde parentur opes, quid alat formetque poetam,
quid deceat, quid non, quo virtus, quo ferat error.
scribendi recte sapere est et principium et fons.
rem tibi Socraticae poterunt ostendere chartae,
verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur.
qui didicit, patriae quid debeat et quid amicis,
quo sit amore parens, quo frater amandus et hospes,
quod sit conscripti, quod iudicis officium, quae
partes in bellum missi ducis, ille profecto
reddere personae scit convenientia cuique.
respicere exemplar vitae morumque iubebo
doctum imitatorem et vivas hinc ducere voces.
interdum speciosa locis morataque recte
fabula nullius veneris, sine pondere et arte,
valdius oblectat populum meliusque moratur
quam versus inopes rerum nugaeque canorae.
Grais ingenium, Grais dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui, praeter laudem nullius avaris.
Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
discunt in partes centum diducere. 'dicat
filius Albini: si de quincunce remota est
uncia, quid superat? poteras dixisse.' 'triens.' 'eu!

rem poteris servare tuam. redit uncia, quid fit?'
semis.' an haec animos aerugo et cura peculi
cum semel inbuerit, speramus carmina fingi
posse linenda cedro et levi servanda cupresso?
aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae
aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae.
quidquid praecipies, esto brevis, ut cito dicta
percipiant animi dociles teneantque fideles:
omne supervacuum pleno de pectore manat.
ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris,
ne quodcumque velit poscat sibi fabula credi,
neu pransae Lamiae vivum puerum extrahat alvo.
centuriae seniorum agitant expertia frugis,
celsi praetereunt austera poemata Ramnes:
omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,
lectorem delectando pariterque monendo.
hic meret aera liber Sosiis, hic et mare transit
et longum noto scriptori prorogat aevum.
sunt delicta tamen quibus ignovisse velimus;
nam neque chorda sonum reddit quem vult manus et mens,
poscentique gravem persaepe remittit acutum,
nec semper feriet quodcumque minabitur arcus.
verum ubi plura nitent in carmine, non ego paucis
offendar maculis, quas aut incuria fudit
aut humana parum cavit natura. quid ergo est?
ut scriptor si peccat idem librarius usque,
quamvis est monitus, venia caret; et citharoedus
ridetur, chorda qui semper oberrat eadem:
sic mihi, qui multum cessat, fit Choerilus ille,
quem bis terve bonum cum risu miror; et idem
indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus.
verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.
ut pictura poesis: erit quae, si propius stes,
te capiat magis, et quaedam, si longius abstes.
haec amat obscurum; volet haec sub luce videri,
iudicis argutum quae non formidat acumen;
haec placuit semel, haec deciens repetita placebit.
o maior iuvenum, quamvis et voce paterna
fingeris ad rectum et per te sapis, hoc tibi dictum
tolle memor, certis medium et tolerabile rebus
recte concedi. consultus iuris et actor
causarum mediocris abest virtute diserti

Messallae, nec scit quantum Cascellius Aulus,
sed tamen in pretio est: mediocribus esse poetis
non homines, non di, non concessere columnae.
ut gratas inter mensas symphonia discors
et crassum unguentum et Sardo cum melle papaver
offendunt, poterat duci quia cena sine istis:
sic animis natum inventumque poema iuvandis,
si paulum summo decessit, vergit ad imum.
ludere qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis,
indoctusque pilae discive trochive quiescit,
ne spissae risum tollant inpune coronae:
qui nescit versus tamen audet fingere. 'quidni?
liber et ingenuus, praesertim census equestrem
summam nummorum vitioque remotus ab omni.'
tu nihil invita dices faciesve Minerva:
id tibi iudicium est, ea mens; si quid tamen olim
scripseris, in Maeci descendat iudicis aures
et patris et nostras, nonumque prematur in annum,
membranis intus positis: delere licebit
quod non edideris; nescit vox missa reverti.
silvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum
caedibus et victu foedo deterruit Orpheus,
dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.
dictus et Amphion, Thebanae conditor urbis,
saxa movere sono testudinis et prece blanda
ducere, quo vellet. fuit haec sapientia quondam,
publica privatis secernere, sacra profanis,
concubitu prohibere vago, dare iura maritis,
oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno;
sic honor et nomen divinis vatibus atque
carminibus venit. post hoc insignis Homerus
Tyrtaeusque mares animos in Martia bella
versibus exacuit; dictae per carmina sortes;
et vitae monstrata via est; et gratia regum
Pieriis temptata modis, ludusque repertus
et longorum operum finis: ne forte pudori
sit tibi Musa lyrae sollers et cantor Apollo.
natura fieret laudabile carmen an arte,
quaesitum est: ego nec studium sine divite vena,
nec rude quid prosit video ingenium; alterius sic
altera poscit opem res et coniurat amice.
qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,

multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit et alsit,
abstinuit venere et vino; qui Pythia cantat
tibicen, didicit prius extimuitque magistrum.
nunc satis est dixisse: 'ego mira poemata pango;
occupet extremum scabies; mihi turpe relinqui est,
et quod non didici sane nescire fateri.'
ut praeco, ad merces turbam qui cogit emendas,
adsentatores iubet ad lucrum ire poeta
dives agris, dives positis in faenore nummis.
si vero est unctum qui recte ponere possit
et spondere levi pro paupere et eripere atris
litibus inplicitum, mirabor, si sciet inter
noscere mendacem verumque beatus amicum.
tu seu donaris seu quid donare voles cui,
nolito ad versus tibi factos ducere plenum
laetitiae; clamabit enim 'pulchre! bene! recte!'
pallescet super his, etiam stillabit amicis
ex oculis rorem, saliet, tundet pede terram.
ut qui conducti plorant in funere, dicunt
et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo, sic
derisor vero plus laudatore movetur.
reges dicuntur multis urguere culullis,
et torquere mero quem perspexisse laborent,
an sit amicitia dignus: si carmina condes,
numquam te fallent animi sub vulpe latentes.
Quintilio si quid recitares, 'corrige, sodes
hoc' aiebat 'et hoc.' melius te posse negares,
bis terque expertum frustra, delere iubebat
et male tornatos incudi reddere versus.
si defendere delictum quam vertere malles,
nullum ultra verbum aut operam insumebat inanem,
quin sine rivali teque et tua solus amares.
vir bonus et prudens versus reprehendet inertes;
culpabit duros, incomptis adlinet atrum
transverso calamo signum, ambitiosa recidet
ornamenta, parum claris lucem dare coget,
arguet ambigue dictum, mutanda notabit,
fiet Aristarchus; non dicet 'cur ego amicum
offendam in nugis?' hae nugae seria ducent
in mala derisum semel exceptumque sinistre.
ut mala quem scabies aut morbus regius urguet
aut fanaticus error et iracunda Diana,

vesanum tetigisse timent fugiuntque poetam
qui sapiunt; agitant pueri incautique sequuntur.
hic dum sublimis versus ructatur et errat,
si veluti merulis intentus decidit auceps
in puteum foveamve, licet 'succurrite' longum
clamet 'io cives!' non sit qui tollere curet.
si curet quis opem ferre et demittere funem,
'qui scis, an prudens huc se proiecerit atque
servari nolit?' dicam, Siculique poetae
narrabo interitum. deus immortalis haberi
dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus Aetnam
insiluit. sit ius liceatque perire poetis:
invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti.
nec semel hoc fecit, nec, si retractus erit iam,
fiet homo et ponet famosae mortis amorem.
nec satis apparet, cur versus factitet, utrum
minxerit in patrios cineres, an triste bidental
moverit incestus: certe furit, ac velut ursus
obiectos caveae valuit si frangere clatros,
indoctum doctumque fugat recitator acerbus;
quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditque legendo,
non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo.

NOTES

Where in the Notes references are given to other portions of Horace the following contractions are used—

Od. = Odes. C. S. = *Carmen Saeculare.* Ep. = Epistles.
Epod. = Epodes. S. = Satires. A. P. = *Ars Poetica.*

Where numbers only are given, the reference is in the Odes to the Odes, in the Satires to the Satires, and so on. Thus 'cf. 1. 4. 17' would in notes on the Odes refer to line 17 of the fourth *Ode*, and, in notes on the Satires, of the fourth *Satire* in Book I.

ODES.—BOOK I

ODE I

THIS Ode is introductory to the first three Books: in it Horace apologises at some length for attempting lyric poetry, and briefly dedicates his compositions to Maecenas. Nauck suggests that the two first and two last lines were not in the original Ode, but were added when the poet dedicated his writings to Maecenas. If they are omitted the Ode is left perfect as an introductory Ode, and the division of the stanzas becomes much more clearly marked, the first six beginning with *sunt quos, hunc, gaudentem, luctantem, est qui, multos,* which look like the first words of three pairs of carefully balanced stanzas.

'*Many and various are the pursuits and aims of men to which they cling tenaciously, glory, wealth, ease, war, sport: I, with the help of heaven, long to be a lyric poet, and if you, Maecenas, consider me one, I shall have attained the height of my ambition.*'

1. **Maecenas.** C. Cilnius Maecenas, 'sprung from a royal lineage,' was of Etrurian origin, his ancestors being Lucumones or chieftains at Arretium: cf. 3. 29. 1 *Tyrrhena regum progenies;* S. 1. 6. 1. **atavis**: the order is *pater, avus, proavus, abavus, atavus, tritavus.* 2. **o et.** For similar hiatus after *o* see 1. 35. 38; 4. 5. 37 *o utinam;* A. P. 301 *o ego;* Ep. 1. 19. 19 *o imitatores.* 3. **sunt quos . . . iuvat**: lit. 'there are (those) whom it delights,' *i.e.* 'some take a pleasure in . . .' *sunt qui* may be followed by either the subj. or ind.: with the subj. it means 'there are (men) of such a character that' (cf. Ep. 2. 2. 182); with the ind. it is much more definite, and the two words almost coalesce into a single word='some' (cf. Gk. ἔστιν οἵ declined as a single word). 4. **collegisse.** The phrase 'to have collected Olympic dust' refers to the clouds of dust raised by the chariots in the arena, with which the competitors would be covered. The perfect because men delight not merely in doing, but in *having done* a feat; cf. 3. 4. 52; 18. 15.

5. **palma.** A wreath of wild olive (κότινος) was the prize at Olympia, but a branch of palm was also carried by victors in all the games. The Romans introduced the practice B.C. 293, and *palma* is very common= 'victory.' In Christian times the palm is a sign of those who have won the prize of martyrdom. 6. **terrarum dominos**: either (1) agreeing with *deos* (cf. Ov. ex Ponto 1. 9. 36 *terrarum dominos quam colis ipse deos*), or (2) acc. after *evehit* 'exalts to heaven (thinking themselves) lords of the world'; cf. Lucan 8. 208 *terrarum dominos*='princes.' Against (1) it may be urged that there seems no reason for calling the gods here 'lords of the world,' and that the phrase *evehit ad deos* is complete in itself, cf. 4.

2. 17 *quos Elea domum reducit* | *palma caelestes*. For *eveho*='carry *up*' cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 130 *quos . . . ardens evexit ad aethera virtus.*

7. **hunc . . . illum**: governed by a verb to be supplied from the general sense of *iuvat* and *evehit*. Some place a full-stop after *nobilis*, making *hunc* and *illum* in apposition to *terrarum dominos*, which they explain of *the Romans* as opposed to the Greeks already mentioned—'the lords of the world it exalts to heaven, one if . . . another if . . .' But a full-stop at the end of the first line of a stanza is very awkward, while, if Nauck's arrangement of the stanzas be right, there cannot be a full-stop after *nobilis*. 8. **tergeminis honoribus**, 'triple magistracies,' *i.e.* the curule aedileship, praetorship, and consulship, the three great offices which were the object of Roman ambition.

10. **Libycis.** The corn-land of Italy, which was continually decreasing owing to the increase of parks, vineyards, and pasture-lands, was yearly becoming more and more inadequate to supply the requirements of Rome, which depended largely for its supplies on Africa (cf. 3. 16. 31; S. 2. 3. 87), Egypt, and Sicily, much as England now becomes yearly more dependent on America or India: cf. 2. 15. 1 n. 12. **Attalicis c.** 'terms such as an Attalus could offer.' The wealth of these kings of Pergamus was proverbial: cf. 2. 18. 5. 13. **demoveas.** The 2nd person sing. used indefinitely='any one.' We should say 'no one would ever move . . .'

13-15. **Cypria . . . Myrtoum . . . Icariis . . . Africum.** Notice carefully Horace's fondness for specialising general words such as 'ship,' 'sea,' 'waves,' 'wind,' by giving to each 'a local habitation and a name': the effect is to give definiteness and reality. Numerous instances occur in almost every Ode. 14. **pavidus**: 'trembling' because of his inexperience, which would make him exaggerate the dangers.

18. **indocilis pati.** See 1. 3. 25 n. **pauperiem**, 'humble circumstances': cf. 1. 12. 43 n. and 3. 16. 37 n. 20. **partem solido demere de die.** *Solidus* (cf. *solus*, ὅλος)=that which is whole, entire: hence *dies solidus*, that part of the day which should not be broken into, the working part of the day. Cf. Sen. Ep. 83 *hodiernus dies solidus est; nemo ex illo mihi quidquam eripuit.* The next two lines show that the reference is to taking a long siesta at noon. 21. **membra stratus**, 'his limbs stretched'; cf. S. 1. 1. 5 n. 22. **lene caput**, 'the gentle source.' The water flows gently and soothes him to sleep. 23. **lituo tubae.** The *tuba* was straight and used by the infantry, the *lituus* curved and used by the cavalry. Lucan 1. 237 *stridor lituum clangorque tubarum*, 'shriek of horns and braying of trumpets,' illustrates their sound.

25. **detestata**, 'abhorred.' The verb is deponent, but for convenience the part. is allowed a passive sense, cf. Epod. 5. 39 *interminatus;* 16. 8 *abominatus;* S. 2. 2. 114 *metatus;* 2. 2. 124 *veneratus; modulatus, meditatus*, etc. **sub Iove frigido**, 'beneath the cold heaven.' Jupiter is the god of the bright sky, and *sub Iove*=*sub divo* or *sub dio*, 3. 2. 5. This is clear from the etymology, *Iuppiter* being=*Diupater* from a root DIV (whence *divus*, *dies*, Ζεύς, Διός or ΔιϜος) which indicates 'brightness'; cf. *Diespiter* 1. 34. 5 and 3. 2. 29. 28. **teretes.** See 2. 4. 21 n. The cords are not rough or loosely made but neatly twisted, 'shapely,' and so strong.

29. **me.** The pronoun put first marks the transition from the pursuits of other men to that which Horace makes the object of his ambition. **hederae**: ivy was sacred to Bacchus, and so, he being the god of inspiration (2. 19.

6 n.), the symbol of poets. Cf. Ep. 1. 3. 25; Virg. Ecl. 7. 25 *pastores, hedera crescentem ornate poetam.* **doctarum f.** 'poetic brows'; cf. S. 1. 9. 7 n. **32. secernunt populo.** So 3. 1. 1 *odi profanum vulgus et arceo.* The inspired poet is 'separated' from the 'vulgar throng' to whom the world of imagination is unknown, but he is only so when the Muses are favourable, 'if neither does Euterpe restrain the pipes nor Polyhymnia shrink from tuning the Lesbian lyre.' **tibias**: plural, because two pipes, one of a higher, the other of a lower pitch, were usually employed; see illustration in Smith's Dict. Ant. **34. Lesboum.** Lesbos was the native place of Terpander (700—650 B.C.) and Alcaeus, and also the island 'where burning Sappho loved and sung.' Hence the lyre is called Lesbian after the birthplace of those 'lyric bards' among whom Horace desires to be ranked. **barbiton**: 1. 32. 4 n.

ODE II

This Ode is addressed to Augustus as the almost divine protector and guardian of the Roman state. It commences with an account of the portents which indicated the wrath of the gods at the murder of Caesar (on the Ides of March, B.C. 44) 1-20, alludes to the civil war which followed 21-24, asks to what god the duty of expiating the guilt of Rome shall be assigned, and finally gives the preference to Mercury, who (line 41) is supposed to take upon him the form of Augustus. The Ode concludes with a prayer that Augustus may long live to guide and guard the state.

The mention of *magnos triumphos* in line 49 has suggested 29 B.C. as the date. In that year Augustus returned to Rome as master of the Roman world, and on the 7th and following days of Sextilis (thereafter called Augustus) celebrated his triple triumph over the Dalmatians, over Cleopatra at Actium, and over the Alexandrians. If, however, so late a date be assigned, B.C. 28, when he actually received the title of *princeps* (cf. line 50), suits better. Plüss argues for B.C. 36 immediately after the defeat of Sex. Pompeius, when the portents which followed the death of Caesar were past but not forgotten, and when Octavian first began to be regarded as the possible saviour of the state, cf. line 25. For the whole Ode cf. the brilliant passage of Virgil, G. 1. 465 to the end, and for the portents Shak. Jul. Caes. I. iii.

1. satis terris nivis . . . grandinis misit. Note the repetition of the syllable *is*, to imitate the wearisome *whistling* of the wind in stormy weather: cf. 4. 13. 2 n. Not employing rhyme as we do, the Roman poets, especially the earlier ones, delighted in 'alliteration, assonance, repetition of the same or similar words, syllables and sounds': see Munro Lucr. Index s.v. 'alliteration.' **2. rubente.** So Milton, P. L. 2. 173 'should intermitted vengeance arm again | His *red right hand* to plague us.' **3. sacras arces.** *Arx* from *arceo* (ἀρκέω, ἀλκή), a place of defence. The N. summit of the Capitoline was technically called the Arx, as being traditionally the first hill occupied as a 'stronghold.' On the S. summit was the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the two summits would naturally be termed *sacrae arces.* The god could hardly indicate his wrath more clearly than by striking with his bolt the very temple erected in his honour. **4. urbem** used by itself always = *the* city, *i.e.* Rome: *urbs* and *gentes* include the whole world, cf. the motto *Urbi et Orbi.*

4, 5. terruit . . . terruit. Horace is extremely fond of thus connecting stanzas or sentences by repetition of an emphatic word. He avoids if

possible coupling sentences together mechanically with such words as *et*, *nam*, *enim*, etc. Cf. line 21 *audiet . . . audiet;* 1. 3. 28 *ignem . . . post ignem;* 2. 4. 5 *movit . . . movit;* 2. 16. 33 *te . . . tibi . . . te;* 4. 2. 14 *cecidere . . . cecidit.* In other cases the emphatic word is placed at the end of the first clause and at the commencement of the second, 3. 2. 13 *mori, mors;* 3. 3. 60 *Troiae, Troiae;* 3. 16. 15 *muneribus, munera;* 4. 8. 11 *carminibus, carmina,* the connexion of thought being thus made very close. **6. saeculum . . .** 'the grievous days when Pyrrha bewailed strange prodigies.' *Monstrum = monestrum, quod monet:* that which warns, a portent, prodigy. **7. Proteus** (cf. Hom. Od. 4. 386, Virg. G. 4. 395) was guardian of Neptune's herds of seals. **egit visere.** This use of the infinitive to express a purpose is of extreme rarity: Kennedy calls it 'a poetic Graecism occasionally used after verbs implying motion, purpose.' Cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 527 *populare Penates venimus;* Plaut. Cas. 3. 5. 48 *ego huc missa sum ludere.* **11. superiecto,** sc. *terris:* 'the all-covering flood.'

13. vidimus. The verb, by its abrupt and prominent position, at once brings the mind from the days of the flood to what had actually happened in the sight of living men. Most explain, 'we have seen the yellow Tiber, its waves hurled violently back from the shore of the Tuscan sea, advance to destroy . . .,' and refer to an old theory (mentioned Herod. 2. 20, but rejected, and Seneca N. Q. 3. 26) that floods are due to the wind blowing violently against the mouth of a river and preventing the efflux of its waters. Doubtless contrary winds may hold up the water at a river's mouth so as to make a flood more severe, and we could render *T. litore* not 'from' (which is absurd), but 'at' or 'on the Tuscan shore'; but the graphic *vidimus* points to something actually visible by the Romans in Rome, and which it needs no theories to account for. Take a map of Rome and observe how the Tiber flows in a straight line past the Campus Martius until its course is checked by the island of the Tiber and an ugly bend; notice that on the Etrurian side (*Tuscum litus*) is the lofty Janiculan, and on the other (*sinistra ripa*) the low-lying Forum Boarium, and then consider the rendering, 'We have *seen* (as any citizen of Rome could have seen) the yellow Tiber (yellower than ever with the flood), its waves hurled back with violence from the (steep) banks on the Etrurian side (against which the whole force of the stream would come), advance (as it naturally would, checked by the river-bend and the island) to destroy, etc. . . .' Any citizen of London might see the same effect produced by the Thames being driven back from the lofty embankment of the Middlesex shore to flood the humbler dwellings of the Surrey side.

15. monimenta regis templaque Vestae. Numa Pompilius built a circular temple of Vesta and a palace (*Regia*) attached to it at the foot of the Palatine. Being situated close to the low region called Velia (*velum*, a sail), they would stand right in the way of the inundation. **17. Iliae.** Ilia, or Rhea Silvia, is spoken of as wife of the river into which she was thrown, and represented as by the 'importunity of her complaints' (*nimium querens*) urging her husband, the Tiber-god, to avenge the murder of her great descendant, that Julius whose name recalled her own. **19. Iove non probante.** Jupiter had desired to *warn* Rome by the portents described 1-12, not to *destroy* it. **uxorius:** too devoted to his wife, too willing to obey her wishes. For the position of the word see Notes on Metres, p. xix. § 1.

21. cives. Very emphatic, and so suggesting the full idea 'citizens against citizens,' which is also implied by the antithesis *quo graves Persae*

melius perirent. The poet shrinks from expressing what he suggests. The whole history of the first century B.C. is the history of civil wars, which decimated the chief families at Rome: 'the ranks of youth were thinned by the crimes of their sires.' The proscriptions of Marius and Sulla, the battles of Pharsalia (B.C. 48), Philippi (B.C. 42) and Actium (B.C. 31) would be fresh in every memory. **22. graves Persae.** The Persian empire, dating from Cyrus (B.C. 559), was destroyed by Alexander, but the Roman poets use *Persae* and *Medi* generally of any Oriental people, but especially, as here, of the Parthians who occupied what had been the Persian empire. By defeating and destroying Crassus at Charrae (Charran, Acts vii. 2) B.C. 53 and capturing the Roman standards, they had made a deep impression on the imagination of the Romans. Their progress was stopped by two defeats inflicted on them by Ventidius, legate of Antony, B.C. 39 and 38, and the lost standards were recovered from Prahates by negotiation, B.C. 20. Coins are extant with the legend, SIGNIS PARTHICIS RECEPTIS, and the subject is continually referred to by Horace and other poets. Cf. Ep. 1. 18. 56; 12. 27; Ov. Fast. 5. 593, Virg. G. 4. 560.

25. quem . . . 'what divinity is the people to invoke for (*i.e.* to aid) the fortunes of our falling power?' **26. imperi**: not 'empire' = a country ruled by an emperor, but 'military sway,' the proper meaning of *imperium.* But cf. 4. 15. 14 n. **27. virgines sanctae.** The vestal virgins, as guarding the eternal fire of Vesta, which symbolised the eternity of Rome, would be specially bound to pray for the safety of the state, of which they were regarded as an essential portion; cf. 3. 30. 8. **minus audientem carmina,** 'turning a deaf ear to their litanies.' — Wickham. *Carmen* (= *casmen*, root KAS, 'to sing') is used of any formula chanted or recited.

29. partes. Often in the plural of that which is allotted to any one, 'task'; cf. A. P. 193; Cic. ad Fam. 11. 5. 3 *tuum est hoc munus, tuae partes.* **31. nube** . . .: from Hom. Il. 5. 186 νεφέλῃ εἰλυμένος ὤμους; to Apollo, the Sun-god, the phrase is especially applicable. The 'cloud' is a radiant one; cf. Rev. x. 1; νεφέλη φωτινή Mt. xvii. 5. **32. augur,** *i.e.* as god of Delphi and oracles. *Augur* is strictly one who interprets the cries of birds, from *avis*, and *garrire*, 'chatter,' Gk. γηρύω.

33. Erycina ridens, 'sweetly-smiling (φιλομμειδής) queen of Eryx.' Mt. Eryx was celebrated for its temple of Aphrodite, probably built by the Phoenicians to their goddess Astarte (the Ashtoreth of the Bible), who was identified with Aphrodite and Venus. **35. sive neclectum** . . . 'or if thou, our founder, dost regard thy neglected family and descendants.' **auctor,** as the sire of Romulus. **respicis** exactly = our 'regard': it means to turn the head round to pay attention, *e.g.* to acknowledge the salutation of a passer-by, Juv. 3. 185 *ut te respiciat clauso Veiento labello.*

37. ludo. In bitter irony: the god delights in war; so 3. 29. 50, Fortune is *ludum insolentem ludere pertinax.* Cf. too *spectacula Marti* 1. 28. 17. **38. lēves**: the Gk. λεῖος (λειϝος), while *lĕvis* is ἐλαχύς. So *lēvis* 2. 7. 21; 11. 6; 4. 6. 28. **39. Mauri peditis.** Some read *Marsi* on the ground that the Moors and Numidians were all horsemen, but there is no reason to assume that foot-soldiers were never employed by them. Orelli takes *peditis* = 'unhorsed,' and urges that this adds force to the picture and gives a reason for the fierceness (*acer vultus*) which the Moor exhibits, but the sense thus given to *peditis* is unnatural.

41. sive mutata . . . 'or if thou, O winged son of kindly Maia, in

changed guise dost on earth take the form of a youth (*i.e.* Augustus), submitting to be called the avenger of Caesar (Julius).' **iuvenem**: Augustus was born B.C. 63, but *iuvenis* includes the whole military age between 17 and 45. **42. ales**: because of the *petasus* and *talaria*, the winged cap and anklets he wore as messenger of the gods. **45. serus . . . redeas**, 'may it be long before thou dost return.' Notice the flattery of *redeas:* Augustus being an incarnate deity does not merely go to heaven, but *returns* to it as his home.

50. pater, i.e. *pater patriae*, the title of which Cicero was so proud (Juv. 8. 244 *Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit*): it was only formally conferred on Augustus in B.C. 2, but had been long applied to him before in common talk, cf. 3. 24. 27 n. **princeps**: 4. 14. 6 n. **51. Medos**: cf. line 22 n. The Median supremacy preceded the Persian, Astyages the last Median king having been overthrown by 'Cyrus the Persian,' but even Gk. writers use the adj. as = 'Persian' (*e.g.* in Thuc. τὰ Μηδικά = the Persian war), and in Horace it = 'Parthian.' It is not mere carelessness which makes the Roman poets speak of 'Medes' and 'Persians' instead of 'Parthians': by so doing they suggest a comparison between the exploits of Rome and the victories of Salamis and Marathon. **equitare**, 'career,' as if in scorn; cf. 4. 4. 44. The Parthian light horsemen amid their sandy deserts were the dread of the heavy-armed Roman legionaries, who were entirely incapable of resisting their rapid and desultory attacks; cf. 2. 13. 18 and 1. 19. 11 n. **52. Caesar.** Emphatically last.

ODE III

'*O ship that conveyest Virgil to Greece, duly deliver up the precious life entrusted to thy care. Bold indeed was the man who first trusted himself to the sea, but his was only one of the many impious attempts which men, such as Prometheus, Daedalus and Hercules, have made to transgress the limits which God in His providence has appointed: the constant renewal of these attempts prevents Jupiter from laying aside his thunderbolts of wrath.*'

For Virgil's intimacy with Horace see Sellar's Virgil, pp. 120-126. Virgil and Varius first introduced Horace to Maecenas, and he speaks of them with singular affection, cf. S. 1. 5. 41; 1. 6. 54 *optimus Vergilius*, and Ode 1. 24. We only know of one visit of Virgil to Athens, in B.C. 19, on the return from which he died at Brundisium Sept. 22. All the Odes of Books I.-III. are much earlier, and therefore this Ode must refer to a previous voyage, such as may well have been undertaken by the poet of the Aeneid to visit the scenes he has aided to immortalise. Some feel the difficulty so much that they suppose the Virgil mentioned not to be the poet, but surely there was only one Virgil who was to Horace 'the half of life.' See too Epod. 10 Intr.

1. sic . . . The construction is *navis*, *quae* . . . *debes*, *reddas precor* . . . *sic te* . . . *regat pater*. 'O ship that . . . owest, I pray thee duly deliver him up . . . so may heaven direct . . .' **sic**, 'so,' *i.e.* on that condition, namely, that you duly deliver him up. Cf. our similar use of 'so help you God' in administering oaths: the Latins, however, throw the clauses with *sic* forward, instead of keeping them to the end; cf. Virg. E. 9. 30 *sic tua Cyrneas fugiant examina taxos . . . incipe.* For a similar invocation to a ship cf. Tennyson, In Mem. Canto 9 seq., also Canto 17 'So may whatever tempest mars | Mid-Ocean spare thee, sacred bark.' **diva potens Cypri**: for the construction see 1. 6. 10 n. Venus is appealed to because

having sprung from the foam of the sea (Ἀφροδίτη, ἀφρός) she was supposed to influence the waves; cf. *Venus marina* 3. 26. 5; 4. 11. 15.

2. fratres Helenae. Cf. Macaulay: 'Safe comes the ship to harbour | Through billows and through gales, | If once the great *Twin Brethren* | Sit *shining* on her sails.' In thundery weather a pale-blue flame is sometimes seen playing round the masts of ships, and it was held to indicate the presence of the Dioscuri and the safety of the ship. Italian mariners call it the fire of St. Elmo. On coins, etc., Castor and Pollux are represented with a star on their foreheads. **lucida sidera**: cf. 4. 8. 31. **4. obstrictis aliis praeter Iapyga,** 'keeping all but Iapyx bound in prison.' For the prison-house in which Aeolus guards the winds see Virg. Aen. 1. 52 seq. Iapyx is to be let loose because blowing from the Iapygian promontory in Apulia it would waft the traveller from Brundisium to Dyrrachium, from which he would coast along past Corcyra and then down the Gulf of Corinth. Thence he might pass by land to Athens, or else the ship might be dragged across the Isthmus of Corinth (cf. δίολκος) and sail into the Peiraeus. A voyage round C. Matapan would be very exceptional. **aliis,** 'others,' would usually be *ceteris*, 'the others,' 'the rest.'

5. creditum. Notice the same metaphor in *debes*, *reddas*, *incolumem*. **9. robur et aes triplex,** 'oak and triple brass,' cf. 3. 16. 2 n. For a similar metaphor, cf. Aesch. Prom. 242 σιδηρόφρων τε κἀκ πέτρας εἰργασμένος. **10. fragilem truci**: juxaposition to emphasise the antithesis. Cf. too *pelago ratem*, and 2. 4. 6 n. **12. praecipitem** (*prae-caput*, 'head foremost'), coming down in sudden squalls: cf. καταιγίζειν; Luke viii. 23 κατέβη λαῖλαψ.

13. decertantem. The preposition gives the force of fighting it *out to the end.* Horace has a special fondness for these compounds, cf. 1. 9. 11 *deproeliantes*, 1. 18. 9 *debellata*, 3. 3. 55 *debacchentur*, 1. 33. 3 *decantes*, Ep. 1. 3. 14 *desaevit.* **14. Hyadas.** Seven stars in the head of Taurus which portended rain or storm. The prose term for them was *Suculae*, 'the litter of little pigs,' from ὗς, ὑός, *sus*. The poets reject so natural and vulgar an etymology, and connect with ὕειν, 'to rain.' **15. arbiter Hadriae,** 'lord of the Adriatic.' Cf. 2. 17. 19 *tyrannus*, and 3. 3. 5 *dux*, both used of the wind's 'mastery' over the sea. *Arbiter*=*ad-biter* from *ad* and *bito*, an obsolete word='to go,' from root of βαίνω. An 'arbiter' therefore=one who is present (so in Milton 'the moon sits arbitress'; Epod. 5. 50), then 'one who stands by to witness and judge.' Here used of the wind, with whom it rests to decide whether there shall be storm or calm. **16. tollere seu ponere vult freta.** The first *seu* is omitted for convenience, as often in poetry: cf. 1. 6. 19; 32. 7, and similar omissions of εἴτε and οὔτε in Gk. Translate 'whether he wish to rouse or calm the sea.' The winds are said to calm the sea by a curious idiom which speaks of them as causing that which their absence causes. So Soph. Aj. 674 δεινῶν ἄημα πνευμάτων ἐκοίμισε | στένοντα πόντον. **freta**=frith or firth.

17. quem gradum, 'what approach of death?' 'what form of death's approach?' **18. siccis oculis,** *i.e.* without weeping. For tears of terror cf. Hom. Od. 20. 349 δακρυόφιν πίμπλαντο, of the eyes of the panic-stricken suitors. **22. prudens,** i.e. *providens*, 'in his providence.' **dissociabili**: most adjectives in *-abilis* are passive, but not unfrequently the poets use them actively, and so here *dissociabilis*=*quae dissociat* 'dividing.' Cf. 2. 14. 6 *inlacrimabilem Plutona* 'who does not weep,' but 4. 9. 26 *inlacrimabiles* 'unwept for.' So *flebilis* 4. 2. 21 'weeping,' but 1. 24. 10 *flebilior* 'more

wept for.' Virg. G. 1. 93 *penetrabile frigus* 'piercing cold,' Lucr. 1. 11 *genitabilis aura* 'life-giving breeze,' see Munro ad loc.

25. audax perpeti. Horace is fond of this epexegetic or complementary infinitive after adjectives. It is very common in Gk. *e.g.* δεινὸς τλῆναι. Its use is to limit or determine the exact sense of the adjective; a man may be bold in many ways, *e.g.* in fighting, talking, etc., but when the inf. is added what was deficient in the adj. is completed, a full explanation (ἐπεξήγησις) is given. Kennedy calls it the Prolative Inf. because it *extends* the use of the adj. to which it is attached. It is used in the Odes after: *sciens, nescius, metuens, timidus, audax, doctus, indoctus, indocilis, dignus, callidus, catus, sollers, pertinax, efficax, praesens, celer, fortis, firmus, segnis, dolosus, blandus, largus, lenis, inpotens, nobilis.* Cf. S. 1. 4. 8 *durus componere;* 12 *piger ferre;* 2. 4. 19; 8. 24 *ridiculus absorbere;* Ep. 1. 2. 64 *docilem ire;* 1. 7. 57 *notum properare;* 1. 15. 30 *saevus fingere;* 1. 16. 12 *dare idoneus;* A. P. 163 *cereus flecti;* 165; 204. For it after verbs, see 1.15. 27 n.

27. Iapeti genus, 'son of Iapetus,' *i.e.* Prometheus, who stole fire from heaven, hid in the stem of the νάρθηξ or *ferula.* **28. fraude mala.** A reminiscence of the legal phrase *dolus malus,* used = 'malice prepense,' when a criminal act is committed of deliberate purpose. Others give 'a theft disastrous (in its results),' as explained in the next lines. **30. nova febrium . . .** 'a strange (hitherto unknown) troop of fevers brooded over the earth.' *Incubo* is specially used of things pestilential, or abominable, *e.g.* ill-omened birds, thick darkness, plagues. **32. semotique prius . . .** 'and what was before the slow necessity of distant death hastened its approach,' *i.e.* men, though mortal, at first lived to a great age, afterwards only for a brief span. A belief in the longevity of primaeval man seems universal.

34. Daedalus (δαίδαλος, *i.e.* varied, or cunningly wrought) is the type of the over-ambitious man of science: 'over-flighty,' we might say. **36. perrupit.** For the long final syllable cf. S. 1. 5. 90 n. Notice the rugged, laborious character of the line; accommodation of sound to sense.

ODE IV

'*Now winter gives place to the joyous period of spring: now surely is the season for festivity. Life is short, and it is well to enjoy the present; soon in any case will the night of Death be upon us, putting a stop to earthly pleasures.*'

Of L. Sestius all we know is that he was appointed *consul suffectus* by Augustus B.C. 23, although he had been a vigorous partisan of Brutus.

1. solvitur . . . 'keen winter relaxes his grasp with welcome change to springtime and the west wind.' *solvitur:* because winter 'binds' the earth in bands of snow and ice: cf. line 10 *solutae.* **vice**: cf. 4. 7. 3. **2. machinae,** 'windlasses' used to draw down to the sea (*trahere*) the barks which had been hauled up high and dry (*siccas*) for the winter.

5. Cythĕrea: Homer's Κυθέρεια, from the island Κύθηρα off the S.E. of Laconia, near which the goddess rose from the sea. The second syllable is shortened for metrical convenience. **7. dum graves . . .** 'while glowing Vulcan makes the toilsome smithy of the Cyclopes blaze.' Venus dances and Vulcan toils: everything is alive. The bolts are forged ready for Jupiter's use in the summer when thunder is more frequent. Some consider the use of *ardens* and *urit* close together objectionable, and a few MSS. give *visit.* *ardens,* however, suggests not merely a picture of Vulcan as

the fire of the furnace is reflected on his face, but also the idea of 'eagerness,' cf. Virg. Aen. 2. 529 *ardens insequitur.* The Cyclopes (Κύκλωπες) were one-eyed monsters, sons of Earth and Heaven, who forged the thunderbolts of Jove in Aetna; quite distinct from the Homeric Cyclopes.

9. **nitidum caput inpedire**, 'to entwine the glossy head.' 10. **solutae** (cf. line 1). In winter frost binds up the soil: in spring *Zephyro putris se glaeba resolvit* (Virg. G. 1. 44), 'the clod unbinds itself and crumbles beneath the west wind.' 11. **inmolare agna**, 'it is fitting to sacrifice to Faunus whether he ask (us to sacrifice) with a lamb or prefer (us to sacrifice) with a kid.' We should say, 'either with a lamb if he ask it or a kid if he prefer it.' The abl. after verbs of sacrificing (the victim being the instrument with which the sacrifice is performed) is as common as the direct acc.: cf. *facere vitula* = to sacrifice (with) a calf; *vino libare*, etc.

13. **pede**: S. 1. 1. 10 n. **pauperum** . . . 'cottages of the poor and palaces of the great.' Observe the 'reverberating emphasis' (Verrall) of *pallida pulsat pede pauperum.* 15. **vitae summa brevis** . . . 'the total of our days is small and forbids us to commence hope for a distant future.' **incohare** = to commence what will never be completed. 16. **fabulaeque Manes.** When a man is dead he becomes *fabula*, 'a subject of talk,' 'a mere name'; and so the ghosts are here called 'empty names'; cf. the imitation of Persius (5. 152) *cinis et Manes et fabula fies*, and for the very bold apposition of *fabulae Manes*, Lucan 1. 313 *Marcellusque loquax et nomina vana Catones.* 17. **exilis**, i.e. *exigilis* (from *exago*), what is drawn out, 'thin'; here = 'shadowy,' 'unsubstantial.' 18. **regna vini sortiere talis.** At feasts a president was chosen by lot (*magister*, or *arbiter bibendi*, συμποσίαρχος, ἀρχιτρίκλινος St. John ii. 9, 'master of the feast'). *Tesserae*, or 'dice,' were used for this purpose, or *tali*, 'knuckle-bones': these had four marked sides, and the highest throw was when they all came up differently; it was called *iactus Veneris* (2. 7. 25), the lowest throw being *canis.*

ODE V

'Who is thy lover now, Pyrrha? He little knows that thou art fickle as the sea: all smiles to-day, to-morrow storm. Poor inexperienced youth! I have gone through similar dangers and escaped, thank heaven.'

A slight Ode, but singularly beautiful in expression: it is in Horace's best style, and is apparently perfectly simple because perfectly finished; *summa ars celavit artem.* Any one who disagrees should attempt to omit or alter a single word. It is translated by Milton (Occasional Poems).

1. **multa in rosa urguet**, 'courts thee amid many a rose.' 3. **Pyrrha** from πυῤῥός = 'the auburn-haired,' cf. **flavam.** 5. **simplex munditiis**, 'simple in thy elegance.' For the adj. *mundus* see 3. 29. 14 n. *munditiae* applied to a lady's toilette indicates the presence of elegance and taste without ostentation or extravagance. *munditiis capimur* says Ovid truly A. A. 3. 133. Milton's 'plain in thy neatness' savours rather of the Puritan than the poet. 8. **emirabitur insolens.** *emiror* is only found here: it is a very strong form of *miror.* *insolens*, 'unused,' *i.e.* to such fickleness. The line should be read over aloud, placing stress on the initial spondees: its full force will be at once clear.

9. **credulus aurea.** Notice the juxtaposition. 'Who now too fond (or trusting) enjoys the golden hours of thy love.' *Aureus* = golden, at its best,

in perfection. Cf. *aurea aetas*, 'the golden age,' and Schiller has 'der ersten Liebe gold'ne Zeit'; Shak. Cymb. IV. ii. 262 'Golden lads and girls all must | As chimney-sweepers come to dust.' **11. nescius aurae fallacis.** The metaphor from the sea is still kept up. 'Ignorant how treacherous is the breeze.' The breeze is her fickle favour; cf. 3. 2. 20 *popularis aura*=the breeze of popular favour. **13. intemptata nites.** To inexperience her bright smiles are as alluring as the smiles of a summer sea; cf. Lucr. 2. 559 *placidi pellacia ponti.* **me tabula**, 'me the temple wall with votive picture declares to have hung up . . .' Sailors who had escaped shipwreck dedicated their garments to Neptune (Virg. Aen. 12. 768), sometimes with a *picture* of the event; cf. S. 2. 1. 32 n. **15. potenti**: with *maris;* 1. 6. 10 n.

ODE VI

'*Your exploits, Agrippa, would be a worthy theme for Varius: his poetry is Homeric. I am not capable of treating a subject such as that of the Iliad: one of my poor odes would but detract from your fame. Love and levity alone befit my inconstant muse.*'

M. Vipsanius Agrippa was the great minister of Augustus in war, as Maecenas was in peace: Horace had probably been urged to celebrate his victories, and finding the task uncongenial substitutes this dexterous apology.

1. **scriberis Vario . . . alite**, 'you shall be written about by Varius as valiant and victorious, (by Varius) a bird of Homeric song.' These lines present a distinct case of the abl. of the personal agent *without* ab. Cf. Ep. 1. 19. 3 *quae scribuntur aquae potoribus* 'which are written by water-drinkers'; Ep. 1. 1. 94 *curatus inaequali tonsore;* Virg. Aen. 1. 312 *uno graditur comitatus Achate;* Juv. 13. 124 *curentur dubii medicis maioribus aegri.* On the other hand S. 2. 1. 84, *iudice laudatus Caesare*, may be explained (see Mayor, Juv. 1. 13 n.)=*iudicio Caesaris*, and so Od. 3. 5. 24 *Marte populata* is simple, *Marte* being = *bello.* All editors try to avoid this (1) by making *Vario alite* abl. abs. 'when Varius takes a flight of Maeonic song,' but the position of *alite* prevents this; or (2) by altering to *aliti* and making a very ugly dat. of the agent. As Horace, however, distinctly means 'you shall be written of *by* Varius as brave,' and all MSS. give the ablative, the facts are cogent. **scriberis**: a peculiarly Horatian use of the future. 'You shall be written of,' *i.e.* if you will take my advice. So 1. 7. 1 *laudabunt alii* 'others shall praise,' *i.e.* if they wish; 1. 20. 1 *vile potabis* 'you shall drink,' *i.e.* if you will accept my invitation. **Vario**: for Varius as an epic poet cf. S. 1. 10. 43. 2. **Maeonii**, *i.e.* Homeric; 4. 9. 5 n. **3. quam rem cumque**: tmesis with *quicumque* is common in Horace, *e.g.* 1. 27. 14. See 1. 32. 15 n. **navibus**, *e.g.* the defeat of Sex. Pompeius B.C. 36.

5. **gravem Pelidae stomachum**: Hom. Il. 1. 1 *μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος | οὐλομένην.* **7. cursus duplicis Ulixei**: Hom. Od. 1. 1 *ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον ὃς μάλα πολλὰ | πλάγχθη.* By rendering *μῆνις* 'wrath' as *stomachus* 'bile,' and *πολύτροπος* as *duplex* 'cunning,' Horace humorously depreciates the epic style which he refuses to attempt. Cf. Epod. 17. 12 *homicidam Hectorem.* **Ulixĕi.** The gen. is from the hybrid form *Ulixeus*, which is declined as if of the 2nd declension: cf. *Achillĕi* 1. 15. 34, *Penthĕi* 2. 19. 14, *Alyattĕi* 3. 16. 41. **8. Pelopis domum.** The disasters of the house of Pelops were the stock

subject for tragedies, numbers of which dealt with the crimes or misfortunes of Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, Orestes, Electra, etc.

9. **tenues grandia**, 'too vast a theme for our slender verse.' *tenues* is in agreement with the nom. to *conamur*, and *grandia* in apposition with the accusatives *stomachum*, *cursus*, and *domum*, but it needs a paraphrase to bring out the force of the two adjectives in their strongly-contrasted position; see 2. 4. 6 n. 10. **lyrae potens.** So 1. 3. 1 *potens Cypri*, 1. 5. 15 *potens maris*, 3. 29. 41 *potens sui*, C. S. 1 *silvarum potens.* Horace is extremely fond of adjectives with the gen.: adjectives especially which indicate power or abundance naturally take it; *e.g.* 4. 8. 5 *divite artium:* and cf. the common *voti compos*, *mentis compos.* 12. **culpa deterere ingeni**, 'to tarnish through defect of ability.' Horace and Virgil adopt the contracted forms *ingeni* (2. 18. 9), *imperi* (4. 15. 14); Ovid the open one *ingenii.* Cf. too 4. 6. 44 *Horati;* 1. 12. 34 *Pompili*, *Tarquini.*

13. **tunica tectum adamantina**: the Homeric χαλκεοθώραξ and χαλκοχίτων. *Tunica*, the close-fitting under-garment worn under the loose *toga*, is aptly applied to a coat or shirt of mail. 15. **ope Palladis . . .**: Diomedes, by the assistance of Pallas, actually wounded (hence *superis parem*) Aphrodite and Ares. Hom. Il. 5. 881. 16. **parem**, 'equally matched with.' 17. **nos.** Cf. 1. 1. 29 n. The antithesis is made clear by the prominent position of the pronoun, which at once contrasts Horace with the writers already alluded to. **proelia** . . . 'combats of maidens fiercely attacking youths (*acrium in iuvenes*) with trimmed nails'; the nails are 'trimmed' as those of any fashionable beauty would be (the opp. of Canidia's *inresectum pollicem* Epod. 5. 47), though of course the adj. suggests that they would not do much harm. 19. **vacui**, i.e. *sive vacui*, cf. 1. 3. 16: 'whether fancy-free, or fired by a spark of love, easy as is my wont.'

ODE VII

'*Many fair and favourite places are there on earth, none that I love so fondly as Tibur. Do you, Plancus, whether as now in camp or, as you will be soon, I trust, at Tibur, remember that it is occasionally true philosophy to forget care in wine. Think of the example of Teucer in his troubles.*'

L. Munatius Plancus, consul B.C. 42 and founder of Lugdunum (Lyons), was an accomplished trimmer during the civil wars, but seems to have enjoyed considerable favour with Octavian, who received the title of Augustus on his proposal B.C. 27. At this time he seems to have been suffering from melancholy and a desire to quit Italy. By his use of *tenebit* (the fut. of invitation, cf. 1. 20. 1) in striking contrast to *tenent* in line 20, Horace really addresses an invitation to Plancus to come to Tibur.

1. **laudabunt.** Cf. 1. 6. 1: ='others shall praise' (for all I care), *i.e.* let others praise. 2. **bimaris.** The two harbours of Corinth are Cenchreae on the Saronic Gulf and Lechaeum on the Corinthian Gulf. 4. **Tempe**: neuter plur. like τείχη.

5. **sunt quibus** . . . 'some there are whose sole task it is to celebrate in continuous song the city of the ever-virgin Pallas, and to place upon their brow an olive-wreath plucked from every side.' **sunt quibus**: 1. 1. 3 n. **Palladis urbem**: Ἀθήνη, Ἀθῆναι. **intacta** =ἀδμής. 6. **carmine perpetuo.** The poem would start with the earliest period and give the history of Athens 'in unbroken succession'

(the exact meaning of *perpetuus*). **7. undique decerptam,** 'gathered from every side,' *i.e.* not only from every place in Attica, but also from every famous incident in Attic history. **olivam:** by producing the olive Athena became the patron-goddess of the city: hence the poet's wreath is composed of olive in this case.

9. aptum dicet equis Argos, 'will tell of Argos as fit for horses'; ἱππόβοτον, Hom. *Argos* is neut. sing.: cf. Ep. 2. 2. 128 n. **dites:** cf. Soph. El. 9 φάσκειν Μυκήνας τὰς πολυχρύσους ὁρᾶν. **10. me.** Prominent and emphatic. **patiens Lacedaemon.** The adjective 'Spartan,' = 'enduring,' has become English. The Spartan discipline was traditionally ascribed to Lycurgus. **11. opima** = ἐριβῶλαξ, Il. 2. 841. **12. Albuneae, Anio, Tiburni.** See Class. Dict., or for a full description Burn's Rome and the Campagna. A knowledge of the history and topography of Tibur is essential for understanding the Odes. **resonantis,** 're-echoing,' *i.e.* to the roar of *praeceps Anio.*

13. uda mobilibus pomaria rivis, 'orchards watered by restless rivulets.' Below the falls the main stream divided into a quantity of small rills. **15. albus . . .** 'as the S. wind is often bright (or clear) and sweeps the clouds from the darkened sky, and does not from its womb bring forth unceasing rains . . .' *albus* is emphatic: the S. wind is usually black and cloudy; sometimes however it is white, and drives the clouds away. Cf. Milton's account of the Deluge, P. L. 11. 738 'Meanwhile the south wind rose and with *black* wings,' etc. **17. sapiens,** *i.e.* 'if you are wise.' **19. molli,** 'mellow.' **seu te . . .** 'whether the camp glittering with ensigns possesses you, or (as I hope) Tibur . . . shall possess you.'

21. Teucer . . . This bringing home of a general idea or remark by adducing a special instance from mythology or history is frequent in Horace. **patrem.** His father Telamon refused to receive him because he brought not back his brother with him from Troy. Cf. Soph. Ajax *passim.* **22. tamen,** *i.e.* notwithstanding his troubles. **uda Lyaeo,** 'moist with wine.' *udus* or *uvidus,* 2. 19. 18, like *madidus* = βεβρεγμένος, is one of the many conventional phrases found in all languages to describe intoxication. Its opposite is *siccus* ('a tee-totaller'), 1. 18. 3. *Lyaeus,* Λύαιος (λύω), *i.e.* the Releaser, in Latin *Liber,* is aptly so called here with reference to Teucer and his troubles. **23. populea.** The poplar was sacred to Hercules, whose many wanderings would occur to Teucer.

25. quo nos, 'whithersoever fortune, kinder than my sire, shall guide us, we will go . . .' **feret fortuna:** *fero* is the derivation of *fortuna.* **27. duce et auspice.** An *imperator* alone had the right of taking the auspices. During the Republic an *imperator* always led the army into the field and so was *dux* also. Under the Empire the chief of the state was perpetual *imperator,* and the generals who conducted his campaigns were merely *duces.* *duce et auspice* is however used perfectly generally here, as we might say 'guide and guardian.' **Teucro . . . Teucro:** the substitution of the personal name for the pronoun indicates proud self-confidence, and the repetition emphasises this. Some put a colon after *auspice,* rendering 'naught need ye despair of with Teucer for your guide: (for) to Teucer hath unerring Apollo promised . . .,' which entirely alters the emphasis.

29. ambiguam . . . 'that in a new land shall arise a Salamis of doubtful name.' *ambiguam,* because thereafter when Salamis was mentioned it would be 'doubtful' whether the old or the new town was referred to. Cf.

Boston in Lincolnshire and Boston in America. **32. iterabimus,** 'we will once more essay.' He had just crossed the sea once from Troy. Cf. Tennyson's Ulysses, 'Souls that have toil'd and wrought and thought with me, | . . . Come, my friends, | 'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.'

ODE VIII

'Say, Lydia, why you are eager that your love should be the ruin of Sybaris, by keeping him from the manly exercises in which he used to excel.'

1. per te deos oro=*per deos te oro.* The peculiar order is idiomatic and usual; cf. too Soph. Phil. 468 *πρὸς νῦν σε πατρὸς . . . ἱκνοῦμαι.* **2. Sybarin.** A fit name for such a love-sick youth. For the luxurious town of Sybaris which provides us with the word 'sybarite' see Class. Dict. **3. apricum campum.** On sunny afternoons the Campus Martius was the regular resort of all who desired air and exercise. For *campus*=Campus Martius cf. 3. 1. 11 n. **4. patiens,** *i.e.* by nature.

5. militaris, 'as a soldier,' *i.e.* in martial exercises, of which riding was one of the chief, cf. 3. 24. 54. **6. aequales,** 'those of the same age,' *ὁμήλικες.* **Gallica** . . . 'nor guide the mouth of a Gaulish steed with jagged bit.' Gaulish horses were celebrated. *lupatus* is an adj., but the plural *lupati* or *lupata* is used for 'a bit.' Its name, which describes an instrument furnished with teeth like those of a wolf, shows its character. **8. Tiberim.** A plunge in the Tiber concluded the daily exercise. **olivum:** oil, used by the wrestlers. *oliva*=the olive-tree: cf. *ἔλαιον* and *ἐλαία.*

10. neque iam . . . 'why no longer has he his arms black and blue with (the use of) weapons, winning fame by often sending the *discus* and often the javelin clear beyond the limit (attained by his rivals)?' **gestat:** frequentative, from *gero*=to wear: we cannot use the expression in English, and it is rare in Latin. **11. disco** (*δικεῖν* 'to fling'): a flat circular stone. The statue of the Discobolos by Myron is famous. Unlike the game of quoits, the object was merely to hurl it as far as possible, hence **finem** is not the mark, or thing aimed at. **disco** and **iaculo** explain **armis. 12. expedito:** of a clear free throw.

13. marinae filium Thetidis. In post-Homeric legends (*e.g.* Ov. Met. 13. 162) Thetis hides Achilles at Scyros, disguised as a maid, to keep him from Troy, where he was destined to glory and the grave. Note that the Greeks do not represent Achilles as a grim and grisly warrior, but as of fair and almost feminine aspect. **14. sub lacrimosa** . . . 'when the tearful fall of Troy drew near.' *sub* with the acc. is used of approach to a thing which is *imminent*, e.g. *sub noctem*, towards nightfall, cf. 1. 9. 19; 2. 18. 18. **15. virilis cultus,** 'manly attire.'

ODE IX

''Tis storm and winter outside: heap up the fire and bring forth the wine. All is in the hands of the gods, who will soon restore fine weather. Meantime to make the best of the present is wisest, and for those who are young to enjoy the days of their youth.'

The Ode is an imitation of Alcaeus *Ὕει μὲν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκ δ' ὀράνω μέγας | χείμων, πεπάγασιν δ' ὑδάτων ῥόαι | . . . κάββαλλε τὸν χειμῶν', ἐπὶ μὲν τιθεὶς | πῦρ, ἐν δὲ κίρναις οἶνον ἀφειδέως . . .*

1. vides. Soracte, 26 miles N. of Rome, is visible from the city; the Ode however represents the writer as in the country, probably at Tibur, whence the mountain would be a much nearer and more imposing object, and naturally referred to as indicating by its appearance the probable state of the weather. **stet nive candidum,** 'stands out clear with its white mantle of snow.' **3. laborantes:** 2. 9. 7 n.

6. reponens, 'piling again and again,' Wickham. Perhaps, however, *re* is used in the very common sense of 'duly': it was a *duty* to keep up a good fire on such a day. **benignius,** *i.e.* 'with more than ordinary liberality.' *benignus* is the opposite of *malignus* 'grudging' (1. 28. 23). **7. deprome:** from the cellar, or better from the *diota.* **quadrimum:** except for special vintages, such as Falernian, 'four-year old' wine means wine in good condition, cf. Theocr. 14. 16 *ἀνῷξα δὲ Βίβλινον αὐτοῖς | εὐώδη τετόρων ἐτέων*; id. 7. 147. **8. Thaliarche.** Θαλίαρχος is not, as Orelli gives, =συμποσίαρχος (cf. 1. 4. 18 n.) but is invented to suit the context='one in the fresh bloom of youth.' Horace throughout speaks in a didactic tone as an older to a younger man. **diota:** a jar with two ears (*δὶς οὖς*), therefore the same as *amphora* (*ἀμφὶ φέρειν*), a jar with two handles.

9. simul=*simulac.* 'As soon as they have laid to rest the winds now fighting to the death upon the yeasty deep.' Cf. Daniel vii. 2 'the four winds of heaven strove upon the great sea.' **13. quid sit futurum cras . . .** Cf. 1. 11. 8. Both lines are a concise epitome of one portion of the Epicurean philosophy, of which Horace was at any rate a professed disciple. **14. quem fors . . .** 'whatever sort of day chance shall give, add to the profit account.' **lucro appone**=put down to the side of gain, add as an item on the credit side. **16. puer:** while young, in youth. **neque tu:** by a frequent Latin idiom, when a person is told to do two things, the pronoun is inserted in the second case with a view of enforcing the personal emphasis of the command; cf. Ep. 1. 2. 63 *hunc frenis, hunc tu compesce catena.* Here in connexion with *puer* the pronoun enforces the command by recalling attention to the fitness with which it is addressed to Thaliarchus—'*you* are young: of course *you* must dance.'

17. virenti. Youth is always spoken of as green. The metaphor is from spring-time (*ver*=*quod viret*). **18. morosa,** 'crabbed.' *morosus* is one who consults only his own disposition (*mores*): its opposite is *moriger*, one who consults that of others. **nunc . . . nunc** (l. 21): mark the emphatic position of these two words: 'now'='in the days of thy youth,' cf. Ecclesiastes xii. 1. **areae:** lit. a threshing-floor, then a broad open space in a city. **20. composita hora,** 'at the trysting-hour.'

21. nunc et . . . 'now too the pleasant laugh from an inmost corner, which betrays the lurking maiden, and the token snatched from arm or finger that mischievously resists.' **24. male pertinaci:** *male* (1) with adjectives which have a *bad* sense intensifies that bad sense, cf. S. 1. 3. 45 *male parvus;* 1. 4. 66 *rauci male* 'horribly hoarse'; (2) with adjectives which have a *good* sense neutralises that good sense; cf. Ep. 1. 19. 3 *male sanos* 'insane,' and commonly *male gratus*, *male fidus.* It can hardly be said that *pertinaci* has a good sense where the girl puts on the air of obstinacy: therefore render 'mischievously resisting,' *i.e.* to tease the lover (cf. 1. 17. 25 *male dispari*). Kiessling gives 'not resisting,' 'resisting feebly.'

ODE X

An Ode to Mercury, detailing his various attributes. The Gk. list is λόγιος, ἀγώνιος, διάκτορος, μουσικός, κλέπτης, ἐριούνιος, χουσόρραπις, ψυχοπομπός.

1. **facunde,** *i.e.* as the god of speech; cf. ἑρμηνεύω, 'to interpret'; Acts xiv. 12 'And they called Barnabas, Jupiter; and Paul, Mercurius, because he was the chief speaker.' As such he is also the patron of poets, *viri Mercuriales* 2. 17. 29, and their protector, 2. 7. 13. 2. **feros cultus hominum recentum,** 'the brute manners of newly-created men.' *recens* is exactly the opposite of our 'recent.' 3. **voce et more,** 'by the gift of language and the institution of . . .' **decorae**: because true physical beauty is impossible without proper physical exercise.

6. **nuntium,** 'herald.' 7. **callidum condere,** 'skilled in hiding,' epexegetic inf., cf. 1. 3. 25 n. *condo* = *cum* and *do* (same root as τίθημι), to put together, store up, hide; cf. *ab-do, de-do, circum-do, man-do.* 9. **te** . . . 'at you, once upon a time, while in the very act of terrifying you, young scamp that you were, with threatening words, unless you should have restored . . ., at you Apollo was fain to laugh, robbed of his quiver (in the very midst of his lecture).' **nisi reddidisses**: the threat of Apollo (*nisi reddideris*) in oblique narration. 11. **dum terret** = while he *was* trying to frighten you. *Dum* takes the present ind. even with reference to past actions; cf. 1. 22. 10 *dum canto,* 1. 34. 2 *dum erro,* 3. 7. 18 *dum fugit,* 3. 11. 23.

13. **quin et** . . . He is the guide of good men on earth and good souls below: in Gk. πόμπιμος and ψυχοπομπός. **quin et** 'nay even': 3. 11. 21 n. 14. **Priamus.** When he went to beg the body of Hector from Achilles, Il. 24. 334. **dives** suggests the valuable presents he took with him. 17. **reponis,** 'dost *duly* place,' cf. 1. 9. 6 n. 18. **virga.** The κηρύκειον, or *caduceus,* seen in all representations of the god. **coerces,** 'keep together' (*cum-arceo*).

ODE XI

'*Do not, Leuconoe, consult the astrologers. It is better to enjoy the present and allow the future to take care of itself.*'

1. **ne quaesieris.** The perfect subj. (as more polite) is regular in prohibitions, and the present extremely rare. 2. **Babylonios temptaris numeros,** 'make trial of Babylonian astrology.' Amid the decay of real belief, superstition was at this period rife at Rome, and especially a belief in the reading of the stars (cf. 2. 17. 17—22). Both astronomy and its false sister astrology were especially studied by the Chaldeans: cf. Matt. ii. 1 'There came wise men from the east,' etc. *numeri* are the calculations made in casting horoscopes and the like: hence the name *mathematici.* See Dict. Ant. s. v. *Astrologia.*

5. **oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare,** 'makes the sea spend its strength on the confronting rocks.' The rocks are called *pumices* because they were eaten into holes like those in pumice-stone. 6. **sapias** . . . 'be wise, strain wine, and, the course of life being short, cut down distant expectations.' Wine was strained through linen or snow. *spatium* refers to the old metaphor of life being a sort of race-course. *reseco* = cut back, prune, reduce to reasonable limits. 7. **fugerit.** The perfect, to express suddenness of completion. Not 'it will be going,' but 'it will be gone.' **invida**:

'grudging.' The line is copied by Persius 5. 153 *vive memor leti! fugit hora, hoc, quod loquor, inde est.* **8. carpe diem.** Either 'pluck the flower of to-day's joys,' or 'snatch at the present day before it escape.' For the sense cf. 1. 11 Int. and Ep. 1. 4. 13.

ODE XII

'*Whom dost thou choose to tell of, Clio, in strains that like those of Orpheus shall have power even over stubborn nature? What man or hero or god? Surely of Him first, who is the Sire of gods and men, the great Lord of the Universe, even Jupiter high above all beyond all comparison. Then of those—gods or heroes or men—who as his vassals have wrought his will in the world-old contest of order against anarchy, gods by aiding him against the rebellious Titans* (*cf. the lists of gods here and in* 3. 4) *or subduing the rage of the sea, men by performing each his appointed task, in the founding and confirming of that which is the counterpart of his heavenly empire—the Roman state. And of these the greatest and the last is Caesar, the greatest, O Jupiter, but still thy vassal. Yea, though he conquer Parthia or farthest India and extend his sway over the wide world, yet he is thy subject, for* thou *even* thou *art Lord of heaven and earth* (cf. *te* line 57, *tu* 58, *tu* 59).'

So Plüss, who refers the Ode to some great national triumph, such as the defeat of Sex. Pompeius, B.C. 36, but Kiessling to the betrothal of Marcellus and Julia, B.C. 25.

1. quem virum . . . From Pindar, Ol. 2. 1 ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι, | τίνα θεόν, τίν' ἥρωα, τίνα δ' ἄνδρα κελαδήσομεν; **2. sumis celebrare.** Verbs of wishing or resolving take an infinitive. A slight and poetic extension of this liberty allows *sumere* (='to choose') to do the same. See 1. 15. 27 n. and cf. Ep. 1. 3. 7 *scribere sumit.* **3. iocosa imago,** 'sportive echo.' Cf. *Vaticani montis imago* 1. 20. 7. Echo is a phantom voice (*imago vocis*). **7. unde vocalem . . .**, 'whence the woods in random haste followed the strains of Orpheus.' The final syllable of *temere* is always elided.

9. materna, *i.e.* of Calliope. **11. blandum et . . .** 'persuasive too to draw after him with his tuneful strings the listening oaks.' **auritas,** 'long-eared': but here apparently 'with ears pricked up.' The oaks are represented with every leaf pricked up to catch each note. **12. ducere:** epexegetic inf. For Orpheus cf. Shak. Henry 8, III. i.

'Orpheus with his lute made trees,
And the mountain tops that freeze,
Bow themselves when he did sing:
To his music plants and flowers
Ever sprung; as sun and showers
There had made a lasting spring.'

13. solitis. Cf. Virg. Ecl. 3. 60 *ab Iove principium,* and Aratus, ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα . . . τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν (quoted by St. Paul, Acts xvii. 28). **14. qui res hominum ac deorum.** Cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 229 *o qui res hominumque deumque | aeternis regis imperiis.* **15. variisque . . .** 'and regulates the heaven with changing seasons.' *mare, terrae, mundus,* 'sea, earth, and sky,' together make up the universe. For this sense of *mundus* cf. Virg. Ecl. 6. 34; Munro Lucr. 1. 73 n. **16. horae**=ὧραι.

17. unde=*a quo,* 'from whom.' Cf. 2. 12. 7; 3. 17. 2 *hinc* 'from him'; Virg. Aen. 1. 6 *genus unde Latinum,* 'from whom the Latin race.' **18. secundum, proximos.** The point depends on the difference between these words: *secundus* (from *sequor*) is used of that which *follows,* and implies that there is, if not a connexion, at any rate no marked gap between two things;

proximus, on the other hand, merely means 'next,' and is compatible with the existence of the widest possible gap. So Virg. Aen. 5. 320, in describing a race, says of 'a bad second,' *proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo.* In Macaulay's famous instance of 'Eclipse first and the rest nowhere,' the second horse would be *proximus*, but not *secundus.*

21. **proeliis audax.** Some put a full stop after this and make it go with *Pallas*, but the run of the verse seems against this. For Bacchus, as a courageous divinity, see 2. 19. 28. 22. **virgo.** The huntress Diana. 26. **hunc equis . . .** Cf. S. 2. 1. 26; Hom. Il. 3. 237 Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πὺξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα. 27. **quorum . . .** Cf. 1. 3. 2 n. 29. **defluit . . .** The wind had driven the spray and surge high on to the rocks: now it drips from them again. 31. **et minax . . .** 'and the threatening wave, because such is their pleasure, sinks back on the bosom of the deep.'

33. **quietum,** 'peaceful.' Numa Pompilius was the legendary author of most civil and religious, as Romulus was of most warlike observances. 34. **superbos Tarquini fasces,** 'the proud sway of Tarquin,' = the sway of Tarquin the Proud: a good instance of hypallage; cf. 3. 1. 42 n. Horace does not mention Tarquinius Superbus as a hero, but because he is thinking of the glorious deeds connected with his expulsion. Then the thought of the great author of Roman freedom, Brutus, suggests the name of him who refused to survive that freedom, Cato. 35. **Catonis nobile letum.** The suicide of Cato at Utica, after the battle of Thapsus (B.C. 46), is continually referred to with indiscriminate praise by the poets and philosophers of the next century. For the frequency of suicide under the empire, see Merivale, Hist. c. 74.

37. **Scauros.** The reference is chiefly to M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul B.C. 115 and 107, censor B.C. 109. His character was none of the best (Mommsen, bk. 4. c. 4) and he accepted bribes from Jugurtha in B.C. 111, but the name is merely used as a typical one for 'a fine old Roman.' 38. **Paulum.** Consul with C. Terentius Varro; at the fatal battle of Cannae (B.C. 216) he refused to fly. 39. **insigni Camena,** 'the muse that gives renown.' Notice that in praise of these national heroes, he receives the aid of the national Camenae, not of the foreign Μοῦσαι. 41. **incomptis capillis.** Barbers were introduced at Rome B.C. 300. The elder Cato is called *intonsus* 2. 15. 11. These bearded ancients are a type of manly vigour. 43. **saeva paupertas et . . .** 'stern poverty and a farm handed down from father to son, with a modest homestead.' The words *avitus apto cum Lare fundus* give a fair definition of what the Romans would call *paupertas.* It is here the condition of a small yeoman; cf. 3. 16. 37 n.; Ep. 2. 2. 12 n.

45. **crescit . . .** A faultless line. The comparison expresses the sure, silent, and steady growth of the fame of the name Marcellus. **occulto aevo,** 'by the silent lapse of time.' *aevum* (= αἰϝών, root *i*, 'to go') is 'that which passes away.' 46. **Marcelli.** This family traced its origin to Marcellus who won the *spolia opima* for the third and last time B.C. 222, and conquered Syracuse B.C. 212. For the young Marcellus see Dict. He married Julia, the daughter of Augustus, B.C. 25; cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 860-886. 47. **Iulium sidus,** 'the star of the Julian line.' The word 'star' is used generally = 'fortune' in reference to the astrological idea of a ruling star, and specially with reference to the comet (*Iulium sidus*) which appeared about the period of Caesar's death, and indicated his reception into heaven.

51. Caesaris, *i.e.* Augustus. **tu . . .** 'reign thou, and may Caesar be second to thee.' *regnes* is not so much a prayer as an ascription of praise. The use of *secundus* here after what has been said in lines 18, 19 is difficult. Perhaps Horace means: 'there is indeed none who is "second" to thee, but, if to any being that epithet can be applied, may it be to Caesar.' **54. egerit . . . :** referring to the well-earned (*iustus*) triumph in which the captives would be led through the streets of Rome. **55. subiectos . . .** 'the Seres and Indi who dwell close beside the coasts of the rising sun.' *subiectos* indicates close proximity; they lie close up to the extremest east, which is just above or beyond them. **57. te minor . . .** *i.e.* so long as he acknowledges thee as supreme. Cf. 3. 6. 5 *dis te minorem quod geris imperas,* and 3. 1. 6 n. **59. parum castis**=unholy. **60. lucis:** for the use of 'groves' in idolatrous worship, cf. the whole history of the children of Israel. Spots struck by lightning were held to be accursed.

ODE XIII

'Jealousy and rage consume me, Lydia, when I hear you continually dwelling on the charms of Telephus, and see on shoulder or lip the trace of your fierce quarrels and frenzied reconciliations. Believe me, such passionate love does not last. Happy they whom a peaceful affection unites till death.'

1. Telephi . . . Telephi. Lydia dwells with fond iteration on the beloved name; cf. 2. 14. 1 n. **2. roseam,** 'rosy'; so of Venus, Virg. Aen. 1. 402 *rosea cervice refulsit.* **cerea:** smooth and white as wax. **3. vae meum,** 'alas, my heart boils and swells with angry bile.' **4. difficili** =hard to deal with, irritable, savage. **bile:** cf. Gk. χολή and χόλος= 'bile' or 'anger,' and μελαγχολικός. **iecur:** the seat of the affections and passions; cf. S. 1. 9. 66; Ep. 1. 18. 72.

6. manet: the *manent* of many MSS. is an ignorant correction *metri gratia,* cf. 1. 3. 36 n.: after two disjunctive particles the plural is wrong. **7. furtim.** He tries to conceal it, but in vain: cf. *rara* 4. 1. 34 and n. **8. mācerer,** but *măcer;* so *sōpio, sŏpor, fīdo, fĭdes:* on the contrary *rex rēgis* but *rĕgo.* 'By what slow-consuming fires I am inwardly wasting away.' **9. uror.** Put prominently forward this word connects this and the last sentence, which ended with *ignibus.* 'Yes, I burn whether quarrels (rendered) immoderate through wine have scarred those snowy shoulders, or your frenzied lover has left a memento with his tooth upon your lips.'

13. non . . . 'you would not, if you were to listen enough to me, hope that he will be yours for ever . . .'; cf. Pers. 1. 5 *non, si quid turbida Roma elevet, accedas.* **non** is not=*ne.* **14. dulcia barbare.** Antithetical juxtaposition: their sweetness makes the barbarity grosser, cf. 2. 4. 6 n. **16. quinta parte sui nectaris.** Some take *quinta* vaguely =a 'considerable' part. But Horace refers to the Pythagorean division of all things into four elements, earth, air, fire, and water, and a certain 'fifth existence' (*quinta essentia,* πεμπτὴ οὐσία, quintessence) of a higher nature which informs and animates the rest, and therefore means 'the best part of her own sweetness.' **17. ter et amplius.** A slight variation from the ordinary *terque quaterque.* **20. suprema citius die,** 'sooner than the day of death' put by a natural inaccuracy for 'sooner than on the day of death.'

ODE XIV

'*Take heed, O ship, lest you drift out to sea again. Observe how shattered you already are by storms, and hasten eagerly into harbour and stay there.*'

The ship is the State (cf. Aesch. Theb. 1 and see Dict. s.v. *guberno*), which is spoken of as shattered by the storms of civil war, and in danger of drifting back into the same dangerous waters, and the Ode may well refer to any of the early years of the sole rule of Augustus. Quintilian, 8. 6. 44, mentions this Ode as an instance of Ἀλληγορία *quae aliud verbis aliud sensu ostendit . . . navem Horatius pro re publica, fluctuum tempestates pro bellis civilibus, portum pro pace et concordia dicit.* It is copied from Alcaeus, and part of the original is preserved in Heraclides' *Homeric Allegories :*

ἀσυνέτημι τῶν ἀνέμων στάσιν·
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται,
τὸ δ' ἔνθεν· ἄμμες δ' ἀν τὸ μέσσον
νᾶϊ φορεύμεθα σὺν μελαίνᾳ,

χείμωνι μοχθεῦντες μεγάλῳ μάλα·
περ μὲν γὰρ ἄντλος ἰστοπέδαν ἔχει,
λαῖφος δὲ πᾶν ζάδηλον ἤδη
καὶ λάκιδες μέγαλαι κατ' αὖτο.

2. fortiter occupa portum, 'stoutly make for harbour (before it is too late).' For *occupo* cf. Gk. use of *φθάνειν* with a part., and 2. 12. 28 *rapere occupet*, 'is the first to snatch.' **3. nonne vides . . .** 'mark you not how the side is stripped of oars, and (how) the mast damaged by the swift Afric wind and the yard-arms groan . . . ?' It is better to understand *sit* after *nudum*, than with Orelli to make *latus*, *malus* and *antemnae* all nominatives to *gemant*. For the zeugma in **vides ut . . . gemant** cf. 3. 10. 5 n. **6. antemna** = *ἀνατεινομένη*. From words such as this we infer that the pres. part. in *μενος* was common originally to both Latin and Greek ; cf. *Vertumnus, alumnus*, and 3. 18. 4 n. **funibus**: cf. Acts xxvii. 17 *βοηθείαις ἐχρῶντο ὑποζωννύντες τὸ πλοῖον*, 'undergirding the ship' ; L. and S. s.v. *ὑπόζωμα*. Ropes seem to have been passed under the keel and drawn tight to prevent the timbers starting. The word cannot = 'anchor-cables' for the ship is at sea. **7. carinae.** The plural is rare : perhaps the poet is thinking of the two sides of the keel which the ropes would hold together. **8. imperiosius,** 'too tyrannous.' The very size of the word is expressive.

10. di . . . Cf. Ov. Her. 16. 112 *accipit et pictos puppis adunca deos ;* Virg. Aen. 10. 171 *aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis ;* Pers. 6. 30 *iacet ipse in littore et una | ingentes de puppe dei.* Figures of gods were placed in the stern as tutelary deities of the ship. **11. Pontica pinus.** The forests of Pontus afforded ample material for ship-building. **13. nomen inutile.** The reputation of Pontic timber would be of no avail to the ship in storm ; so, the reputation derived from early history would be of no avail to Rome amid the billows of civil strife. **14. pictis.** Emphatic : no empty decoration can afford confidence in danger. **15. tu . . .** 'do thou take heed, unless thou art destined to be the sport of the winds.' **debere ludibrium,** 'to owe a laughing-stock,' = *γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνειν*.

17. nuper, *i.e.* during the actual occurrence of the civil wars. **18. nunc,** *i.e.* now that they are over and threaten to revive. **desiderium,** 'object of my yearning' or 'affection,' cf. Cic. Fam. 14. 2. 2 *mea lux, meum desiderium.* **19. nitentes.** Cf. 3. 28. 14 *fulgentes Cycladas.* The epithet alludes to the effect produced by the sun glistening on their marble rocks. Cf. Byron : 'The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece ! . . . Eternal summer gilds them yet, | But all, except their sun, is set.' **20. Cycladas.** From *κύκλος*, because they were in a 'circle' round Delos.

ODE XV

An Ode in which Nereus is represented as predicting the fall of Troy to Paris when carrying off Helen. Many treat it in connexion with the preceding Ode as an allegory, Paris being Antony, Helen Cleopatra, while one critic even explains the scansion of line 36 by saying that *Iliacas* suggests *Niliacas*. More probably it is merely an attempt to treat epic material in lyric style.

1. **pastor**, 'the shepherd,' *i.e.* Paris, who was exposed on Mt. Ida and brought up by a shepherd. 2. **perfidus hospitam.** Antithetical juxtaposition, see 2. 4. 6 n.: the fact that she was his hostess made the perfidy specially perfidious. So 3. 3. 26, he is *famosus hospes*, and cf. Aesch. Ag. 401 ᾔσχυνε ξενίαν τράπεζαν κλοπαῖσι γυναικός. 3. **ingrato** . . . 'Nereus o'erwhelmed the swift winds with an unwelcome calm that he might recite the deadly decrees of fate.' *ingrato* refers to the indignation of the winds (cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 55 *illi indignantes* . . . of the imprisoned winds) and also hints at the vexation caused to Paris by the delay. 4. **caneret.** Used of *prophetic* utterance, oracles being generally delivered in hexameter verse; cf. C. S. 25 *cecinisse;* Epod. 13. 11.

5. **Nereus.** Cf. Hes. Theog. 233 Νηρέα τ' ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα γείνατο Πόντος. **mala avi**, 'evil are the omens with which thou conductest home a bride whom . . .' For *avis*=an omen cf. *augur*, *auspex*, and the Gk. ἐδεξάμην τὸν ὄρνιν; also 3. 3. 61 *alite lugubri*, 4. 6. 24 *potiore alite;* Epod. 10. 1 *mala alite.* 7. **coniurata**, 'having bound themselves by an oath to . . .': for *coniuratus*=*qui coniuravit*, cf. *concretus*, *placitus*, *adultus*, etc.

9. **adest.** The prophetic present: the bard 'rapt into future time' sees what is destined to take place already taking place. 10. **quanta moves** . . . 'what grievous disasters thou art arousing for the race of Dardanus.' *quanta funera* is more than *quot funera* ('how many deaths') and is almost ='how many and how grievous deaths.' **Dardanae genti**: 'the poets, and especially Horace, use the names of nations and tribes as adjectives instead of the fuller derivative forms in *-ius* or *-icus*'—Wickham. Cf. 2. 9. 21 *Medum flumen*, 2. 13. 8 *venena Colcha*, 3. 7. 3 *Thyna merce*, 4. 4. 38 *Metaurum flumen*, 4. 12. 18 *Sulpiciis horreis*, 4. 5. 1 *Romulae gentis;* Ep. 1. 12. 20 *Stertinium acumen*, 1. 18. 61 *Actia pugna*, A. P. 18 *flumen Rhenum.* 11. **aegis**, αἰγίς (from ἀΐσσω to flash, or αἴξ a goat): see Il. 5. 735 seq. and illustrations of Athena wearing it in Dict. Ant. s.v. 12. **currus et rabiem.** Notice the combination of the abstract and the concrete, 'prepares her chariot and wrath.' This is a favourite usage with Tacitus, *e.g.* Ann. 1. 68 *vulgus trucidatum est donec ira et dies permansit.* For Horace's phrase cf. Hymns A. & M. 156: 'His *chariots of wrath* the deep thunder-clouds form.'

13. **nequiquam**, 'vainly confident in Venus' guardianship shalt thou comb thy love-locks, and apportion on thy unwarlike lute the songs that ladies love.' Cf. Hom. Il. 3. 54 οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμῃ κίθαρις τά τε δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης, | ἥ τε κόμη τό τε εἶδος, ὅτ' ἐν κονίῃσι μιγείης. **Veneris praesidio**: because he had awarded her the golden apple in the famous 'judgment of Paris.' Cf. Tennyson's Oenone. 14. **pectes caesariem** . . . Notice the feminine softness and beauty of these two lines. In all great poets the language is, perhaps unconsciously, modified so as almost in its sound to correspond to the feelings or events they describe: a comparison between Milton's rugged power in describing Satan and Hell, and his melodious soft-

ness in portraying Eve and Paradise, well illustrates this. **grata feminis; inbelli**: he does not sing κλέα ἀνδρῶν like Achilles Il. 9. 189. **15. carmina divides**: Orelli explains, 'divide the song between the voice and instrument.' But when we think of the Latin use of *modi*, *numeri*, and the English 'measure,' there would seem little doubt that the phrase means 'to set songs to a measure, or, to music.' **16. thalamo**, 'in thy bridal chamber.' Cf. Il. 3. 381, of Venus saving Paris from the fight, ἐκάλυψε δ' ἄρ' ἠέρι πολλῇ | κὰδ δ' εἷσ' ἐν θαλάμῳ εὐώδεϊ κηώεντι.

18. celerem sequi, 'swift in pursuit' (cf. 1. 3. 25 n.): added to distinguish this Ajax, Οἰλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας, from the greater Ajax, son of Telamon. **19. tamen heu serus** . . . 'for all that (*i.e.* though guarded by Venus and thy cowardice), though late, thou shalt in the dust defile those adulterous locks.' **20. crines.** Some read *cultus*: but 'adulterous locks' is a forcible phrase for the curled and glossy locks of the adulterer, soon to be disordered and dabbled with blood. So 4. 9. 13 *comptos adulteri crines* (of Paris).

21. exitium genti, 'Ulysses, ruin to thy race': the dat. after a noun is rare, but here *exitium* is put, with great addition to the force, for the adj. *exitialis* which would naturally have the dative. Many MSS. give *gentis*. **22. non . . . respicis?** The sudden question gives vividness and reality = 'Look round! do you not see . . . ?' **24. Teucer, te**: so the best MSS. The scornful force of the repeated *te* is clear—'thee . . . thee the coward!' The old reading *Teucer et* makes the first foot a trochee, which is allowable in this metre in Gk., but in Latin is only found line 36, where Lachmann thinks it a sign that this is a very early Ode. **sciens pugnae.** Homer's μάχης εὖ εἰδώς. For the genitive after adjectives expressing knowledge cf. *citharae sciens* 3. 9. 10, *rudis agminum* 3. 2. 9, *repulsae nescia* 3. 2. 17, *imbrium divina* 3. 27. 10, *docilis modorum* 4. 6. 43.

26. Merionen: charioteer of Idomeneus. **27. nosces**, 'thou shalt learn to know,' 'become acquainted with,' in a threatening sense. **furit reperire**, 'rages (*i.e.* furiously longs) to discover.' For the Epexegetic Inf. see 1. 3. 25 n. It can be used after all verbs which express ability, desire, daring, fear, endeavour, or neglect, and in poetry, as here, after verbs which contain any of these *ideas*. Instances are 2. 4. 22 *fuge suspicari*, 2. 4. 23 *trepidavit claudere*, 2. 11. 4 *remittas quaerere*, 2. 12. 28 *rapere occupet*, 2. 18. 21 *urgues summovere*, 4. 4. 62 *dolens vinci*, 1. 37. 30 *invidens deduci*.

29. quem tu . . . 'from whom thou shalt fly, as the stag, forgetful of the pasture, flies from the wolf seen on the opposite side of the valley, timid, with panting head uplifted.' **31. sublimi.** Wickham quoting the Gk. μετέωρος and πνεῦμ' ἔχειν ἄνω says, 'the breath is stopped midway, can't get down, but stays at the entrance of the lungs,' but this scientific explanation seems out of place. Let any one stand before Landseer's 'Monarch of the Glen,' and say what *sublimi anhelitu* applied to a startled stag means. **32. non hoc**: Litotes, cf. 1. 18. 9 n.: 'not this' = 'something very different.' **33, 34. iracunda classis Achillei.** The anger which made Achilles separate his ships and men from the other Greeks. For gen. *Achillei* cf. 1. 6. 7 n., and for the hypallage 3. 1. 42 n. **36. ignis Iliacas**: cf. line 24 n.

ODE XVI

'*Fair lady, do what you choose with my scurrilous verses: they were written in a passion, and passion is ungovernable. Prometheus in making man is*

said to have added, among other qualities, a portion of the wrath of the lion. Passion has ever proved ruinous: I too was urged by it to make my libellous attacks, which I am now eager to recant.'

This Ode is a παλινῳδία or 'recantation,' cf. *recantatis* line 27. The most famous palinode is the one referred to Epod. 17. 42-44, and some amuse themselves by finding the original of the *criminosi iambi* in that Epode.

3. **pones**: 2nd pers. fut. for a polite imperative. *ponere modum* = to put a limit to them, *i.e.* destroy them. There is also a suggestion that the iambics had been without *modus*, limit, measure, moderation. **iambis**: Archilochus is said to have invented the iambic, and to have employed it in his well-known lampoons; cf. A. P. 79 and note. 3, 4. **sive flamma | sive.** Cf. Notes on Metres p. xviii. § 4.

5. **Dindymene.** The goddess who dwells by Mount Dindymus in Phrygia, *i.e.* Cybele. **non adytis** . . . 'nor does its Pythian inhabitant equally shake (or terrify) the mind of his priests in (or perhaps 'by means of') his inmost shrine.' *adytis* goes in construction partly with *incola*, partly with *quatit*. The ἄδυτον ('unenterable place') was a small cavern in which was a deep cleft in the rock, over which was placed the tripod on which the priestess sat, cf. Munro on Lucr. 1. 738. For the effects of inspiration on the priestess, cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 47 seq. The spelling with *y* shows that this is not a word of Latin development, but a Greek word in Latin letters. Latin had no symbol for the Greek sound υ (which is intermediate between Latin *u*, pronounced as *oo* in 'boot,' and short *i*), and therefore at a late period, as is shown by its late position in the alphabet, introduced the letter Y, = Υ, which is therefore only found in pure Greek words, e.g. *lyra*, *amystide*, *Cybele*, *tyrannus*, *lyncas*, etc., but *lacruma* or *lacrima*. 7. **acuta**, 'shrilly-sounding,' 'piercing.' 8. **geminant**, 'clash'; well illustrated by Lucr. 2. 635, where the Corybantes are said *pulsare aeribus aera*.

9. **tristes ut irae.** The *ut* goes after *aeque*, the words *non acuta* . . . *aera* coming in parenthetically and by way of illustration rather than forming part of the main thought and construction. **irae**: in plural, 'outbursts of passion'; cf. Virg. Ecl. 2. 14 *tristes Amaryllidis iras*. **Noricus**: the district of Noricum (about the Tyrol) was celebrated for its iron. 11. **tremendo Iuppiter** . . . 'nor heaven itself falling with dread confusion.' Jupiter, the god of the sky (see 1. 1. 25 n.), is put for the sky itself, and *ruens* (as in Virg. G. 1. 324 *ruit arduus aether*) expresses that heaven itself seems to be rushing in thunder, and lightning, and rain, down upon the earth. For the rapid rhythm *Iuppiter ipse ruens* see Notes on Metres p. xix. § 5. Here it is used purposely to express the quick descent of the deluge.

13. **fertur Prometheus** . . . Either supply *esse* after *coactus*, and join *coactus esse* and *apposuisse* by *et*, or else make *coactus* a participle and *et* = *etiam*, 'along with' or 'among the rest.' Prometheus is by no means always the rebellious Titan of Aeschylus, but he and his brother Epimetheus are often two allegorical figures, 'Forethought' and 'Afterthought.' In the story here alluded to, Afterthought had used up all the qualities, with which living creatures after being moulded in clay were to be endowed, before he came to man at all, and then Forethought being called in to remedy this was compelled (*coactus*) to take a small portion of their qualities from each animal, with the result that man possesses a composite character showing traces of the various qualities which specially belong to different animals. See Plat. Prot.

320 D seq. **principi limo**, 'our original clay.' Cf. Gen. ii. 7 'And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground.' **16. stomacho**: 1. 6. 5 n.

17. irae. Notice how the prominent repetition of the word connects the stanzas. Cf. 1. 2. 4 n. **18. et altis . . .** 'and for towering cities have proved the first causes of their perishing from their foundations.' **ultimae**, 'farthest back,' and so 'earliest,' 'first.' *stetere* would in prose be *exstitere* but is much more emphatic, not only meaning 'have turned out,' 'have proved,' but also suggesting the ideas of unconquerable strength and stability. The simple *sto* is always very emphatic and powerful: its brevity gives it force, cf. *Stat Fortuna Domus.* **altis . . . perirent funditus**: Hom. Il. 13. 772 ὤλετο πᾶσα κατ' ἄκρης | Ἴλιος αἰπεινή.

21. aratrum. The walls of a new city were marked out with the plough, and so the utter destruction of a city is symbolised by the plough being driven over its walls. **insolens**, 'arrogant. The word indicates that extravagance of conduct which marks those who find themselves in a position to which they are 'unaccustomed'; cf. Epod. 16. 14; 17. 75. **24. celeres**, 'headstrong.' **25. furentem.** Cf. Ep. 1. 2. 62 *ira furor brevis est*—'Anger is a short attack of insanity.' **mitibus tristia**: *mitis* is often used of smooth, mellow wine, and *tristis* of that which is rough and bitter to the taste (Virg. G. 1. 75 *triste lupinum*). Translate 'change sour for sweet.' **26. dum flas**: *dum* with subj. is never temporal, but nearly always = *dummodo;* cf. 3. 3. 37 *dum . . . saeviat.* 'Provided that, if I recant my abuse, you become . . .'

ODE XVII

'Tyndaris, come and visit my farm. Even Faunus often quits his native haunts to guard this spot; here the goats browse in safety while he plays his pipe. Indeed all the gods love and guard me; here you will find rural abundance with full horn, repose, music and revelry without riot.'

His Sabine farm was presented to Horace by Maecenas B.C. 34. He frequently refers to it with great affection, *e.g.* 2. 18. 14 *unicis Sabinis;* 3. 1. 47.

1. Lucretilem: a mountain (now *Monte Gennaro*) overhanging Horace's villa. Pan is always described as ὀρειβάτης (and here Horace evidently identifies the Latin Faunus with the Greek Pan, cf. line 10, where he plays on the Pan-pipe), and his native haunts were the mountains of Arcadia, especially Lycaeus. **2. mutat**, 'accepts in exchange': so too 2. 12. 23 *permutare,* 3. 1. 47 *permutem;* Epod. 1. 28. Notice the difference of the construction here and in line 26 of the preceding Ode. **3. defendit**, 'wards off.' **aestatem**: *aestas* = *aethtas* (which by the laws of euphony becomes *aestas*) from αἴθω, to blaze, 'the fierce summer heat.' **4. usque** = *semper.*

5. arbutos latentes, *i.e.* concealed amid the other shrubs. For the fondness of goats for the arbutus cf. Virg. Ecl. 3. 82 *dulce satis umor, depulsis arbutus haedis.* **6. deviae . . .** 'the wandering ladies of an unsavoury lord.' The expression is very peculiar even in Latin, and worse in English. For *uxores, mariti,* applied to animals, cf. Virg. Ecl. 7. 7 *vir gregis ipse caper;* Theoc. 8. 49 ὦ τράγε τᾶν λευκᾶν αἰγᾶν ἄνερ.

9. Martiales. A standard epithet of wolves. It was a she-wolf that suckled the famous offspring of Mars. **haediliae**, 'young kids'; from *haedus*, like *porcilia* from *porcus.* The reading is found in Porphyrion and confirms Bentley's conjecture *haeduleae.* The old *Haediliae* (gen.) was ex-

plained as some unknown place near Horace's farm. **10. utcumque,** 'whenever.' Cf. 1. 35. 23, 2. 17. 11, 3. 4. 29. **Tyndari**: a purely fictitious name, as is *Cyrus*, line 25. **fistula**: the Pan-pipe, cf. Virg. E. 2. 32 *Pan primum calamos cera coniungere plures | instituit.* **11. Usticae**: unknown. Porphyrion calls it a mountain and explains **cubantis**=*resupinae.* Others explain 'low-lying' (cf. Theoc. 13. 40 ἡμένῳ ἐν χώρῳ) as of a valley.

13. dis est cordi, 'is dear to the gods.' **pietas** is a dutiful regard and affection for those who have a natural claim upon us whether gods or men. **14. hinc tibi copia . . .** 'hence abundance with horn of plenty shall flow for thee to the full (*i.e.* shall pour forth her treasures till you are satisfied) rich in all the glories of the country'; cf. Ep. 1. 12. 29. **16. ruris honorum,** *i.e.* fruit, flowers, and the like; the gen. partly depends on *copia*, partly on *opulenta*, cf. 4. 8. 5 *dives artium.* For the legends connected with the *benignum cornu* (cf. our use of cornucopia) see Class. Dict. s.vv. 'Achelous,' 'Amalthea.' **18. fide Teia,** 'strings of Teos,' *i.e.* such as were struck by Anacreon of Teos, the poet of love and wine. **19. laborantes in uno,** 'lovesick for the same man.' *in uno* expresses that the cause of the troubles of both was to be found *in* one man. **20. vitream,** 'glassy-green' ὑάλινος; 4. 2. 3 *vitreo ponto.* All sea-nymphs are represented as of the colour of sea-water; cf. *caerula mater* Epod. 13. 16 of Thetis.

21. innocentis Lesbii, 'harmless Lesbian.' The Romans imported wine from Lesbos and Chios, cf. Epod. 9. 34. *innocens* is used in the sense in which Irishmen say of whisky, 'There's not a headache in a hogshead.' **22. duces,** 'quaff': the word describes a long deep draught (*duco*=I draw), and implies drinking with gratification. Cf. σπᾶν, ἕλκειν, and 3. 3. 34; 4. 12. 14. **Semeleius Thyoneus**: Bacchus' mother was called both Semele and Thyone, but *Thyoneus* is here used with reference to its derivation (θύειν, Thyias)=the god of rage and revelry. **23. confundet proelia,** like *miscere proelia* (cf. *mêlée*) with slightly more suggestion of a brawl. **25. suspecta,** *i.e.* of infidelity, and therefore afraid of the jealousy of 'headstrong Cyrus.' **male dispari**=very badly matched, cf. 1. 9. 24 n. **28. inmeritam.** You have never deserved such treatment, much less therefore has your poor innocent dress. Cf. S. 2. 3. 7 *inmeritus paries.*

ODE XVIII

'You cannot do better, Varus, than plant abundance of vines at Tibur. Total abstainers find life full of care; on the other hand, many instances warn us of the dangers of intemperance. Bacchic orgies have their risks: self-love, self-glorification, and bad faith too often follow in their train.'

1. nullam . . .: closely imitated in metre and sense from Alcaeus, fr. 44 μηδὲν ἄλλο φυτεύσῃς πρότερον δένδριον ἀμπέλω. **Vare**: probably the Quintilius (Varus) of 1. 24, *q.v.* **severis**: perf. subj. of polite prohibition, cf. 1. 11. 1. **2. Tiburis et moenia Catili.** For Tibur see 1. 7. 13. Catillus, son of Amphiaraus, was an Arcadian follower of Evander. His three sons Tiburtus, Coras, and Catillus, founded Tibur and called it after the oldest of them. Horace uses the form Cătĭlus for convenience: Virg. Aen. 7. 672 has Cātillus; cf. Porsĕna and Porsenna. **3. siccis.** Cf. note on *udus* 1. 7. 22. **4. mordaces.** Cf. 2. 11. 18 *curas edaces;* Aesch. Ag. 103 θυμοβόρος λύπη, 'soul-consuming anxiety,' and the Homeric **ὃν θυμὸν**

κατέδων, 'eating his heart.' **aliter**, 'by any other means,' *i.e.* than by avoiding becoming one of the *sicci* or total abstainers.

5. **gravem militiam crepat**, 'keeps harping on the hardships of campaigning.' For *crepat* = παταγεῖ, cf. Ep. 1. 7. 84 and our 'to rattle on about a thing.' 7. **ac ne quis** . . . 'and lest any one transgress that use of his gifts which modest Liber allows, the combat . . . warns us, and so does . . .' **transiliat** suggests the idea of *lightly* transgressing, cf. its use 1. 3. 24 = 'lightly cross.' For this quarrel at the marriage of Pirithous king of the Lapithae with Hippodamia see Class. Dict. The struggle of the Centaurs and Lapithae is frequently treated in Greek art, *e.g.* in the sculptured metopes of the Parthenon designed by Phidias, and now in the British Museum. Cf. 2. 12. 6. 8. **super mero**, 'over the wine,' or perhaps 'after.' Others say 'on account of,' cf. 3. 8. 17 *super urbe curas.*

9. **non levis**, *i.e.* very severe. An instance of the well-known rhetorical figure Litotes or Meiosis, by which a mild and negative form of expression is intentionally used instead of a very strong affirmative one. It is very frequent in Thucydides, *e.g.* οὐχ ἧσσον = very much more, οὐκ ἀνάξιος = ἀξιώτατος, and cf. St. Paul's famous 'Shall I praise you in this? *I praise you not,*' 1 Cor. xi. 22. Cf. 1. 24. 17 *non lenis,* 1. 37. 32 *non humilis,* 2. 7. 10 *non bene,* 2. 12. 17 *nec dedecuit,* 2. 19. 15 *non leni,* 4. 1. 14 *non tacitus.* **Sithoniis**, *i.e.* Thracians, cf. 1. 27. 2. **Euhius**: cf. 2. 11. 17 n. 10. **cum fas** . . . 'when men in their passion distinguish right and wrong (only) by the narrow limit that lust determines,' *i.e.* lust or passion induces men to neglect the broad distinction between right and wrong, and persuades them that there is very little difference between the two, in fact that they often shade absolutely into one another. 11. **candide**: perhaps 'open-hearted,' 'genial' (cf. Epod. 11. 11 *ingenium candidum,* 14. 5 *c. Maecenas,* S. 1. 10. 86 *c. Furni,* 1. 5. 41 *animae candidiores,* Ep. 1. 4. 1 *candide iudex,* 1. 6. 68) rather than of outward appearance 'in the glow and glory of thy youth' (cf. Virg. E. 5. 56), for Bacchus has been addressed as *pater* in line 5 though that rather indicates divinity than age. **Bassareu**: from βασσάρα, a fox-skin worn by Bacchants. 12. **quatiam**, 'arouse' or 'disturb'; but also with a reference to the *brandishing* of the thyrsus. **nec variis** . . . 'nor recklessly bring to light things concealed beneath varied leaves.' He refers to certain sacred chests or arks containing the vessels, etc., for the mysteries, only produced on solemn occasions, at other times covered with leaves. 13. **sub divum**: 2. 3. 23 n.

13. **tene**, 'check.' He suddenly appeals to Bacchus to restrain the exciting Phrygian music, which he represents himself as actually hearing, and which too soon leads to frenzy. **Berecynthio**, *i.e.* such as were used in the worship of Cybele on Mt. Berecynthus in Phrygia. In her orgiastic rites, which were well known at Rome, the exciting music of the pipe was especially used (cf. 3. 19. 18 *B. tibiae;* 4. 1. 22), but also timbrels and horns. 14. **tympana**, from τύπτω, 'timbrels.' 15. **plus nimio**, 'far too much'; see Ep. 1. 10. 30 n. 16. **arcanique Fides** . . . 'Faith prodigal of secrets, more transparent than glass.' There is much power in describing Faith which is unfaithful as Faith notwithstanding: the antithesis between what it is and what it ought to have been is made very vivid.

ODE XIX

'Venus is determined that I should again be the victim of love; and it is Glycera who inflames my passion. Venus attacks me with all her power and

forbids me to sing of wars or anything but what concerns herself. Quick, slaves, quick! an altar and a victim! let us seek to soothe the angry goddess.'

1. **saeva**: because of the noted cruelty of love. 2. **Semelae.** So most MSS. and, though Gk. forms are usually preferred in the Odes, there is no need to accept the poorly-supported *Semeles*; cf. *Helenae* 1. 3. 2; Epod. 17. 42. 4. **finitis** . . . 'to devote myself again to the amours that (I had hoped) were done with.' 7. **grata protervitas**, 'charming petulance.' 8. **lubricus aspici**: epexegetic inf. necessary to explain the epithet *lubricus* as applied to a face. As a road is too slippery for the feet to stand on, so her face is too dazzling and deceptive for the eyes to rest on.

9. **tota ruens Venus.** Cf. Eur. Hipp. 443 Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητόν, ἢν πολλὴ ῥυῇ: the opposite of *veniet lenior* line 16. 11. **versis animosum equis**, 'courageous with retreating steed.' The sudden onset of the Parthian light cavalry and the showers of arrows they had been trained to pour into the enemy while riding away (*sagittas et celerem fugam Parthi* 2. 13. 17) had been fatally experienced by the heavy-armed Roman legionaries on the sandy plains of Charrae and never forgotten. Cf. Virg. G. 3. 31 *fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis.* We use 'a Parthian arrow' of a sarcasm launched by a person just retiring and to which it is therefore impossible to reply. 12. **quae nihil attinent**, 'things of no concern': the lover has weightier matters than wars and politics to think about.

13. **vivum caespitem.** Fresh-cut, 'living turf,' to form an impromptu altar, cf. 3. 8. 4. 14. **verbenas.** A technical word of uncertain derivation, applied to all boughs or green things used in religious rites; cf. Servius on Virg. Aen. 12. 120 *verbenas vocamus omnes frondes sacratas, ut est laurus, oliva, vel myrtus.* 16. **mactata**, 'she will come with lessened violence when we have sacrificed a victim.' *macto* (from root *mag*: cf. *magis*, *maior* =*magior*, μακρός) means (1) to increase or magnify, hence *mactare deos extis*, to honour the gods with entrails, (2) to sacrifice, as here, the word having become confined to the religious meaning of honouring by sacrifice.

ODE XX

An invitation to Maecenas to come and see him at his Sabine farm. The wine he can offer will be poor, but had been specially bottled by himself in honour of an interesting event in Maecenas' life.

1. **potabis**, 'you will drink if you accept my invitation' = I shall be glad if you will come and drink. For the fut. cf. 1. 7 Int.; Ep. 1. 4. 15 n. **Sabinum**: wine grown in the immediate neighbourhood, which was not celebrated for wine. 2. **Graeca testa.** For use of Greek wines cf. 1. 17. 21. The jar would retain some of the aroma of the nobler vintage (cf. Ep. 1. 2. 69) and impart it to the Sabine wine. Cf. the practice of keeping whisky in old sherry casks. **ipse** marks the care he had bestowed. 3. **conditum levi**, 'stored up and smeared' (with pitch). Cf. 3. 8. 9 n. Pitch was used to secure the cork from mildew, etc., as we use wax. 4. **plausus.** He was cheered on entering the theatre after an illness; cf. 2. 17. 25.

5. **eques.** There is special force in this reference to the fact that Maecenas remained contented with the comparatively humble position of an *eques* (see 3. 16. 20 n.), when the poet is inviting him to his own humble roof. Bentley's suggestion of *clare* for *care* spoils the whole friendliness and pleasant-

ness of the Ode. **paterni**: cf. 1. 1. 1, and 3. 7. 28 the Tiber is called *Tuscus alveus*. **6. iocosa imago.** See 1. 12. 3 n. **7. Vaticani montis.** 'The theatre of Pompey, which was the only one finished at this time, stood at the S. end of the Campus Martius, so looking across the Tiber on the Janiculan and Vatican hills.'—Wickham.

9. Caecubum, etc.: see Dict. of Ant. s.v. *vinum*. The *Caecubus ager* is in Latium, so is *Formiae*. *Cales* and the *Falernus ager* are in Campania. They are all expensive and luxurious wines. **domitam,** 'pressed.' **10. tum bibes.** So Orelli's 4th ed. on the authority of Porphyrion for *tu bibes* of all MSS. 'You shall first,' says Horace, 'have some Sabine specially bottled in your honour, and then I will give you some Caecuban and Calenian; but I warn you that if you want Falernian or Formian you will be disappointed': just in the same way one might offer a distinguished friend Léoville or La Rose after dinner, and apologise for the absence of Latour or Lafite. With *tu bibes*, *tu* is strongly contrasted with *mea*, the luxury of Maecenas' palace with Horace's simple homestead. But the fut. *bibes* is inexplicable, for it can hardly be concessive='you will' or 'may on other occasions drink,' especially after *potabis* has just been used of what Maecenas will drink when he visits Horace. **11. temperant**: the regular word for mixing anything in due proportion, cf. Epod. 17. 80. Strictly the person who mixes the wine with water *temperat pocula* 'mixes the cup,' but here the vines are said to do so because they produce the wine with which it is mixed.

ODE XXI

An Ode in honour of Apollo and Diana to be sung by a chorus of youths and maidens. It seems too slight to have been written for a great public occasion: Franke, however, refers it to 28 B.C. when the temple of Apollo on the Palatine was dedicated (see 1. 31) and quinquennial games to Apollo and Diana instituted in memory of the battle of Actium. Cf. 4. 6 and Car. Saec.

2. intonsum. In Homer ἀκερσεκόμης: he is represented as eternally youthful. His statues are numerous: note especially the Apollo Belvedere. **Cynthium**: Cynthus is a Mt. in Delos. **3. Latona** or Leto was the mother of both Apollo and Artemis in the island of Delos, Zeus being their father. **5. vos**=*o virgines*, in strong contrast with *vos* line 9='O youths.' **laetam fluviis . . .**: because she was a huntress. Her favourite haunts are subsequently specified. **coma,** 'foliage'; cf. *comae* 4. 7. 2; Hom. Od. 23. 195 ἀπέκοψα κόμην τανυφύλλου ἐλαίης. Diana was specially worshipped as *D. Nemorensis* at Aricia. **6. Algidus**: a Mt. in Latium near Tusculum and the Alban Mt. **7. nigris.** Dark, gloomy, introduced to contrast the dark timber of Erymanthus with the fresh green of Cragus and thus give pictorial effect. Cragus is in Lycia, Erymanthus in Arcadia.

11. insignem, sc. *Apollinem*, **umerum** being 'as to his shoulder.' **12. fraterna**: invented by Mercury (cf. 1. 10. 6) and given to Apollo. **13. hic . . .** Apollo could not only bring plagues (Hom. Il. 1. 42-52) but avert them; in Greek tragedy he is constantly invoked as Παιάν 'the Healer'; cf. C. S. 63. **principe**: 4. 14. 6 n. **15. Persas atque Britannos,** *i.e.* the remotest barbarians of East and West. The Britons were as yet only known from the hurried expeditions of Julius Caesar. **16. aget,** 'shall drive away.'

ODE XXII

'The just and innocent need no protection, Fuscus, through whatever dangers their path leads them. At any rate I know that a monstrous wolf did not attack me while I was wandering in the woods thinking of Lalage. In any climate I shall feel safe and contentedly sing my lady's charms.'

For Aristius Fuscus see Ep. 1. 10. 3 and Intr.

1. **integer vitae**, 'he who is blameless in (respect to) his life'; cf. Ovid Met. 9. 441 *integer aevi.* The grammarians call it the gen. of respect. For *integer* cf. 2. 4. 22 n. **sceleris**: partitive gen., **purus** being = having no share in. 2. **Mauris.** Merely pictorial. 5. **Syrtes aestuosas.** Orelli explains 'the scorching desert that borders the Syrtes,' cf. *aestuosa Calabria* 1. 31. 5. It seems simpler to take Syrtes in its ordinary sense, 'the boiling' or 'stormy Syrtes,' cf. 2. 6. 3 *barbaras Syrtes ubi Maura semper* | aestuat *unda.* 6. **inhospitalem.** Aesch. P. V. 20 calls the Caucasus ἀπάνθρωπος πάγος. 7. **fabulosus Hydaspes.** This river (the Jelum) is a tributary of the Indus: on its banks Alexander defeated Porus (B.C. 327). It is called *fabulosus* as being in the unexplored East, about which numberless stories would be current at Rome. 8. **lambit**, 'washes.'

9. **namque.** He proves his general statement by an instance that had occurred to himself. In 3. 4. 9, where the birds cover him with leaves for protection, he claims the same almost sacred poetic character; cf. 2. 17, and *di me tuentur* 1. 17. 13. 10. **et ultra . . .** 'and wandered beyond my boundaries in utter carelessness, a wolf fled from me though unarmed, a monster such as neither . . .' 11. **curis expeditis.** Cares harass and hamper us (*inpediunt*); hence, *curis expeditis*, when the bonds of care are unloosened, a man is at ease, careless: it was in such a moment of perfect freedom and poetic abstraction that Horace ran into danger.

14. **Daunias.** Part of Apulia near Mt. Garganus; so called from Daunus who there founded a kingdom. The word is formed on the model of Gk. adjectives feminine; cf. Τρωάς, Ἰλιάς. 15. **Iubae tellus**, *i.e.* Mauretania or Numidia. Juba I., king of Numidia, committed suicide after the battle of Thapsus. His son was made king of Numidia by Augustus, B.C. 30, and in B.C. 25 received Mauretania instead: the latter date is fixed by some as the date of the Ode. 16. **arida nutrix**: oxymoron.

17. **pigris campis**, 'lifeless plains'; *i.e.* the frigid zones. For a description of the five zones, two frigid, two temperate, and one torrid, see Virg. G. 1. 233-239. For *pigris* cf. *iners*, 2. 9. 5 n. 19. **quod latus . . .** 'that quarter of the world over which ever lower mists and an ungenial sky.' For *latus*, cf. 3. 24. 38. 22. **domibus negata**, *i.e.* uninhabitable. According to Virgil, *l. c.*, the temperate zones alone were habitable. 23. **dulce ridentem.** *dulce* is really a cognate acc. As you can say *dulcem risum ridere*, you can say more briefly *dulce ridere.* So 3. 27. 67 *perfidum ridere*, 2. 12. 14 *lucidum fulgentes*, 2. 19. 6 *turbidum laetatur;* S. 2. 4. 18 *malum responset*, 2. 5. 100 *certum vigilans*, 2. 6. 27 *clare certumque locuto*, and Hom. Il. 2. 270 ἡδὺ γελᾶν.

ODE XXIII

'You avoid me like a timid fawn, Chloe, that is frightened at every sound. Yet I am no tiger or lion, and you are old enough to quit your mother's side.'

Cf. Anacreon fr. 52 ἀγανῶς οἷά τε νέβρον νεοθηλέα | γαλαθηνόν, ὅστ' ἐν ὕλῃς κεροέσσης | ἀπολειφθεὶς ὑπὸ μητρὸς ἐπτοήθη.

4. **sĭlŭae**: trisyllabic (cf. Epod. 13. 2; 16. 32), the Roman V being a semivowel. 5. **nam seu** . . . 'for whether the arrival (=first breath) of spring has shivered among the quivering leaves . . .' **veris adventus** implies the thought of the gentle zephyr which accompanies it; cf. Lucr. 5. 736 *it ver et Venus et veris praenuntius ante* | *pennatus graditur Zephyrus.* **inhorruit** beautifully expresses the shivering and quivering of the leaves as the breeze rustles through them. Bentley and others object to these exquisite lines because, they say, when 'spring arrives' the trees are not yet in leaf. For *veris adventus* some actually print *vepris ad ventos*—a correction the mechanical ingenuity of which is as marvellous as it is misplaced.

8. **tremit**, sc. *inuleus.* For the thought cf. Spenser, 'Like as a hind . . . Yet flies away of her own feet affear'd; | And every leaf that shaketh with the least | Murmur of wind, her terror hath encreas'd.' 9. **atqui**: a very favourite word of Horace in beginning a stanza, and expressing a strong objection, remonstrance or antithesis, cf. 3. 5. 49; 7. 9. **tigris aspera**, 'enraged tigress.' 10. **frangere.** Epexegetic inf. after *persequor* implying desire; 1. 15. 27 n. 11. **matrem** . . . 'to cling to your mother, already of age for a husband.'

ODE XXIV

Addressed to Virgil by Horace on the unexpected death of their common friend Quintilius Varus. Of Quintilius (probably Quintilius Varus, cf. 1. 18. 1; A.P. 438) our chief knowledge is that he died in B.C. 24, and was a native of Cremona, but his name is enshrined in this Ode for immortality.

1. **desiderio.** In its strict sense, 'regret for loss.' **pudor**, 'shame,' 'moderation,' almost equivalent to *modus;* cf. line 6 n. 2. **cari capitis**, 'so dear a life.' Cf. the Gk. use of κάρα in such phrases as ὦ φίλον κάρα. 3. **Melpomene.** Usually the Muse of tragedy, here of dirges.

5. **ergo.** *admirationis cum maerore coniunctae exclamatio*, Orelli. 'And so the sleep that knows no waking lies heavy on Quintilius!' Cf. S. 2. 5. 101; Virg. Ecl. 1. 47 *fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt?* Ov. Trist. 3. 2. 1 *ergo erat in fatis?* For **perpetuus** see 1. 7. 6 n., and for **p. sopor**, of the 'unbroken sleep' of death, Catullus 5. 5 *soles occidere et redire possunt;* | *nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux,* | *nox est perpetua una dormienda;* Job xiv. 12. For **urguet** cf. 1. 22. 20, and, used with reference to the dead, 4. 9. 27 *inlacrimabiles urguentur;* so too *premet nox* 1. 4. 16. It is much to be wished that Horace had omitted the first stanza, with its weak and affected invocation of the Muse, and begun with this bold and effective fifth line, which would have been all the more effective at the beginning of the Ode. 6. **Pudor**, Αἰδώς. The personification of that noble shame which makes men shrink from all that could raise a blush upon the cheeks of modesty; cf. C. S. 57. **Iustitiae soror, Fides.** 'In calling Good-Faith the sister of Justice, Horace implies that the two go together, and therefore that both were present in Quintilius.'—Wickham. 7. **incorrupta**, 'incorruptible.' Adjectives formed from the passive part. and *in* are frequently used for the more awkward ones in *-bilis.* Cf. 2. 14. 4 *indomitus* 'unconquerable'; Virg. G. 3. 5 *inlaudatus* 'detestable'; Livy 2. 1 *inviolatum templum* 'inviolable'; *invictus* is more often 'invincible' than 'unvanquished.' 8. **quando**

ullum inveniet parem, 'when shall (she) ever find a peer?' Cf. Milton's Lycidas 8 'For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime, | Young Lycidas, and hath not left his *peer*.' **inveniet.** For the singular verb cf. 2. 13. 38 n.

11. tu frustra . . . 'vainly devout thou claimest from the gods Quintilius, entrusted to them on no such terms,' *i.e.* you have frequently prayed the gods to keep Quintilius, but you did not mean that they should thus keep him wholly and for ever. Others take *creditum* = 'lent,' i.e. *to you* by the gods, but 'the person *poscit qui credidit*' (Kiessling). *frustra* seems to go with both *pius* and *poscis*. **13—15. quodsi . . . non,** 'and yet if more persuasively than Thracian Orpheus thou didst rule a lyre which even the trees obey, the life-blood would not revisit the shadowy form.' The MSS. give *quid si . . . num . . .* = 'what think you, if you were to . . . would the life-blood . . . ?' This seems weaker than the downright *quodsi* and the emphatic and direct *non.* Nauck, who so reads, punctuates better: *quid? si . . .* **Orpheo:** 1. 12. 11 n. **16. virga:** 1. 10. 18 n.

17. non lenis . . . 'not easily persuaded to open the barriers of fate,' cf. Prop. 4. 11. 2 *panditur ad nullas ianua nigra preces.* The gate of death opens only to admit, never to give egress. **non lenis,** litotes: **recludere,** epexegetic. **18. nigro compulerit gregi,** 'has folded with the children of darkness.' The dat. after the sense of 'add to,' 'join to' contained in *compulerit.* **20. quidquid . . .** 'whatever the laws of heaven forbid us to amend.' *ius* = human law, *fas* = divine law.

ODE XXV

A coarsely expressed Ode to Lydia, who Horace says will soon be an old woman without the charms, but retaining the passions of her youth, and destined to meet with the same contempt she now employs towards her lovers.

2. iactibus. So the best MSS., not *ictibus.* It is easier to 'throw' something at a chamber-window to attract attention than to 'strike' or 'beat' it. **3. amat limen,** 'keeps close to the threshold'; cf. Virg. Aen. 5. 163 *litus ama* 'hug the coast.' **6. audis minus et minus iam.** Accommodation of sound to sense: the words form a *diminuendo.* **7. me . . .** 'though I your lover am tortured through the long nights, my Lydia, do you sleep?' **9. invicem . . .** 'in your turn you shall bewail the haughtiness of men, a despised hag in a deserted alley.' **11, 12. sub interlunia,** 'towards the new moon.' Changes of the moon are popularly supposed to be accompanied by changes of the weather. For *inter|lunia* see Notes on Metres p. xix. § 1.

15. iecur ulcerosum, 'your diseased heart.' **17. laeta quod . . .** 'because joyous youth revels rather in green ivy and dusky myrtle, (but) dedicates withered leaves to winter's friend the Hebrus': *i.e.* because young girls are preferred to old women, as fresh foliage is to faded. For the metaphor cf. our phrase 'the sere and yellow leaf,' and Aesch. Ag. 79 τὸ δ' ὑπέργηρων φυλλάδος ἤδη κατακαρφομένης. **virenti** and **pulla** are in artistic contrast with each other and both opposed to **aridas.** **quod . . . gaudeat,** 'because (as you will say regretfully to yourself) . . . youth rejoices': it is virtually oblique narration. **20. dedicet Hebro,** 'flings far away,' cf. next Ode line 2, the *Hebrus* being selected as a river in a waste and wintry country (cf. *Thracio vento* above) where the warmth of youth and love is unknown. The correction *Euro* is needless. **gaudeat . . . dedicet:** co-ordination of contrasted clauses. In English we should insert 'but'; the

Romans however love to set the contrasted clauses side by side without any adversative particle. The Greeks would use μέν and δέ.

ODE XXVI

'*I am the friend of the Muses, and therefore will throw sorrow and anxiety to the winds, utterly untroubled by wars and rumours of wars. Help me rather, O Muse, to weave a chaplet of verse for Lamia, for he is worthy.*'

The date is determined by the political allusion as about B.C. 30. Wickham says: 'Phraates IV. to whom Orodes I. had resigned his throne in B.C. 38, after some years of tyranny, provoked his subjects to the point of rebellion. He was expelled, and Tiridates, another member of the Arsacid house, was put on the throne in his place. After a short time Phraates was restored and Tiridates fled to seek the protection of Augustus,' cf. 2. 2. 17, and 3. 8. 19. For Lamia see 3. 17 Intr.

2. **tradam portare ventis,** 'I will give to the winds to carry.' The inf. seems epexegetic, further defining the phrase *tradam ventis:* cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 319 *dederatque comam diffundere ventis,* Hom. Il. 23. 512 δῶκε δ' ἄγειν ἑτάροισιν ὑπερθύμοισι γυναῖκα. 3. **quis sub Arcto . . .** 'supremely indifferent who is feared as king of the cold region beneath the Bear.' The reference is to the king of the Dacians, cf. 3. 8. 18, and for the dread of the Dacians 3. 6. 14; S. 2. 6. 53; Virg. G. 2. 497 *coniurato descendens Dacus ab Istro.* The balance with *quid* shows that *quis* is nom. and not = *quibus,* nor does Horace use the contracted *quis* in the Odes.

6. **integris.** The haunts of the Muses are unpolluted by mortal presence: the poet alone may approach them. Cf. Lucr. 1. 926 *iuvat integros accedere fontes.* 7. **necte flores, necte.** See Notes on Metres, p. xviii. § 4. 9. **Pimplei.** Πίμπλεια was a town or fountain in Pieria; hence in Alexandrine poets Πιμπληΐδες = Muses. MSS. have *Pimplaea,* but Porphyrion read *Pimplei.* **mei honores,** 'the honours (of song) which I can confer.' 10. **fidibus novis,** 'strings before unheard.' Because Horace was the first to write Latin lyrics, cf. 3. 30. 13. 11. **Lesbio:** 1. 1. 34 n. **sacrare:** because *caelo Musa beat:* 'to consecrate' and so 'make immortal.' **plectro:** πλῆκτρον, the striking thing, 'quill.'

ODE XXVII

'*Come, my comrades, no quarrelling: 'tis barbarous. Keep your places and do not shout so. What! would you have me drink more? Well, I will, if Megylla's brother will give as a toast the name of his sweetheart. Are you hesitating? Surely you need not be ashamed: no doubt she is a lady. Alas, poor wretch, you deserved a better fate: you have fallen into the clutches of a harpy.*'

The Ode is a playful sketch of an imaginary scene at a wine-party.

1. **natis . . .** 'destined (as it were) by nature for purposes of pleasure.' 2. **Thracum:** gen. plural. For their drinking habits cf. 1. 36. 14; 1. 18. 8. One of the metopes of the Parthenon (see Smith's Class. Dict. s.v. Centaur) contains a representation of a Centaur using a large diota as a weapon of offence. The manner of Mr. Bardell's decease is strictly classical. **tollite,** 'away with.' 3. **verecundum,** 'who loves moderation'; cf. *modici Liberi,* 1. 18. 7. It may also refer to the fresh, blushing face of the youthful divinity. 4. **prohibete,** 'keep apart from.'

5. lucernis: dat., cf. Ep. 2. 2. 194 *nepoti discrepet.* **acinaces**: a Persian word for a short, straight sword, or dirk. The Persians seem to have worn these even at banquets: at Rome it was illegal to wear a weapon at all within the city. **6. inmane quantum discrepat**, 'is utterly at variance with.' *inmane quantum* (cf. *θαυμαστὸν ὅσον, ἀμήχανον ὅσον*) is strictly a sentence = 'it is enormous how much,' but is used as a simple adverb, 'enormously.' It is used by Tacitus, *mirum quantum* by Livy, *nimium quantum* by Cicero. **inpium**: as violating the respect due to the god Bacchus. **8. cubito presso.** At meals the Romans reclined upon couches, resting on the left elbow, which sank deep (*presso*) into the cushions.

9. vultis. A question addressed to the company, who are clamouring that he should drink his share (*partem*). **severi**, 'strong to the taste,' 'potent,' cf. 2. 3. 8 n.; S. 2. 4. 24. **10. Opuntia Megylla**: a fictitious name; Opus was the capital of the Opuntian Locrians. Horace insists that he will only drink if a toast is given: it was customary to drink a lady's health in bumpers containing as many *cyathi* as there were letters in the name. Cf. Mart. 1. 71 *Laevia sex cyathis, septem Iustina bibatur,* | *quinque Lycas, Lyde quattuor, Ida tribus.* **11. quo beatus . . .** 'what is the wound, what the shaft of which he is the happy victim?' **beatus** goes with both *pereat* and *vulnere:* notice the oxymoron in *beatus vulnere*, and the double meaning of *perire*, 'to perish' and 'to be dying of love for.' For *vulnus* applied to love, cf. Lucr. 1. 35 *aeterno devictus vulnere amoris.*

13. cessat voluntas? 'are you unwilling and reluctant?' Horace suddenly turns to the *frater Megyllae.* Some MSS. have *voluptas.* **14. quae te cumque . . .** 'whatever Queen of Beauty enslaves you, she . . .' The whole is sarcastic: it is hinted that he is in love with a slave, cf. 2. 4. 1; **ingenuo** therefore is emphatic, 'it is no low-born love that leads you wrong.' **15. erubescendis**: *erubesco* 'blush' can take an acc. in the secondary sense of 'blush for' (cf. 2. 13. 26 n.), and so can have a gerundive = 'that is to be blushed for,' 'ashamed of.' **18. a miser . . .** He is supposed to have whispered the name, and Horace hearing it exclaims *a miser* . . . in a tone of affected pity. **19. laborabas**, 'in what a terrible Charybdis were you struggling,' the words also meaning 'with what a devouring creature were you hopelessly in love.' For *laboro* cf. 1. 17. 19 and for *Charybdis* Anaxilas (in Athen.) *ἡ δὲ Φρύνη τὴν Χάρυβδιν οὐχὶ πόρρω που ποιεῖ,* | *τὸν δὲ ναύκληρον λαβοῦσα καταπέπωκ' αὐτῷ σκάφει.* The imperfect **laborabas** seems like the Gk. imperfect with *ἄρα* used when a person finds out that what he suspected all along is really so: 'I always thought some monster had got hold of you, and now I find it true'; cf. Herod. 3. 64 *ἔλεγεν ἄρα* (of what an oracle meant all along), Soph. Phil. 978; Hom. Il. 16. 33.

21. Thessalis. Thessalian wizards were celebrated; Epod. 5. 45. **23. vix inligatum . . .** 'hardly will Pegasus disentangle you from the toils of this Chimaera.' The Chimaera (*χίμαιρα* 'a goat') is described Hom. Il. 6. 181 *πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χίμαιρα.* Here it is put for any man-destroying monster, from which even aid such as that of Bellerophon on Pegasus cannot afford deliverance.

ODE XXVIII

'Even thee, Archytas, a tiny tomb on the Matine shore confines, and though thy thoughts compassed heaven thou wert doomed to die. Perished also are

Tantalus, Tithonus and Minos: Pythagoras too, though he proved his soul immortal, and in thy judgment was no mean expounder of truth. But indeed the grave awaits us all, *soldiers and sailors, young and old: cruel Proserpine shrinks from none* (1-20). *So too I have been drowned. But do thou, O sailor, not grudge to cast a little sand upon my unburied corpse; so may good fortune ever attend thee. Surely thou canst not carelessly incur a crime which will bring a curse on thy children and perchance on thyself. Though thou art in haste the delay is brief; cast but three handfuls of earth and then thou mayest pass upon thy journey.'*

There would seem to have been a so-called tomb of Archytas on that Matine shore with which Horace from its neighbourhood to Venusia (cf. *Venusinae* line 26) would be well acquainted, and he makes this the scene of his Ode, which is a monologue, the speaker being the spirit of some traveller who had been shipwrecked near the Archytas-tomb and left unburied. Lines 1-20 are reflections suggested by the sight of the great philosopher's last resting-place; at line 21 the speaker first refers to himself, and appeals to an imaginary sailor (supposed to be passing along or near the shore) to bestow on him those 'three handfuls of dust' which constituted formal burial.

So most now take this Ode, which has its origin in that class of Epigrams known as ἐπιτυμβίδια (Gk. Anth. VII.) in which the dead are introduced addressing some advice or request to the living. It must be allowed however that the connexion between the first and second half is loose, and many editors have therefore taken the Ode as *a dialogue* between a sailor who finds it and the unburied corpse of Archytas. Some assign only 1-6 to the sailor, others make Archytas begin to speak line 17, or line 21 which is the most natural point for a break. Against this—(1) Lines 3 and 4, which certainly on the face of them say that Archytas was buried, must mean something else, for in line 36 he says that he is not buried. (2) Except 3. 9, which is not in point, no other Ode shows any trace of dialogue. (3) What authority is there for the fact that Archytas was drowned? cast ashore on the Matine beach and unburied? (4) If he was, why should Horace write this Ode about a man he cared nothing for, who had been dead 400 years, and, even if unburied, would have completed his 100 years of wandering on the banks of the Styx (Virg. Aen. 6. 329) long before. (5) Is it natural to put the philosophical reflections of the opening lines into the mouth of a wandering sailor?

2. **Archytas.** A distinguished mathematician (*mensorem maris . . .*) of Tarentum: lived about B.C. 400. He was of the Pythagorean school of philosophy, cf. lines 10-12. 3. **pulveris . . .** There is an obvious contrast between his boundless genius and narrow tomb. Cf. Shak. 1 Henry 4, V. iv. 89 'When that this body did contain a spirit, | A kingdom for it was too small a bound; | But now two paces of the vilest earth | Is room enough.' **Matinum**: probably the shore at the foot of Mt. Garganus. 4. **munera** is technically used of the due and dutiful bestowal of burial upon a corpse, and seems to make the fact that Archytas is spoken of as buried certain. Those who make Archytas the speaker in line 36, where he asks for burial, are compelled here to explain 'the gift of a little dust' as though it meant 'the want of the gift of . . .,' and *cohibent* as=keep you here on the coast, it being impossible for you to enter Elysium until you receive the 'three handfuls' of earth.

5. **aerias . . .** For this description of Archytas' soaring genius cf. the panegyric on Epicurus in Lucr. 1. 72 *ergo vivida vis animi pervicit,*

et extra | processit longe flammantia moenia mundi | atque omne inmensum peragravit mente animoque . . . **6. morituro.** Notice the force this derives from its position, cf. *moriture* 2. 3. 4. **7-9. Pelopis genitor, Tithonus, Minos.** See Class. Dict. and Tennyson's poem Tithonus.

10. Panthoiden. See Class. Dict. under 'Pythagoras.' Even he, notwithstanding his theory of *μετεμψύχωσις* or the transmigration of souls, and the fact that he had enjoyed several lives, first as a peacock, then as Euphorbus (=Panthoides) at Troy, then as Homer, then as Pythagoras, and finally as Q. Ennius (cf. Persius 6. 10), has finally been compelled to succumb to the great law of mortality. There is something sarcastic in Horace's style here, and some regard the whole Ode as a scoff at the theories of Pythagoras. **Orco**=*in Orcum*, cf. *caelo* 3. 23. 1 n. **11. clipeo refixo.** Pythagoras proved the identity of his soul with that of Euphorbus, by at once 'taking down' the shield of Euphorbus from a quantity of other armour.

13. nervos atque cutem. Contemptuous words to express the mere mortal envelope of the more lasting and transmigrating soul. **14. iudice te.** Because Archytas was a disciple of Pythagoras. **non sordidus,** *i.e.* 'most distinguished,' cf. St. Paul's 'no mean city,' Acts xxi. 39. Litotes. **16. semel,** 'once,' and once for all. **17. spectacula.** To Mars war is an amusement (cf. 1. 2. 37 *longo satiate ludo*) and slaughter a *spectaculum.* **20. caput.** Cf. Virg. Aen. 4. 698 *necdum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem | abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.* Therefore *caput* does not merely='man,' 'life,' but refers to the legend that Proserpine marks out the victims of Death by symbolically cutting a lock from their heads, as was done with sacrificial victims. **fūgit**: the aoristic use of the perfect, 'is not wont to avoid any head,' cf. 1. 34. 16 *sustulit.*

21. me quoque. These words from their emphatic position are clearly guiding words, and it is most natural to contrast them with *te* in line 1: 'You, Archytas, are dead . . . . and I too.' **devexi Orionis**: the setting of Orion early in November was accompanied by storms, cf. 3. 27. 18 *pronus Orion.* **rapidus**: from *rapio,* 'sweeping,' 'raving.' **23. malignus,** 'grudging': the opposite of *benignus,* liberal. **24. capiti inhumato.** The hiatus, especially where the vowels are the same, is extremely harsh. It is perhaps an affectation of simplicity like *stant et iuniperi et castaneae hirsutae,* Virg. Ecl. 7. 53. Instances of hiatus with proper names, such as *Threicio Aquilone* Epod. 13. 3; *Actaeo Aracyntho* Virg. Ecl. 2. 24, are quite distinct, being an imitation of Greek models, see 2. 20. 13 n. **25. particulam harenae.** The three handfuls of earth, which constituted legitimate burial and saved the dead soul from wandering on the shores of Styx, cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 325.

25. sic: see 1. 3. 1; 'so'=on condition that you do this, may . . . **27. plectantur,** 'be lashed,' *i.e.* by storms. Cf. Gk. πλήσσω. **28. unde** =*a quo,* i.e. from Jove. **30. neclegis . . . te natis . . . committere.** *te* goes with *committere* and not with *natis*: 'Dost thou deem it a light thing that thou art incurring . . . ?' *neclegis committere?* without *te* would mean 'Dost thou neglect incurring?' which is the exact opposite of what is wanted. **31. fraudem**: ἄγος, a deed which pollutes, and must be expiated. **32. debita iura.** The debt to justice which you will incur and have to discharge. **33. te ipsum**: contrasted with *natis.* The penalty may come not only on them, but on yourself even. **36. ter pulvere.** Cf. Soph. Ant. 431 *χοαῖσι τρισπόνδοισι τὸν νέκυν στέφει.*

ODE XXIX

'Are you really, Iccius, intending to join the expedition to Arabia? What can you hope to gain? Surely the world must be upside down when the philosophic Iccius sells his carefully formed library to buy armour.'

1. **Icci**: see Ep. 1. 12 Intr. **beatis gazis**, 'rich treasures.' The word *gaza* is Persian. Arabia Felix or Sabaea was celebrated for precious perfumes, cf. the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, 1 Kings x. 1. For its 'treasures' cf. 2. 12. 24 *plenas Arabum domos;* 3. 24. 1 *intactis opulentior thesauris Arabum;* Ps. lxxii. 15 'unto him shall be given of the gold of Arabia.' To the Romans the East was a land of untold wealth, an Eldorado such as the Spaniards hoped to find in Mexico and Peru: in both cases the first explorers were dazzled by vast collections of useless wealth formed by a few despotic potentates, while the inhabitants starved. Cf. Milton, P. L. 2. 3 'Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand | Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold.' 4. **regibus**, 'emirs,' 'princes.'

5. **nectis catenas.** The whole stanza is in a tone of playful irony: Horace exaggerates the expectations of Iccius. He speaks of him as forging fetters, and hoping to bring home the captives of his bow and spear in heroic fashion. **quae tibi** . . . 'what barbarian maid will be your slave when you have slain her betrothed?' Cf. Judges v. 30 'Have they not sped? have they not divided the prey: to every man a damsel or two . . . ?' 7. **puer** . . . 'what page from court with perfumed locks will be set to hand your cup?' For these Eastern cup-bearers cf. Nehem. ii. 1; Dan. i. 3. They were usually of noble birth and personal beauty. **capillis**: cf. Tennyson's 'long-haired page' in the Lady of Shalott.

9. **Sericas.** The Seres are the remotest people of the East. Notice how Horace started with Arabia, soon got to Parthia (*Medo*), and has now made Iccius reach China. Perhaps the exaggeration is intended. 10. **quis neget** . . . 'who would deny that descending streams can flow backwards up steep mountains . . . ?' **arduis montibus**: abl. abs. on the analogy of *adverso flumine* etc., or possibly dative of place whither. The phrase is common to express that the order of nature is inverted; cf. Eur. Med. 440 ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί, | καὶ δίκα καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται, and Cicero, ad Att. 15. 4. 1, merely writes ἄνω ποταμῶν when he wishes to say 'all is topsy-turvy.' Notice the juxtaposition of the antithetical words *arduis pronos*, and the accommodation of sound to sense in line 11 with its heavy uphill movement.

13. **coemptos undique.** He was not merely an ordinary student of philosophy, but a keen collector of philosophical works. For the *p* in *coemptos* cf. 2. 4. 10 n. 14. **Panaeti.** A Stoic philosopher, a friend of Scipio and Laelius, died about 111 B.C. **Socraticam domum**, 'the Socratic school,' *i.e.* the works of the Socratic school. The phrase would include all those philosophers (*e.g.* Peripatetics, Cynics, Cyrenaics) who were influenced by Socrates, and, chief among them, Plato. Friedrich (Philolog. Untersuchungen, 1894, p. 156) argues that there was no 'Socratic school,' for Socrates merely encouraged a spirit of philosophic inquiry generally and laid down no dogmas; he renders 'your Socratic house,' cf. C. ad Quintum 3. 1. 5 *ea villa . . . tamquam philosopha videtur esse*, of a *simple* country-house. 15. **Hiberis**: made of Spanish steel.

ODE XXX

'Venus, quit thy favourite haunts to visit Glycera who prays thy presence, and bring with thee thy joyous troop of attendants.'

1. **Cnidus**, in Caria: here was the famous statue of Venus by Praxiteles, of which the Medicean is said to be a copy. 2. **sperne**. Cf. 1. 19. 9. 4. **in aedem**. *Aedes* in sing. = 'a temple,' in plur. = 'a house.' Perhaps Glycera is supposed to have fitted up a mimic shrine for Venus, and Horace wrote this mimic ode of invocation (ᾆσμα κλητικόν) for the occasion. This view is supported by the words *ture multo*. Kiessling says that the coming of the goddess will make the 'house' a 'temple.' 5. **solutis zonis**, 'with loosened girdles.' For the position of *que* in *Gratiae properentque Nymphae* see 2. 19. 28 n. 7. **parum comis** . . . 'youth that without thee (*i.e.* Love) loses all its charm.' 8. **Mercurius** accompanies Venus as the god of speech: silent wooers are rarely successful.

ODE XXXI

'What shall the poet pray for to his patron god Apollo on this great day? Not for large estates and wealth. Let wealth and luxurious living be for prosperous merchants, who think themselves the very favourites of heaven because their ships have made many successful voyages. I am satisfied with simple fare, and ask but for a healthy mind and healthy body, an old age free from dishonour and charmed by poetry.'

For the temple of Apollo Palatinus, dedicated B.C. 28, see note on Ep. 1. 3. 17.

1. **dedicatum** = 'in his new temple.' The Romans can say not merely *dedicare aedem*, but *dedicare deum;* Wickham well says, 'perhaps from the image of the god which was installed in his shrine.' In this case we know that the image was a statue by Scopas which Augustus brought from Greece (Plin. 36. 5. 4). Propertius describes it (3. 23. 5), and a copy of it, the 'Apollo Citharoedus,' is in the Vatican, and is represented in Smith's Hist. of Greece, pp. 551, 580. 2. **novum**. Cf. 1. 19. 15 *bimi meri*. New wine was used in libations. 4. **Sardiniae**. Both Sardinia and Sicily supplied Rome with corn; cf. 1. 1. 10 n. **segetes feraces**: 'fruitful crops' or 'fruitful corn-lands.' *seges* = either the land sown, or the crop.

5. **aestuosae**, 'sultry': cf. 1. 22. 5. **grata**: as being in good condition, and pleasant to contemplate. Calabria was famous especially for winter grazing; cf. Ep. 2. 2. 177 n.; Epod. 1. 27. 6. **aurum aut ebur Indicum**. Gold and ivory are taken as typical of Oriental wealth and luxury generally. So the navy of Tharshish (1 Kings x. 22) brought to Solomon every three years 'gold, and silver, and ivory.' 7. **quae Liris** . . . 'which Liris eats away with his gentle waters, that silent stream.' The beauty of the description of a slowly-flowing river is, in the Latin, incomparable. **quieta**: of the slow movement of the stream, **taciturnus** of the consequent silence of its waters, cf. the opposite *loquaces* 3. 13. 15.

9. **premant**, 'prune': repress the luxuriant growth of. **Calena**. The epithet is transferred from the vine to the pruning-knife; hypallage, cf. 3. 1. 42 n. Cales is in Campania. 10. **dives ut** . . . 'that the rich merchant may drain from golden goblets wines acquired in exchange for (*re*parata) Syrian merchandise.' *culilli* are said to be vessels used in sacred

rites by the pontiffs and vestal virgins: this word and *exsiccet* ('drain to the dregs') are used to bring out the luxury and greed of the merchant-prince. **12. Syra merce.** So 3. 29. 60 *Tyriae merces.* The phrase includes all those products of the East which came through Syria, and especially through the great emporium of Tyre.

13. dis carus ipsis: κατ' εἰρωνείαν Orelli. The irony is strongly brought out by *quippe*='because forsooth.' **ter et quater,** 'three *or* four times'; δὶς καὶ τρίς. **15. olivae, cichorea, malvae,** *i.e.* the ordinary products of a yeoman's farm. **16. leves,** 'light,' *i.e.* to the digestion, cf. Epod. 2. 57. **17. frui . . .** 'mayest thou grant me (for the present), O son of Leto, to enjoy what I have both with sound health, and, I pray, with mind unimpaired, and (in the future) to pass an old age neither . . . nor . . .' Horace has two wishes, each of which is twofold: (1) for the present, vigour both of body and mind (Juv. 10. 356 *orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano*), (2) when old age comes, that honour which should ever accompany it, and that enjoyment of lyric song which had been the happiness of his life. The *at precor* of most MSS. throws the carefully balanced sentence wholly out of gear.

ODE XXXII

'We are summoned. If ever, my lyre, in lighter vein I with thy aid have sung anything which may survive, come now inspire me with a Latin song, such as Alcaeus sang of old, the warrior-bard. O thou that art the glory of Phoebus, the delight of Jupiter, the solace of toil, answer me whenever I call.'

1. **poscimur.** Horace had evidently been asked to write an Ode or Odes on some subject of national interest (*Latinum carmen*); this Ode is an appeal to his lyre by the memory of their past success in lighter subjects to aid him in this. Whether Augustus or Maecenas made the request, and whether the noble national lyrics at the commencement of Book 3 are the answer, is matter of conjecture. *poscimur* seems to imply that those who summoned Horace had the right to do so. The reading *poscimus* (followed by a comma and governing *quod*) is very weak, and *poscimur* is strongly supported by many passages in Ovid, e.g. *poscimur, Aonides,* Met. 5. 333. **si.** This use of a clause beginning with *si* in appeals is very frequent. It does not imply any doubt as to the fact, but assumes it to be a fact and founds the appeal upon it. Cf. C. S. 37 *Roma si vestrum est opus . . . date;* Od. 3. 18. 5 *Faune . . . lenis incedas . . . si . . . cadit;* S. 2. 6. 6. **vacui sub umbra lusimus.** Notice how each word brings out the idea of light careless poetry. **sub umbra**: grottoes or groves are the haunts of poets. **lusimus**: commonly used of the composition of playful verse, cf. 4. 9. 9 *si quid olim lusit Anacreon;* 2. 13. 26 n. **2. quod et . . .** The order of the words seems to connect this clause with *si quid,* but sense rather refers it to *L. carmen,* thus contrasting the nobler and more lasting Ode he contemplates with the lighter and more fugitive pieces he has hitherto attempted. **3. dic,** 'utter': the instrument is said to speak. **4. barbite.** Masculine here as in late Greek. The word has the singular privilege of possessing three genders, ἡ βάρβιτος and τὸ βάρβιτον being also found.

5. **Lesbio primum . . .** It is implied that Horace hopes his Ode will equal those of Alcaeus. See too 1. 1. 34 n. **modulate**: 1. 1. 25 n. **civi**: emphatic. Alcaeus (flor. 611 B.C.) took a most active part in political life. He was driven into exile by the popular party: he fought both against

the Athenians, and Pittacus the tyrant of Mitylene. Cf. 2. 13. 28. **6. qui, ferox . . .** 'who, fierce warrior though he was, yet amid the clash of arms, or if he had moored his storm-tossed bark on the dank beach . . .' **7. sive** is omitted before *inter arma*, cf. 1. 3. 16. **religo,** 'bind so as to hold *back*'; S. 1. 5. 19; cf. *retinaculum*, 'a mooring-rope.'

9. illi haerentem, 'clinging to her side,' cf. Virg. Aen. 10. 780 *haeserat Euandro.* **11. nīgris oculis nĭgroque.** When the Roman poets repeat a word they often so place it that the ictus falls differently on it in the two positions. Hence the variation in the quantity of *nigris* here; cf. Virg. Aen. 2. 663 *natum ante ora pătris, pātrem . . .* Striking instances are Theocr. 6. 19 τὰ μὴ κᾰλὰ κᾱλὰ πέφανται; Lucr. 4. 1259 *lĭquidis et līquida;* Hom. Ἆρες Ἄρες; Virg. *vălē vălĕ.* **15. cumque.** There is no other clear instance of the use of this word by itself, but all MSS. give it here. It seems to make the notion of time contained in *vocanti* more indefinite. *vocanti cumque*='to me calling whenever,' *i.e.* 'whenever I call.' Nauck remarks that Horace seems to have regarded *cumque* as an independent word, comparing the numerous instances in this Book where he uses *quicumque* as two words, 6. 3, 7. 25, 9. 14, 16. 2, 27. 14. Lachmann conjectured *medicumque.* **mihi salve,** 'hail, I pray thee,' χαῖρέ μοι.

ODE XXXIII

'*That the memory of Glycera's cruelty may not grieve you too much, Tibullus, and that you may not ceaselessly lament being outshone by a rival, remember that it is a common case: Lycoris loves Cyrus, Cyrus loves Pholoe, and Pholoe thinks Cyrus detestable. Venus delights in cruel sport to yoke together those who will never make a pair. The very same thing has happened to myself.*'

1. Albi: for Albius Tibullus see Ep. 1. 4 Intr. **plus nimio:** cf. Ep. 1. 10. 30 n. The phrase is put between *doleas* and *memor* that it may go partly with both. **2. inmitis Glycerae.** Notice the play of words: *inmitis*=bitter, and γλυκερά=sweet; cf. *dulce loquens Lalage* (λαλεῖν) 1. 22. 24. Such plays on words are especially frequent in tragedy, cf. Soph. Ajax 430 αἰαῖ· τίς ἄν ποτ' ᾤεθ' ὧδ' ἐπώνυμον | τοὐμὸν ξυνοίσειν ὄνομα τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς; Shakespeare makes John of Gaunt on his deathbed speak of himself as 'Old John of Gaunt, and gaunt in being old.' **3. decantes cur,** 'sing to satiety (asking) why her pledge is violated.' For *decantes* cf. 1. 3. 13 n. **elegos:** ἒ ἒ λέγε=cry Alas! cf. A. P. 75.

5. insignem tenui fronte. Cf. Ep. 1. 7. 26 *nigros angusta fronte capillos*, of beauty in a man. A small forehead, or a forehead that appears small owing to the growth of the hair, no doubt helps good looks. **8. iungentur . . .** 'sooner shall roes mate with wolves than Pholoe go astray with a lover she holds vile.' **9. turpi** does not assert that Cyrus is 'vile,' but that he is so in the opinion of Pholoe.

10. sic visum Veneri, 'such is the pleasure of Venus.' The phrase indicates that it is a case where argument or appeal is vain, the matter having been settled by a high and arbitrary power: cf. 2. 17. 15 *sic placitum;* Ov. Met. 1. 366 *sic visum superis;* Virg. Aen. 2. 428 *dis aliter visum.* **inpares formas.** The predilection of tall men for short women and *vice versâ* is supposed to be an established fact. Venus delights to yoke together indissolubly (*iuga aenea*—a yoke there is no breaking, cf. 3. 9. 18, 3. 16. 2) those who though thus yoked to each other can never make

'a pair' (for that implies that they are well matched) but must ever remain *inpares*. 12. **saevo cum ioco**, 'in cruel jest'; cf. n. on *ludo* 1. 2. 37. 13. **melior . . . Venus**: lit. 'when Venus assailed me with kindlier purpose'; *i.e.* when I was just falling in love with a worthier mistress. 14. **grata compede**: oxymoron, cf. 1. 27. 11. 16. **curvantis**, 'that hollows out.'

ODE XXXIV

'I, who had but little belief in the gods and was the disciple of a philosophic wisdom "falsely so called," now am driven to retract, for lately I heard thunder, when the sky was cloudless, thunder such as shakes the universe and is indeed the voice of God, God whose power is visible in all things, who "hath put down the mighty from their seat and hath exalted the humble and meek."'

Horace was well acquainted with and disposed to favour the philosophy of Epicurus, one of the cardinal points of which was that either gods did not exist at all or that they lived a life remote from care (*securum agere aevum* S. 1. 5. 101) taking no concern for the earth or its inhabitants (cf. Tennyson's Lotus-Eaters 'On the hills like gods together, careless of mankind'). Many things, which the vulgar believed to declare the presence of God, were but the results of the ordinary action of natural forces. Among many other arguments one of the most popular was: if thunder be the voice of God, why does it never thunder except when there are clouds about and it can therefore be explained on natural grounds? (Cf. Lucr. 6. 400 *denique cur numquam caelo iacit undique* puro | *Iuppiter in terras fulmen sonitusque profundit?*) Horace had however actually heard thunder *caelo puro*: he cannot understand it: then it flashes across him that perhaps 'There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, | Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.'

2. **insanientis sapientiae**: oxymoron, cf. 3. 11. 35 n.; Rom. i. 22 'Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools.' **sapientiae**, *i.e.* the philosophy of Epicurus. **dum erro**: 'while I strayed'; 1. 10. 11 n. 3. **consultus.** Cf. the phrase *iuris consultus;* it indicates one who is an 'adept' or 'professor. 5. **Diespiter** Cf. 1. 1. 25 n. The word is archaic, and its employment an affectation, cf. 4. 4. 41 *adorea*, 4. 15. 8 *duellis*, Ep. 1. 2. 7; 4. 6. 38 *Noctilucam*, 4. 11. 8 *spargier*. For the gen. *dies* cf. *paterfamilias*. 6. **nubila** is emphatic as opposed to *per purum*, 'who usually cleaves the *clouds* with flashing flame, lately through a *cloudless* sky . . . .'

9. **bruta tellus, vaga flumina.** See 3. 4. 45 n. 10. **Taenari**, 'Cape Matapan' in Laconia. Close to it was the entrance to the under world; cf. Virg. G. 4. 467 *Taenarias etiam fauces, alta ostia Ditis*. 11. **Atlanteusque finis**, 'Atlas the boundary of the world'; τέρμονες Ἀτλαντικοί Eur. Hipp. 3. Beyond the Straits of Gibraltar was almost an unknown region to the ancients. 12. **valet ima . . .** 'God hath power to change the lowliest with the loftiest, and He maketh the great man weak, bringing to light things hidden in gloom.' Cf. Job v. 11; Luke i. 52. 14. **apicem.** Technically a conical cap worn by the *flamines;* here, however, anything worn as a sign of royal power, and so equivalent to *tiara* or *diadema;* cf. 3. 21. 20 *regum apices*. The Romans had no word for 'a crown' = a royal crown, because having abolished kings they abolished also the symbols of kingly power. 15. **stridore**, i.e. *alarum;* cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 397 *stridentibus alis*. Fortune is represented as winged and swooping down unexpectedly to snatch from one what she carries to another. 16. **sustulit.** The aoristic use, cf. 1. 28. 20. **posuisse**, 'to have placed,' *i.e.* to place and let it rest there.

ODE XXXV

'*O Queen of Antium, thou all-powerful goddess Fortune, thee the poor man supplicates and the sailor, thee the nations worship, and the mothers of princes and even kings in all their glory fearful lest thou shouldst overthrow their prosperity. Before thee marches Destiny with all the symbols of her immutable power: with thee are Hope and Good Faith, faithful, even when thou hast ceased to smile and the vulgar herd of flatterers has deserted the unfortunate. Oh! do thou guard the Emperor in his attack on Britain and our armies in the East: may these legitimate wars expiate our unholy civil contentions, may Roman swords no longer be whetted but against a foreign foe.*'

Fortune in this Ode is not the capricious goddess of 3. 29. 49—*ludum insolentem ludere pertinax*—but that mysterious power which rules the changeful phases of human life. At line 29 this general conception is specialised and the prayer is addressed to that *Fortuna populi Romani* of whose power the Romans were reminded whenever they recalled the history of the growth of their world-wide empire. Cf. Plutarch *de Fortuna Romanorum*, c. 4 (quoted by Wickham) 'even as Aphrodite, when she crossed the Eurotas, laid aside her mirror and her ornaments and her cestus, and took spear and shield to adorn herself for Lycurgus' eyes, so when, after her sojourning with Persians and Assyrians, with Macedonians and Carthaginians, she (Τύχη) approached the Palatine and crossed the Tiber, she laid aside her wings and took off her sandals and left behind her her ball, the symbol of fickleness and change.'

1. **gratum**, sc. *tibi*, as 1. 30. 2 *dilectam Cypron*. **Antium**: on the coast, capital of the Volsci. There were two statues of Fortune there (*Fortunae Antiates*) which were consulted by drawing lots (*per sortes*). 2. **praesens**, 'ready and able.' *praesens* implies not merely 'presence,' but also being present with the wish and ability to assist. Hence the inf. after it. **vel**='even.' 3. **mortale corpus**, 'frail mortals': used instead of 'men,' to emphasise the weakness and frailty of humanity. 5. **ambit**, lit. 'to go round canvassing' (hence *ambitio*), then 'to court,' 'worship.' 6. **dominam aequoris**, 'as mistress of the ocean.' 7. **Bithyna, Carpathium.** Pictorial; cf. 1. 1. 13 n. **lacessit**: 'challenges,' 'braves.' The word expresses the hardihood of the sailor; cf. 1. 3. 21—24. 8. **Carpathium pelagus**: between Rhodes and Crete.

11. **regumque matres.** Anxious for their sons who had gone to battle. Cf. the lament of Atossa the mother of Xerxes, Aesch. Pers. 163, and Judges v. 28 'The mother of Sisera looked out at a window, and cried through the lattice, Why is his chariot so long in coming? why tarry the wheels of his chariots?' 12. **purpurei.** Not an idle epithet; kings 'even in their royal purple' fear Fortune. Purple is the distinguishing mark of kingly dignity, cf. Virg. G. 2. 495 *purpura regum*, and purple-striped togas were the sign of rank at Rome during the republic. Subsequently garments wholly of purple (*holoverae*) were reserved to the Emperor alone. For the history of purple see Mayor on Juv. 1. 27. 13. **iniurioso** . . . 'lest with aggressive foot thou shouldst overthrow the standing pillar (of the State), lest the thronging populace should rouse even the hesitating to arms, to arms, and break their sceptre.' **iniurioso**=ὑβριστικῷ, combines the ideas of insult and injury: **pede** increases the idea of insult. 14. **columna** is used as an emblem of stability and dignity. **neu** . . . This second clause repeats with fresh particulars the idea of the first. 15. **cessantes**=those at first

doubtful whether to join the sedition. **ad arma** is the actual cry raised, and its repetition by the poet is a graphic representation of its repetition by the mob; cf. *io Triumphe* repeated 4. 2. 49.

17. **te semper anteit** . . . Wickham refers to Lessing's criticism on this passage to the effect that the poet has here trespassed on the painter's art; a painter portraying Destiny must show who she is by symbols, a poet has other and better ways. Some imagine that Horace was thinking of some actually existing picture or representation, and indeed an ancient Etruscan mirror from Perugia exhibits Athrpa (= Atropos, or Destiny) in the act of fixing a nail with a hammer as a sign of immutable fate. **Necessitas** personified = Ἀνάγκη, cf. 3. 1. 14. MS. authority is strong for *serva*, instead of **saeva**, but the image is surely that of a stern lictor who 'precedes' rather than of a slave who follows. How too can Necessity be the 'slave' of Fortune? **anteit**: scanned as a disyllable, cf. *antehac* 1. 37. 5; *anteis* Ep. 1. 2. 70. **18. clavos trabales.** Nails such as are placed in beams. For the symbolical use cf. 3. 24. 5 *adamantinos clavos;* Cic. 2 Verr. 5. 21 *ut hoc beneficium, quemadmodum dicitur, clavo trabali figeret.* **cuneos**: also used for *fastening*, as wedges are still in scaffolding. **19. severus uncus** . . . 'stubborn clamp and molten lead,' *i.e.* materials for building with greatest fixity. Stones are often united by means of iron bars fastened in with lead.

21. **albo panno.** Typical of guileless innocence. Servius on Virg. Aen. 1. 292 says that offerings to Faith were made with the hand wrapped 'in a white cloth.' **22. nec comitem abnegat,** sc. *se*, 'nor refuses her companionship.' This stanza is without doubt awkwardly expressed. Horace says that 'Faith accompanies Fortune whenever in changed attire (indicative of misfortune) she in hostile mood quits a (formerly) powerful mansion.' Now 'to follow, or accompany Fortune' always means to vary or change in conduct according as Fortune changes (cf. Ov. Pont. 2. 3. 10 *et cum Fortuna statque caditque fides,* and in English, 'friends and fortune fly together'); but Horace means the exact opposite, he means that *fides* does *not* vary in calamity. What he intends to say is, 'when a man is unfortunate he quits his great mansion taking his ill-fortune with him, but Faith accompanies his ill-fortune and remains with him notwithstanding his ill-fortune'; but he has said it very obscurely. For **comitem abnegat** = *comitem se abnegat* cf. Virg. Aen. 2. 591 *confessa deam;* Ov. A. A. 1. 127 *si qua repugnarat nimium comitemque negarat.* **26. diffugiunt** . . . 'when casks are drained to the lees friends scatter, too treacherous to bear the yoke equally.' Cf. the Gk. proverb ζεῖ χύτρα ζῇ φιλία; Ecclesiasticus vi. 10.

29. **iturum.** Augustus never visited Britain, but proposed to do so in 34 B.C. and 27 B.C. The latter is probably the date of this Ode. **ultimos Britannos**: cf. Virg. Ecl. 1. 66 *penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos;* Tac. Agric. 30 *Britannos terrarum ac libertatis extremos.* The poets rarely mention Britain except as a type of remotest barbarism. Cf. 1. 21. 15, 3. 4. 33 *Britannos hospitibus feros,* 4. 14. 48 *remotis Britannis.* **30. recens examen,** 'recently levied troop.' **examen** = *exagmen* = *exagimen* (ἐξαγόμενον), a force 'led out.' **32. Oceano rubro** = *Erythraeum mare,* the Indian Ocean, including the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

33. **cicatricum fratrumque.** Hendiadys (cf. 2. 7. 9 n.), = 'the scars inflicted by brethren on brethren.' At the same time the Roman poet speaking of Roman disgrace purposely uses a phrase that rather suggests than expresses the fact, cf. 1. 2. 21 n. **34. dura aetas,** 'an age of iron.'

35. nefasti. This adj. is strictly applied to days when no legal business was done, cf. 2. 13. 1 n., but here it is=*nefandus*, 'unutterable,' 'impious.' **38. o utinam** . . . 'Oh! mayest thou on a new anvil reforge (for use) against the Massagetae and Arabians our blunted swords.' **39. retunsum,** *i.e.* in civil strife.

ODE XXXVI

An Ode written in honour of the return of Plotius Numida from Spain. There are to be sacrifices and festivity in honour of the event: Damalis will attend the feast, the cynosure of every eye, but Damalis will wholly devote herself to Numida the hero of the hour. Of Plotius Numida nothing is known: he probably returned with Augustus from Spain B.C. 25.

1. fidibus. Referring to the *fidicines* or harpers, who with *tibicines* were employed in religious ceremonies. **2. debito,** 'due,' the calf had been vowed in case of Numida's safe return: now the vow had to be discharged; Horace was *voti reus.* Cf. 2. 7. 17 *obligatam redde Iovi dapem.* **4. Hesperia**=Spain, cf. 2. 1. 32 n. **5. caris multa** . . . 'shares many a kiss with his dear comrades, but for none has a larger share than . . . ' **7. Lamiae**: see 3. 17 Intr.

8. actae non alio . . . 'of boyhood passed with none other for his leader.' For the use of *rex* by boys at play='a leader' cf. Ep. 1. 1. 59. Many explain 'under one tutor' taking *rex=rector;* cf. Tac. Ann. 13. 2, where Burrus and Seneca are called *rectores imperatoriae iuventutis*, and so *non alio* exactly balances *simul.* **puertiae** by syncope (συγκοπή 'a striking together') for *pueritiae;* cf. *surpuerat=surripuerat* 4. 13. 20, *lamnae=laminae* 2. 2. 2. **9. mutataeque simul togae.** Boys about the age of fourteen or fifteen ceased to wear the *toga praetexta* and assumed the *toga virilis.* This was done at the Liberalia in March; friends and relatives celebrated the event together. **10. Cressa nota.** A mark of white chalk symbolising good luck, cf. S. 2. 3. 246 *sani ut creta an carbone notati?* Catull. 107. 6 *O lucem candidiore nota;* Mart. 8. 45. 2. **Cressa,** 'Cretan'; Kiessling says that *creta=terra creta* 'fine' 'sifted (*cerno*) earth' and that as this came from Cimolus (γῆ Κιμωλία), a small island near Crete, a false derivation of the word arose. **12. morem in Salium.** For the Salii, the leaping or dancing priests of Mars (*a saltu nomina ducta,* Ov. Fast. 3. 387), who had charge of the Ancilia, see Dict. of Ant. They formed a close guild, and, like many other guilds, ended by being principally celebrated for their feasts (see next Ode, line 3). The 'Luperci' formed another guild of a similar character.

13. neu multi . . . 'nor let Damalis the strong drinker surpass Bassus in the Thracian amystis.' **Damalis** = δάμαλις, *iuvenca,* cf. 2. 5. 6. **multi meri**: descriptive gen., cf. 3. 9. 7 *multi Lydia nominis;* S. 1. 1. 33; Cic. ad Fam. 9. 26 *hospes non multi cibi sed multi ioci.* **14. Threicia**: cf. 1. 27. 2. **amystis** (from α and μύω, 'to close the lips'), 'a drinking without taking breath'; cf. Eur. Cycl. 417 ἐδέξατ' ἔσπασέν τ' ἄμυστιν ἑλκύσας. For similar convivial practices cf. the laws of 'sconcing' at Oxford, and the German practice of competing in drinking flagons of beer at a breath. **15. rosae, apium, lilium**: materials for garlands. For **breve** cf. 2. 3. 13 n. **11-16.** The **neu** six times repeated marks excited emphasis. **17. omnes in** . . . 'all on Damalis will fix their languishing glances, but Damalis will not be separated from her new love, clinging closer

than the wanton ivy.' 20. **ambitiosus** is used in its primary sense = *qui ambit*. For the metaphor cf. Catullus' exquisite lines, 61. 33 *mentem amore revinciens | ut tenax hedera huc et huc | arborem inplicat errans.*

ODE XXXVII

An Ode written on the news of Cleopatra's death, which was brought to Rome in the autumn of B.C. 30 by M. Tullius Cicero, the son of the orator. No mention is made of the death of M. Antonius, because the defeat of a Roman citizen earned no triumph, cf. 3. 8. 18 n. The Ode bears traces of being written hastily in a moment of enthusiasm. Its power is undeniable, but in more finished Odes Horace would not admit such lines as 5 and 14. For the bitter Roman hatred of Cleopatra see Propertius 4. 11 (Paley's ed.); for the battle of Actium, Epod. 9, Prop. 5. 6, Virg. Aen. 8. 675.

1. **nunc est bibendum . . .** Copied from Alcaeus, *νῦν χρὴ μεθύσθην καί τινα πρὸς βίαν | πίνην ἐπειδὴ κάτθανε* Μύρσιλος. The general meaning is 'Now drinking, now dancing, now public thanksgiving are fitting.' Horace expresses the idea of fitness first by a gerund, secondly by a gerundive, thirdly (for variety's sake) by the idiomatic ''twere time' (*i.e.* if we were wise). The first *nunc* goes with *bibendum* ('now for a drink'), the second with *pulsanda*, and the third with *ornare*. For **tempus erat** cf. Mart. 4. 33 *plena laboratis habeas cum scrinia chartis, | emittis quare, Sosibiane, nihil? | 'edent, haeredes' inquis 'mea carmina.' Quando? | tempus erat iam te, Sosibiane, legi;* Ov. Tr. 4. 8. 24 *me quoque donari iam rude tempus erat;* Liv. 8. 5. 3 *tempus erat . . . iam vos agere . . . cum nunc videretis.* All editors join the first *nunc* with *est* ('now is the time to drink'), and so are driven to join the third with *tempus erat*, but *nunc erat* thus following *nunc est* and bearing the same sense is extremely harsh. 2. **pulsanda tellus**: of joyous dancing; cf. 3. 18. 15. **Saliaribus**: see last Ode line 12, and for the luxury of priestly feasts 2. 14. 28 *mero | pontificum potiore cenis.* 3. **pulvinar**: see Dict. of Ant.

5. **depromere.** Some explain 'bring down,' the *apotheca* or store-room for wine being in the upper part of the house, where the wine mellowed more quickly, but *depromere* is generally used merely = 'to bring forth' or 'out.' **Caecubum avitis**: the wine is choice and old. 6. **Capitolio regina.** Notice the juxtaposition *invidiae causa*. The Romans abhorred the word *rex*, how much more *regina*, and in connexion with their national temple, the very sign and pledge of Rome's greatness? Cf. 3. 3. 42; Lucan 10. 62 *terruit illa suo, si fas, Capitolia sistro.* 7. **dementes ruinas**, 'mad ruin,' *i.e.* the ruin she hoped for in her madness. Hypallage, cf. 3. 1. 42 n.

9. **contaminato . . .** 'with her filthy herd of men hideous through disease, mad enough to hope for anything and intoxicated with good fortune.' The reference is to her Oriental eunuch slaves, called *viri* in bitter irony. 10. **inpotens** = the Gk. ἀκράτης, which is the opposite of ἐγκράτης 'one who has command over himself,' cf. 3. 30. 3. The word is well applied to an Eastern sovereign in whom uncontrolled power has raised uncontrollable and impossible desires. For the epexegetic inf. *sperare*, *tractare* line 27, and *deduci* line 31, cf. 1. 3. 25 n. 13. **vix una sospes . . .** Cleopatra's fleet really got away: that of Antony consisting of 300 vessels was almost wholly destroyed. 14. **lymphatam**, 'delirious,' 'distraught.' This curious word (cf. *larvatus*, *cerritus* S. 2. 3. 278 n.) is said to be = νυμφόληπτος 'nymph-

caught,' *lympha* and *nympha* being identical, and the nymphs having the power of causing madness. **15. veros timores**: opposed to the imaginary hopes of delirium.

17. adurguens. Octavian did not follow Cleopatra until the next year, but the poet for dramatic effect represents the whole series of actions as continuous. **accipiter . . . columbas**: cf. Il. 22. 139 *ἠΰτε κίρκος . . . οἴμησε μετὰ τρήρωνα πέλειαν.* **20. Haemonia** = Thessaly, so called from Haemon, father of Thessalus. **21. fatale monstrum**: Horace speaks of Cleopatra as not human, but a portentous creature sent by destiny (*fatale*) to cause horror and alarm. **monstrum quae**: construction *πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον.* The writer thinks rather of the sense than the grammar; it is a very natural and common license. **quae generosius**, 'who anxious for a nobler end neither shuddered at the sword with womanly fear . . .' Cf. Shak. Ant. and Cleop. V. ii. 283 'Give me my robe, put on my crown: I have | Immortal longings in me,' etc.; Tennyson, Dream of Fair Women, 'I died a Queen.' **23. latentes oras.** Cleopatra had at one time the idea of transporting her fleet into the Red Sea, and flying to some distant shore. **24. reparavit.** Here *reparo* is 'to acquire (*parare*) in the place of (*re*),' cf. *reparata* 1. 31. 10 n. She did not endeavour to acquire with her fleet some hidden distant realm in place of Egypt which she had lost.

27. ut atrum, 'that she might deeply drink (*combibo*) in her body the fatal poison, more fiercely proud when (once) resolved to die, grudging, be sure, the fierce Liburnians the being conducted, a queen no longer, in insulting triumph, woman though she was, not lowly enough for that.' This fine stanza cannot be translated: the series of nominatives in apposition each with special force in its special place cannot be rendered into English without sacrificing the forcible brevity of the Latin. **atrum**, 'deadly'; cf. 3. 4. 17 *atris viperis.* **28. venenum**, *i.e.* of the asp. **30. Liburnis**: cf. Epod. 1. 1. **scilicet** (*scire-licet*), 'of course,' 'no doubt.' Her purpose was so clearly shown that none could dare to question it. **31. superbo triumpho.** She is said frequently to have repeated to Octavian '*οὐ θριαμβεύσομαι.*' Cf. Shak. Ant. and Cl. V. ii. 55 'Shall they hoist me up | And show me to the shouting varletry | Of censuring Rome?'

ODE XXXVIII

The time is autumn and Horace is alone, about to sup, attended by a single slave, whom he bids make the simplest preparations, for they will suffice.

1. Persicos apparatus, 'Persian pomp' or 'luxury.' Notice the balance of *apparatus* here with *adlabores* in a parallel position in stanza 2. *ad* in both words suggests the idea of excess, of something 'added' to what was enough. **2. philyra**: *φιλύρα*, the lime tree. Its inner bark was used to sew flowers on chaplets, which were thence called *sutiles.* Cf. Ov. Fast. 5. 335 *tempora sutilibus cinguntur tota coronis.* **3. mitte sectari**, 'give up anxiously seeking in what spot lingers the last rose of summer.' **mitte** = *omitte.* **5. nihil** is peculiar; the negative part goes in sense with *curo*, and the noun part is the acc. after *adlabores.* Translate, 'I care not that you anxiously endeavour to add anything to simple myrtle.' For **curo adlabores** cf. the common *volo facias.* **7. arta**, 'close-leaved,' 'thick.'

BOOK II

ODE I

'Pollio, you are writing the history of the recent civil wars, quit therefore, for a while, your other pursuits, poetical, oratorical and military. The subject is a stirring one; I seem already to be hearing your vivid description—the din and tumult of Pharsalia, Africa exulting in the outpouring of Roman blood, the whole world witness to our fatal dissensions. But I must break off, the theme is too serious for my sportive muse.'

C. Asinius Pollio (see the excellent account in Smith's Dict.) was like Maecenas a liberal patron of literature, and the friend of both Virgil and Horace (S. 1. 10. 85). Horace takes the opportunity of his commencing a history of the civil wars to send him this complimentary Ode into which he cleverly introduces (lines 9-16) allusions to Pollio's various distinctions.

1. **ex Metello consule**, 'from the consulship of Metellus.' Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer was consul B.C. 60, the year in which Caesar, Pompey and Crassus formed the first Triumvirate, and Pollio had selected that date for commencing the history of that portion of the civil wars which ended in the establishment of the Empire under Augustus. 2. **belli causas**, *e.g.* the disaster which befel Crassus at Carrhae (B.C. 53), and the death of Julia the daughter of Caesar and wife of Pompeius, which broke the last link between them (B.C. 54). **vitia**, 'faults,' *i.e.* in carrying on the war. **modos**, 'phases,' the various ways in which it was conducted. 3. **ludum Fortunae**. Fortune makes 'sport' of human life (cf. 3. 29. 50; 1. 2. 37 n.), and had especially done so in the tragic death of all three triumvirs. **graves principum amicitias**: the triumvirate. **graves**, 'ruinous,' *i.e.* to Rome.

5. **uncta cruoribus**, 'stained with streams of blood,' *i.e.* at Pharsalia, Thapsus, Philippi. 6. **periculosae plenum opus aleae**: *opus* is in apposition to the whole of the accusatives which have gone before, 'a task full of risk and danger.' Why Pollio's task was so difficult the words *et incedis* . . . at once explain. The historian of disasters which were so recent is like a man who after a conflagration incautiously advances among the débris the surface of which alone has cooled. But though the expression **incedis . . . doloso** is proverbial and *general* (cf. Callim. Ep. 46. 2 ἔστι πῦρ ὑπὸ τῇ σποδιῇ; Prop. 1. 5. 5 *ignotos vestigia ferre per ignes*) yet it would seem that in using it Horace had also in mind one of the *special* phenomena of his native land; cf. Macaulay, Hist. Eng. c. 6: 'When the historian of this troubled reign (James II.) turns to Ireland, his task becomes peculiarly difficult and delicate. His steps—to borrow the fine image used on a similar occasion by a Roman poet—*are on the thin crust of ashes beneath which the lava is still glowing.*' 7. **tractas**: present, 'thou art taking in hand': Pollio's work was only begun (cf. lines 9-11).

9. **tragoediae**. A Greek word for a Greek thing put in Latin letters. The Romans imported 'tragedy' from Greece where it was a native growth, and they also imported its name (τραγῳδία 'the goat-song,' A. P. 220 n.) at the same time, as was also the case with 'comedy' (κωμῳδία,

comoedia). **11. ordinaris**=*ordinaveris*, 'shalt have set in order,' *i.e.* duly arranged in your history, cf. St. Luke i. 1 'Forasmuch as many have taken in hand *to set forth in order* (ἀνατάξασθαι) a declaration . . .' **grande . . . cothurno**, 'thou shalt resume thy glorious task on Cecropian buskin,' *i.e.* you shall resume writing tragedies worthy of the dignity of the Athenian stage. **12. Cecropio**, because at Athens all the great Greek tragedies were produced. **cothurno**: the tragic actors wore high-heeled buskins to add to their height and dignity; comic actors wore the low *soccus* or slipper. Virgil also (Ecl. 8. 10) alludes to Pollio's tragedies as *sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno.*

13. insigne praesidium: in apposition to *Pollio*='O thou illustrious defence.' **maestis reis** alludes to Pollio's skill in forensic eloquence, or, as we say, 'at the bar'; **consulenti curiae** to his success as a speaker in the senate, as a parliamentary orator—a very different style of eloquence. **14. consulenti**, 'deliberating,' not 'consulting you,' as it would be absurd to speak of a great body *consulting* one of its members however distinguished. **curiae**, 'the senate,' cf. 3. 5. 7. **16. Delmatico triumpho.** In B.C. 39 he triumphed over the Parthini, an Illyrian people near Dalmatia.

17. iam nunc . . . Horace suddenly represents himself as listening to Pollio's history, in which he knows beforehand events will be so vividly and dramatically portrayed that he will imagine himself to be actually seeing and hearing that which is described. **cornuum . . . litui**: see illustrations in Smith's Dict. of Ant. **litui strepunt**, 'the clarions bray.' **18. perstringis aures.** *stringo* (cf. στραγγεύω, 'strangle') means (1) hold in a tight grip, and (2) graze or scrape the edge or surface of anything (the idea perhaps being that when a thing is gripped tight and then pulled away its surface suffers), cf. *stringere arbores, remos, gladium.* Hence *perstringis aures* describes a loud harsh sound which grates upon the ear and deafens it; cf. *praestringere aciem* of a flash of light which passes over the surface of the eye so as to dazzle it. **19. iam fulgor . . . vultus**, 'now the flash of arms scares into flight the horses and the faces of the horsemen'—a singularly bold but effective sketch of a cavalry rout dashed off by a master-hand in half a dozen words. **fugaces** is proleptic; the sudden flash of weapons in front of them frightens the horses so that they take to flight. Cf. Job xxxix. 22, 23 (of the horse) 'He mocketh at fear and is not affrighted, | Neither *turneth he back* from the sword: | The quiver rattleth against him, | The *glittering* spear and the shield.' **20. equos equitumque**: effective assonance: so in English 'warrior and war-horse,' and Tennyson, Charge of the Light Brigade, 'While *horse* and *hero* fell.' **equitum vultus.** Many refer to a story (Plut. Caes. 45) that at Pharsalia Caesar ordered his soldiers to strike at the *faces* of the young Roman nobles who formed the cavalry, and that they fearful for their beauty turned and fled. The phrase needs no such unnatural explanation. Horace says not 'horsemen,' but 'faces of horsemen,' because he wishes to bring vividly before our minds the pale panic-struck faces of men flying for their lives: it is a brilliant dramatic touch, not a recondite allusion to an obscure story.

21. audire magnos . . . *audire* which governs both *duces* and *cuncta subacta* can by itself mean either 'hear' or 'hear of'; with *cuncta subacta* it can only mean the latter, and there is consequently a strong presumption that it is to be taken in the same way with *duces.* 'I seem to hear of mighty generals begrimed with the glorious dust of battle and of a whole

world subdued, etc.,' *i.e.* I seem in imagination already to be listening to the recitation of your history of these events. Nowadays we should expect 'already I seem to be *reading* your description . . . ,' but before the invention of printing public recitation was one of the best methods of making known a new work (cf. the story of Thucydides hearing Herodotus recite his history at Olympia) and Pollio himself introduced the practice at Rome —*primus omnium Romanorum advocatis hominibus scripta sua recitavit* Sen. Contr. 4. Orelli takes *audire* in two senses, 'I seem to hear great generals (*i.e.* haranguing their troops, etc.) and of a world subdued,' but this double use of *audire* in two distinct senses is impossible. Kiessling takes *audire* 'hear' in both cases and compares *cuncta subacta* with line 32 *Hesperiae sonitum ruinae,* but *cuncta subacta* suggests no idea of anything actually audible. **22. sordidos** is predicative, and thus strictly parallel to *subacta.* **23. cuncta terrarum,** 'all things in the world'—a variety of the possessive gen. (not to be confounded with our 'all of,' or 'the whole of'), cf. 4. 12. 19 *amara curarum;* Tac. Hist. 5. 10 *cuncta camporum.* **24. atrocem animum Catonis,** 'Cato's stubborn soul,' cf. 1. 12. 35 n.

25. Iuno . . . The transition is natural and easy from the death of Cato to the thought how amply Carthage and Jugurtha had been avenged for all they had suffered at the hands of Rome by the sight of Roman carnage. Juno was the tutelary deity of Carthage, cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 15 seq. The nom. to *rettulit* is *Iuno* and *deorum quisquis . . . cesserat inpotens tellure,* while *inferias* is in apposition to *nepotes,* 'have brought the grandchildren of the victors to Jugurtha as an offering at his tomb.' For sing. verb after two subjects cf. 2. 13. 38 n. **26. cesserat.** The gods were supposed to quit doomed cities, cf. Virg. Aen. 2. 351 *excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis | di,* and the account of Josephus (B. J. 6. 5. 3) that before the capture of Jerusalem the gates of the Temple burst open, and a voice more than human was heard exclaiming 'Let us go hence' (μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν). Carthage was sacked by P. Scipio Africanus Minor B.C. 146. **inpotens:** in its simple meaning 'powerless,' *i.e.* to save. **28. Iugurthae:** emphatic by position. Horace could not better illustrate the 'mockery of fortune' than by describing the Romans who fell at Thapsus as sacrificed to the ghost of Jugurtha!

29. pinguior, 'fatter,' *i.e.* more fertile than it was before. Cf. Aesch. Persae 806, where the Persians who fell at Plataea are spoken of as φίλον πίασμα Βοιωτῶν χθονί, and Virg. G. 1. 491 *bis sanguine nostro | Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.* **30. sepulchris:** with *testatur,* 'bears witness by its tombs.' **inpia:** *pius* expresses the regard due by a child to a parent (cf. *pius Aeneas*), then that due from one relative to another, from one citizen to another. Hence civil wars were strictly *inpia,* 'unhallowed,' a violation of the law of nature. **31. Medis,** *i.e.* Parthians (cf. 1. 2. 22 and 51 n.), who would naturally rejoice to hear 'the din of the downfall of Italy.' **32. Hesperiae,** 'Western,' *i.e.* Italian, in contrast with the Eastern empire of the Parthians just referred to. So too 3. 6. 8 where the Parthians are mentioned in the next line, and 4. 5. 38 where it is contrasted with *Graecia* line 35. On the other hand 1. 36. 4 *Hesperia*=Spain, Numida being described as returning to Rome from 'the farthest West.' In each case the meaning is clear from the context.

34. Dauniae. Daunus was a king of Apulia (cf. 1. 22. 14), but the adj. ='Italian,' cf. 4. 6. 27. **35. non . . . nostro.** Notice the assonance and the powerful effect produced by repetition of the *o* and *or* sounds. The peculiar

rhythm of line 36 adds to the effect. **37. ne retractes:** rather dependent on *quaere* (='lest you resume') than a direct prohibition. **iocis,** *i.e.* such light themes as *e.g.* 2. 4. **38. Ceae munera neniae,** 'a task which belongs to the Cean dirge.' Simonides the lyric poet of Ceos (556-467 B.C.) was celebrated for his dirges (θρῆνοι) and epitaphs; his epitaph on those who fell at Thermopylae is best known. **40. leviore plectro,** 'with lighter quill,' *i.e.* in a style and on a subject that shall be less grave. The opposite phrase is *graviore plectro* Ovid Met. 10. 150, or *maiore plectro* 4. 2. 33.

ODE II

'Gold, Crispus, lacks lustre unless used wisely and well; so used it can confer even lasting renown, as it shall do on Proculeius. To hold the desires in subjection is to possess a wider empire than if you were lord of Africa and Europe. The very tendency to avarice must be eradicated, for, like dropsy, it grows by being indulged. True wisdom denies the name of happy to the greedy tyrant, and hails him alone a king who casts no lingering look on piles of gold.'

Of Caius Sallustius Crispus a full account is given Tac. Ann. 3. 30. He was grandnephew of the historian Sallust, who adopted him, and one of the intimate friends of Augustus; but, though possessed of great abilities, held aloof from all public offices, preferring, like Maecenas, the private influence of a friend to the titular distinction of a magistracy. He died A.D. 20.

1. nullus. A somewhat awkward stanza. Horace wishes to say that as gold and silver have no lustre when still in the mine (οὐκ ἔστ' ἐν ἄντροις λευκός, ὦ ξέν', ἄργυρος, Plut. περὶ δυσωπίας 10), so Crispus can see no charm in wealth except it is used; but he has partially sacrificed clearness to brevity. **avaris:** the earth guards its wealth like a miser. **2. lamnae:** any thin piece of metal; here used contemptuously for precious metal in a useless uninteresting shape, a mere ingot. For the syncopated form cf. 1. 36. 8 n. **inimice nisi** go together. Grammatically *nisi* might go with *nullus color est*, but would give no sense. **3. nisi . . . usu.** This phrase has two meanings, one literal the other metaphorical: (1) all metals become dull by disuse, and bright by use; (2) wealth has no brilliancy unless employed.

5. extento aevo: not 'through long ages' but 'his span of life being extended beyond the grave,' *i.e.* Proculeius by his noble deed shall win an immortality of fame, a life beyond life, as is made clear in lines 7, 8. C. **Proculeius** Varro Murena was a Roman knight who divided his property between his brothers who had lost their own in the civil wars. One brother was the Licinius to whom 2. 10 is addressed. **6. notus animi.** Editors take this as=*notus propter animum,* but avoid all explanation, and only compare 4. 13. 21, which is clearly not to be so taken, vid. loc. *animi* is a simple gen. of quality: 'Proculeius shall live in fame (*vivet notus*) beyond the span of life, (Proculeius) of fatherly affection for his brothers.' **7. metuente solvi,** 'on pinions that dread to flag,' or 'droop'; cf. 3. 11. 10 *metuitque tangi,* 4. 5. 20 *culpari metuit,* and 1. 15. 27 n. **solvi** (like λύεσθαι) is used of that relaxation of nerve tension which is produced by fatigue, sleep, cold, etc.; cf. Virg. Aen. 12. 951 *solvuntur frigore membra.*

9. latius regnes . . . Note the indefinite use of the 2nd person singular, 'thou' meaning 'any one'; cf. 1. 1. 13. *spiritus* (like θυμός, from θύω to breathe or blow fiercely)=the fierce passionate part of our nature. *avidus*

spiritus represents as one complex quality what Plato resolved into two simple ones, θυμὸς καὶ ἐπιθυμία, 'passion and lust'; in the subjugation of these two to 'reason' (νοῦς) he placed true wisdom or Virtue. Cf. *virtus* below and Plato, Phaedrus passim. 10. **quam . . . uni,** 'than if you were to unite (under your empire) Libya with distant Gades and either Carthaginian acknowledged your single sway.' The second clause illustrates and amplifies the first, *iungas* being explained by *serviat uni,* and *uterque Poenus* repeating the idea of Libya and Gades in a new form, referring to the Carthaginian settlements on either side of the straits, in Africa and Spain. **remotis**: 2. 6. 1 n.

13. **crescit indulgens sibi,** 'grows by self-indulgence,' *i.e.* by indulging the thirst which accompanies it. 'The patient must abstain as much as possible from all drink'—Buchan. **hydrops** = ὕδρωψ. 15. **aquosus...** 'the watery faintness from the pale frame.' Faintness and torpor accompany dropsy; **albo** describes the flabby appearance of the patient.

17. **redditum . . . Prahaten**: see 1. 26 Int. The family of the Arsacidae to which Prahates belonged had no connexion with the Persian dynasty or its founder Cyrus, but for the confusion see 1. 2. 22 n. 18. **dissidens . . .** 'virtue disagreeing with the mob separates from the ranks of the happy and teaches the people not to use words wrongly.' **virtus** here = the opinion of those who are wise and virtuous; cf. Cic. Tusc. 4. 15 *virtus brevissime recta ratio dici potest.* In his use of **beatus** Horace has in mind not only its strict sense of 'happy' but its popular use = 'wealthy' (cf. 4. 9. 45); the English word 'wealth,' which originally meant 'general well-being' (as in the Litany 'in all time of our wealth'), has been confined to the special sense of well-being as regards worldly goods. **plebi populum**: *plebs* from *pleo* = those who having no civic privileges merely *fill up* the state; *populus* on the other hand comprises all members of the state. Here there seems no distinction between the words. 19. **falsis vocibus.** To call a rich man *beatus* was a misuse of the word. It was a similar misuse when the Greeks called the rich οἱ ἄριστοι 'the best'; cf. Thuc. 3. 82.

21. **regnum . . . deferens uni . . . quisquis,** 'by conferring empire on him and him alone whosoever . . .' **diadema**: διάδημα, the blue *band* worked with white which went round the turban (τιάρα) of the Persian king, 'a diadem,' 'crown,' cf. 1. 34. 14 n. 22. **propriam**: like **tutum** = 'sure,' 'abiding.' *proprius* is much stronger than *suus* and expresses that which is a permanent possession and not merely hired, borrowed, or held for a season; cf. S. 2. 2. 134; 6. 5; Ep. 2. 2. 170-176. Horace wishes to express that the reward of virtue is a crown 'that fadeth not away.' 23. **quisquis . . . acervos,** 'whosoever views huge heaps of treasure (and passes by) without one backward glance.'

ODE III

'Cultivate, Dellius, a calm and equable frame of mind, neither unduly elated in prosperity nor depressed in adversity. Enjoy the gifts of nature and of wealth, for all must soon be left behind: rich and poor alike we are hastening towards one common end, the bourn from which no traveller returns.'

All we know of Dellius is that he was nicknamed *Desultor bellorum civilium* from the way in which he changed sides during the civil wars, *desultor* being a circus-rider who leaps from one horse to another. The Ode

is a poetical expression of the Epicurean doctrine 'Live while you live,' deeply touched with its profound sadness, the keynote of the whole being struck in the emphatic *moriture*, line 4. Compare Eccl. xi. 7, 8 'Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun: but if a man live many years, and rejoice in them all; yet let him remember the days of darkness; for they shall be many. All that cometh is vanity.'

1. **rebus in arduis**, 'when life's path is steep,' Wickham. 2. **non secus**, 'and equally so.' 3. **insolenti**, 'excessive,' 'extravagant': it is not all gaiety, but extravagant gaiety, that is to be chastened by the thought of death. 4. **moriture** in this striking position assigns the reason for the advice that has been given; cf. 1. 28. 6 *morituro*.

5. **seu . . . seu . . .**: strictly with *moriture*, 'since you must die all the same whether . . . or . . .' 6. **in remoto gramine**, 'on some retired lawn.' 8. **interiore nota Falerni**, 'with an inner brand of Falernian.' *interiore* because the oldest wine would be in the farthest corners of the cellar. *nota* because the *amphorae* were branded with the name of the consuls of the year. Falernian, from the *Falernus ager* in Campania, was a noted vintage of a 'heady,' 'fiery' character, cf. 1. 27. 9 *severi Falerni*, 2. 11. 19 *ardentis Falerni*, and kept for a long time.

9. **quo . . . quid**, 'to what purpose (cf. Ep. 1. 5. 12) else . . . why . . .?' *i.e.* if we are not to enjoy them, why is nature so lavish of her beauties? *quo* for **quid** has strong MS. support, and seems due to an idea that this stanza is grammatically connected with the next, and that *quo . . . quo* anticipate *huc* in line 13—'bring hither, boy, to the place where . . . where . . .' But this is very prosaic, and the scansion *quŏ obliquo* without parallel in Horace. **pinus ingens albaque populus.** 'The double contrast between the slight poplar white in the wind and the gloom of the heavier pine is indicated, after Horace's manner, by one epithet with each of the pair of substantives.'—Wickham. 10. **consociare amant**, 'love to intertwine a hospitable shade.' For the epexegetic inf. here and in line 12 cf. 1. 15. 27 n. 11. **obliquo.** The channel winds and twists, and so the water in its eagerness to escape (*fugax*) has to hurry and bustle and struggle (*laborat trepidare*) to make its way at all. The six words *obliquo . . . rivo* are a perfect specimen of Horace's power of concise word-painting. 12. **trepidare**: 2. 4. 23 n.

13. **nimium breves . . .** 'the too short-lived flowers of the lovely rose.' For *breves* cf. 1. 36. 16 *breve lilium*; 2. 14. 24 *brevem dominum*. Notice the pathos of the epithet thus introduced in an ode on the short life of man. Cf. 'Gather ye rosebuds while ye may, | Old Time is still a-flying; | And this same flower that smiles to-day, | To-morrow will be dying.' 15. **res**, 'circumstances,' 'fortune.' **sororum fila**: the Fates are represented as three sisters, Clotho (the spinner), Lachesis, and Atropos, who sit and spin the thread of each human life: when Atropos severs the thread the man dies. Cf. Milton, Lycidas 75 'Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears | And slits the thin-spun life.'

17. **cedes coemptis saltibus**, 'you add farm to farm but will quit them.' *saltus* are glades or stretches of pasture surrounded by woods and hills such as covered Calabria and Lucania, cf. Ep. 2. 2. 177. **domo**: a town mansion; **villa**: a country seat. 18. **flavus**: cf. 1. 2. 13 *flavum Tiberim*. It was so called from the quantity of sand it carries down. **lavit**: the less poetical *lavare* (='wash') is not used in the Odes.

21. divesne . . . The construction is *nil interest divesne* (*sis*) . . . *an* . . . *moreris*—'it makes no difference whether you are rich or . . . lodge under the canopy of heaven, (seeing that you are) a victim of the unpitying grave.' The way in which the words *victima* . . . *Orci* are to be taken is shown by their emphatic position. Latin suffers from not possessing a part. of the verb 'to be,' and is compelled to make clear the way a word is to be taken by assigning it a very marked position, as here. In Gk. after *victima* we should have ὤν or ὢν ὅμως, cf. 3. 16. 30 and 4. 1. 6 n.; in English we must add 'as being' or 'seeing that you are.' **Inacho**: a mythical king of Argos; he here typifies remote antiquity and lofty lineage. **23. sub divo**, 'beneath the open sky,'=*sub Iove* 1. 1. 25 n. So too 1. 18. 13 *sub divum*, 'into the open air,' 'into the light.' The phrase is archaic. **moreris**: either 'lodge' (=*commoreris*), or 'linger,' since life is only *mora mortis* (Kiessling).

25. cogimur: *cogo*, from *coago*='to drive together.' The idea is the same as in 1. 24. 18 (*nigro compulerit gregi*) of the dead being collected like a flock of sheep. **26. versatur sors exitura.** The ancient method of drawing lots was by writing the names on pebbles, which were then cast into an urn which was shaken about (*versatur*) until one lot leapt out (*exire*). Hence in Gk. πάλος (a lot), from πάλλω 'to shake.' So 3. 1. 16 *omne capax movet urna nomen.* **serius ocius**, 'sooner or later.' **28. cumbae**, *i.e.* the well-known bark of Charon, described in Virg. Aen. 6. 410-414, and cf. Prop. 3. 18. 24 *scandenda est torvi publica cumba senis.*

ODE IV

'*Lest you be ashamed, Xanthias, of your love for a slave-girl, let me tell you many a hero has done the same,—Achilles, Ajax, Agamemnon. And who knows but your auburn-haired Phyllis may have been a princess once? Be sure there was nothing disreputable about the mother of such a paragon, such a —— nay, you may let me praise her without suspicion; I am close on forty.*'

The Ode is satirical, and the style mock-heroic: Xanthias Phoceus is a *nom-de-plume*, and, as usual, Horace selects a Gk. name (Φωκεύς=inhabitant of Phocis), cf. 2. 5. 20 *Cnidiusve Gyges*; 3. 12. 6 *Liparaei Hebri.*

1. ne sit. When *ne* is used in prohibitions the perfect subj. (cf. 1. 11. 1 *ne quaesieris*) is regular, and it is therefore better here to take it='lest,' cf. 1. 33. 1; 2. 1. 37; 4. 9. 1. **sit tibi pudori**: *pudori* is 'Dat. of the Purpose,' which is usually found with a second Dat. of the Recipient, cf. *odio esse alteri, emolumento esse alicui*, etc. **2. Xanthia**=Ξανθίᾱ. **insolentem,** 'arrogant though he was': see his character, A. P. 121. For Achilles and Briseis see Class. Dict. **4. movit . . . movit**: 1. 2. 4 n.

5. Telamone natum added to distinguish him from Ajax, son of Oileus, for whom cf. 1. 15. 18. **6. captivae dominum.** The antithesis is made clearer by the juxtaposition of the antithetical words. In a non-inflecting language, such as English, the order of the words in a sentence being of necessity more simple for the sake of clearness, it is comparatively rarely that this placing contrasted words side by side can be effected. Other instances are 1. 6. 9 *tenues grandia*, 1. 13. 14 *dulcia barbare*, 1. 15. 2 *perfidus hospitam*, 1. 29. 10 *arduis pronos*, 1. 37. 6 *Capitolio regina*, 3. 5. 9 *Medo Marsus*, 4. 4. 31 *inbellem feroces | progenerant aquilae columbam;* 4. 5. 9, 16. **Tecmessae**, Τέκμησσα. 'Before *gm, gn*, a vowel seems always to have become long by nature, as *tēgmen, āgnus.* In genuine Latin words not

compounded the other mutes do not precede *m*, *n*. Thus the older writers, such as Plautus, wrote *dracŭma* (δραχμή), . . . *cucĭnus* (κύκνος), . . . *Tecŭmessa*. The learned poets, copying the Greeks, did not object to *cўcnus*, *Tĕcmessa*, etc.'—Public Sch. Lat. Gr. § 218. **7. arsit . . . virgine rapta,** 'was fired with love for a captive maiden,' *i.e.* Cassandra. For the abl. cf. 3. 9. 5 n.

9. barbarae . . . This stanza amplifies the idea of *medio in triumpho*, and by dwelling on the details of Agamemnon's victory brings out more forcibly the contrast with his own subjugation by his own prisoner. *βάρβαρος* was applied by the Greeks to all foreigners : it is an imitative word signifying a person who *jabbers* or talks what is unintelligible, and originally only signified 'not Greek,' but subsequently, as the Greeks began to surpass their neighbours in civilisation, the secondary sense of 'uncivilised,' 'barbarous,' began to accompany it. **10. Thessalo victore :** abl. abs. The 'conqueror' is Achilles who led the Myrmidones from Thessaly. **ademptus Hector,** 'the loss of Hector.' Latin idiom has a considerable dislike to verbal nouns, and substitutes for a verbal noun followed by a genitive (e.g. *ademptio Hectoris*) a simple noun and a past participle passive in apposition (e.g. *ademptus Hector*). Cf. 1. 3. 29 *post ignem subductum* 'after the theft of fire'; *ab Urbe condita* 'from the foundation of the city'; *ante Christum natum* 'before the birth of Christ'; Livy 21. 1. 4 *angebant ingentis spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae*, 'the loss of.' For **ademptus tradidit** cf. 3. 6. 44 n. In **ademptus,** from *adimo*, the *p* is added between *m* and *t* as an 'auxiliary consonant' to make the word more easy of pronunciation, it being almost impossible to pronounce *adem-tus* several times without slipping in a *p* sound. Cf. *sumo sum-p-tum*, and 1. 29. 13 *coemptos*, 2. 5. 14 *dempserit*, 2. 11. 23 *comptum*, 1. 4. 1 *hiemps*. **11. fessis :** after a ten years' struggle. **leviora tolli,** 'lighter to be destroyed,' *i.e.* 'an easier prey'; *tolli* is epexegetic, cf. 1. 3. 25 n. We cannot preserve the double meaning of *tollo* here—(1) 'lift,' cf. *leviora*, and (2) 'destroy.' **12. Pergama Grais :** cf. line 6 n. Πέργαμος in the sing. is feminine, in the plural Πέργαμα neuter.

13. nescias an : a poetical variation of the common use of *nescio an* in hesitating affirmation. *nescis an . . .* would mean, 'you don't know whether her parents are not an honour to you.' *nescias an . . .* puts this more hesitatingly, thereby making the irony more subtle : 'you could not be sure (were you to examine the question), Xanthias, whether the noble parents of your golden-haired Phyllis do not lend a lustre to their son-in-law.' **15. genus :** nom. case, supply *est*. Many take it after *maeret*, 'mourns her royal race and the cruelty of her household gods,' but this involves taking *regium* as a mere attribute and *iniquos* predicatively, which is harsh if not impossible. **17. crede non illam.** Much stronger than *ne crede illam*. 'Be sure that she at any rate has not been wooed by you from among the base rabble.' *non* is placed immediately before *illam* to show that however possible such a supposition might be in an ordinary case, in *her* case it is absolutely inadmissible. Notice the effect of *illam* and *tibi* in juxtaposition. **scelesta,** 'rascally.' Xanthias doubtless was one of those gilded youths who designate all the rest of the world (*plebs* = 'those who merely fill up') as 'cads' (*scelesti*). His own phrase is ironically turned upon himself.

21. teretesque suras, 'shapely ankles.' *teres*, from *tero*, Gk. *τρίβω*, 'to rub, polish, finish,' denotes, says Munro (Lucr. 1. 35), 'that the thing to which it is joined is of the proper shape,' e.g. *cervix teres ; tunica teres* = a tunic of even fineness ; *oratio teres* = a style of speaking that is polished and

finished. **22. integer**, from *in* and *tango* (*tetigi*), indicates that which is free from all taint or blemish, or which is complete and whole. 'I praise, myself heart-whole . . . ,' cf. 3. 7. 22. **fuge suspicari**, 'avoid suspecting one whose age has been only too eager to conclude its eighth lustre.' For the inf. cf. 1. 15. 27 n. **23. octavum claudere lustrum.** Horace was born Dec. 8, B.C. 65. **lustrum** (from *luo*) = (1) the expiatory sacrifice performed by the censors at the end of every fifth year after taking the census; and so (2) 'a space of five years'; cf. 4. 1. 6 *circa lustra decem*. The technical phrase *condere lustrum* which was used of the censors is judiciously varied by Horace. **trepidavit**: a favourite word with Horace, used, 2. 3. 12, of a stream hurrying down its bed. It expresses eager, excited, quivering (cf. *tremo*) motion, cf. 4. 11. 11 and 2. 11. 4 n. For *claudere* after a verb of eagerness cf. 1. 15. 27 n. The exact value of the two concluding lines in fixing the date of the Ode the judicious reader must himself determine, but cf. Dickens, Sketches by Boz, 'Mr. Augustus Minns was a bachelor of about forty as *he* said—of about eight and forty as his friends said.'

ODE V

'*Lalage is too young yet for the trials and troubles of love: her delight is still in childish frolics. Why covet the unripe grape? Wait awhile and she will seek you of herself, and be dearer to you than ever was Pholoe or Chloris.*'

1. ferre iugum valet. The nom. is *Lalage*, or *iuvenca* to be extracted from *iuvencae*, line 6. *iuvenca*, = a young girl, is frequent in ancient poetry, though not in accord with modern taste. The metaphor is kept up throughout the first eight lines, and repeated in lines 15, 16. Cf. δάμαλις and πόρτις in Gk. **2. munia comparis aequare**, 'match the labours of a mate' or 'yoke-fellow,' *i.e.* draw even with one in the plough. **5. circa est**: lit. 'is around' = 'is occupied with.' This use of *circa* is very frequent in Quintilian and some post-Augustan writers, but otherwise rare. Cf. εἶναι περί τι. **6. nunc . . . nunc**, 'at one time . . . at another.' **9. praegestientis** is a very strong word: *gestire* (from *gestus*) 'to use passionate gestures' is in itself a very emphatic word for 'desiring,' and *prae* = 'exceedingly' makes it more so. Horace wishes to express how she is given up heart and soul to her gambols without one thought of love or anything else.

10. iam . . . colore: *lividus* describes a dull, leaden, somewhat dark colour (being used of lead, the sea, bruised flesh, bilious people, etc.) and is specially used of the grape (= 'bluish-grey') *when just turning*, cf. Juv. 2. 81 *uvaque conspecta livorem ducit ab uva*, Prop. 4. 2. 12 *prima mihi* (i.e. *Vertumno*) *variat liventibus uva racemis*. Hence the sense is clear, 'Soon shall many-coloured Autumn mark for thee the already darkening clusters with purple hue'; *i.e.* 'Lalage is just turning into a woman and, if you only wait a little, will be ripe for you.' The rendering 'Autumn gaily dressed in brilliant colours shall mark for thee the clusters with blue' misses the point, which is that Lalage and the grapes are already ripening but not ripe. For the twofold comparison to a grape and a heifer cf. Theocr. 11. 21 μόσχω γαυροτέρα, φιαρωτέρα ὄμφακος ὠμᾶς. **13. currit . . . aetas**, 'her time of life, now so wild, hastens along.' **ferox** keeps up the metaphor of *nondum subacta cervice;* she is still too young to be broken in, wild, untamed. **14. dempserit, apponet.** The body naturally increases in strength up to a certain age (say forty or forty-five), after which strength and activity gradually

decrease. Hence it is common to speak of the years up to this period as 'gained' or 'added' (*apponere*), and those which follow as 'lost' or 'subtracted' (*demere*); cf. A. P. 175. Horace says that the lover (who is possibly himself, and at any rate not young) must consider that each year that passes, though a loss to himself, yet brings ample compensation in the additional charms it confers on Lalage. For the *p* in *dempserit* cf. 2. 4. 10 n. 15. **proterva fronte.** Lalage is again spoken of as a *iuvenca*.

17. **dilecta . . .** The construction is *dilecta* (*a te, tantum*) *quantum non Pholoe fugax* (*dilecta fuit*), 'beloved as much as was never coquettish Pholoe.' 19. **ut pura . . . mari,** 'as the cloudless moon is reflected in the nightly ocean.' 22. **mire . . . vultu,** 'the difference (*i.e.* between Gyges and a girl) hard to detect by reason of his flowing locks and half-girlish face would marvellously deceive even shrewd strangers.' 23. **discrimen** = 'that which makes a distinction,' from *dis* and *cerno* = κρίνω 'to distinguish.'

ODE VI

'*O Septimius, thou who wouldst go with me to the world's end, if I live to old age, may Tibur be the dwelling of my declining years. But, if the fates cruelly forbid that, then I will seek genial Tarentum. That is an earthly Paradise, thither do I summon thee to my side, there amid poetry and friendship shall my life end, there shall thy tears bedew my funeral urn.*'

Plüss, who calls attention to the deep feeling which underlies the Ode, suggests that it was written either during severe illness or under the strong expectation of an early death. Could he, says Horace, look forward to old age (*senecta* line 6) he would prefer no place to Tibur, but if that may not be, as he hints it may not (*si prohibent*, not *prohibeant* or *prohibebunt*), then he calls upon Septimius to accompany him to Tarentum, 'For I will see before I die | The sunny temples of the South.'

1. **Septimi.** Probably the *Septimius* of Ep. 1. 9. **Gades:** put for the extremity of the universe; cf. 2. 2. 11 *remotis Gadibus*. The Pillars of Hercules were considered the end of the world; cf. 1. 34. 11 *Atlanteus finis;* Pind. Nem. 4. 69 Γαδείρων τὸ πρὸς ζόφον οὐ περατόν. **aditure,** 'thou who wouldst go,' *i.e.* should necessity arise; cf. 4. 3. 20 *donatura, si libeat* and n. 2. **Cantabrum . . .** The Cantabri inhabited N.W. Spain; occupying a mountainous and inaccessible district they maintained that guerilla warfare for which Spain has always been celebrated, and continually harassed the important settlements on the E. and S. coasts. Augustus went to Spain in person B.C. 27, and stayed there until B.C. 25, but the final subjugation of the Cantabri was accomplished by his war-minister Agrippa B.C. 19. Livy (27. 12) notices that Spain was the first province entered by the Romans and the last subdued, and the interest taken in the war is shown by Horace's frequent allusions to it. Cf. 3. 8. 22 *Cantaber sera domitus catena;* 4. 14. 41 *Cantaber non ante domabilis;* Ep. 1. 18. 55. This Ode must have been written about the time when Aug. was in Spain, or the allusion here would be unnatural and out of place. **iuga ferre:** a metaphor from breaking in oxen, but which also refers to the custom of making a conquered enemy 'pass under the yoke' (*sub iugum mittere*). 3. **barbaras:** partly with reference to the barbarous character of the inhabitants, partly to the dangerous character of the coast itself; cf. 1. 22. 5 *Syrtes aestuosas*.

5. Tibur. For the same sentiment with regard to Tibur, cf. 1. 7. 1—21. **Argeo** = Ἀργείῳ in Latin letters, long '*e*' answering to 'ει.' Tiburtus, son of Catilus, is said to have come with Evander from Greece. **colono** is what Kennedy calls a 'Recipient Dative, instead of an Ablative of the Agent,' used after the Part. Pass. or after gerundives; cf. below, *Laconi Phalantho*, and 1. 6. 1 n. **7. sit modus . . .** 'Oh! may it be the final bourn | To one with war and travel worn,'—Martin. The genitives go both with **modus** (='a limit') and with **lassus**, for which cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 178 *fessi rerum*, the gen. seeming to be dependent on the sense of 'having had enough of' which the word contains. If Horace was at Actium (see Epod. 1 Intr.) then B.C. 27 may well be the date of this Ode, whereas he could hardly describe himself as 'weary of war' with reference to Philippi fifteen years before.

10. pellitis ovibus Galaesi. The Galaesus was a river near Tarentum famous for a choice breed of sheep, whose wool was so valuable that they were 'covered with skins' (*pellitae*) to protect it from injury. **11. regnata Phalantho,** 'ruled over by Phalanthus.' *regnare*='to reign,' being intransitive, ought not to have a passive, but for convenience sake the past part. is used passively; cf. 3. 29. 27 *regnata Cyro;* Virg. Aen. 6. 794 *regnata Saturno.* For the foundation of Tarentum circ. B.C. 700, see Class. Dict. s.v. Phalanthus.

13. ille . . . ille (21) . . . ibi (22). Notice carefully the guiding words. **14. angulus terrarum,** 'corner of the world,' not so much implying that Tarentum was in a 'corner of the world' as that it was a snug nook for retirement. For *ridēt* cf. S. 1. 5. 90 n. **ridet mihi**: lit. 'smiles to me'=takes my fancy. **non Hymetto mella decedunt,** 'the honey does not give way before *that of* Hymettus.' Neither Latin nor Greek has a use of the pronoun similar to the word 'that' in the above sentence: they are therefore obliged either to say 'the honey does not give way before *the honey* of Hymettus,' or to take a short cut (*compendium*, whence the phrase *comparatio compendiaria* applied to this idiom) and avoid such roundabout method by saying 'the honey does not give way before Hymettus.' So below *baca Venafro*, and Hom. Il. 17. 51 κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι 'locks like *those of* the Graces.' Cf. also 2. 14. 28 *mero . . . pontificum potiore cenis;* 3. 6. 46 *aetas parentum peior avis.* **15. decedere** is commonly used of one who quits the footpath to make way for another='yield to.' Here, however, where *certat* follows, the notion is rather of a vanquished competitor quitting the arena. **16. baca,** '*the* berry' *par excellence*, *i.e.* the berry of the olive. **18. Iuppiter,** *i.e.* the god of the atmosphere, cf. 1. 1. 25 n. **brumas**: *bruma*=*brevima*, *i.e.* 'the shortest day,' then generally 'winter.' **Aulon**: a valley (αὐλών) near Tarentum; cf. Mart. 13. 125 *felix vitibus Aulon.* **19. Falernis**: cf. 2. 3. 8.

21. te mecum. The two words are side by side, even as the two friends were to be. **ille locus,** *i.e.* the district near Tarentum. The words **et beatae arces** complete and specialise *ille locus*, *arces* referring to the hilly character of the district and *beatae* to its fertility. **22. tu**: emphatic. **calentem,** *i.e.* when the ashes were being removed from the pyre to the urn. It was customary to sprinkle them with perfumes and wine (cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 226); the poet naturally prefers 'the homage' of a tear. **23. debita**: not 'due by custom,' for custom ordained the sprinkling with perfumes, but 'due to our friendship,'—'the tributary tear.' **24. vatis amici**: emphatic at the end. Horace has a double claim (cf. *debita*) on Septimius' tears: (1) their long friendship, (2) the fact that that friendship had been hallowed by the

presence of the Muses. Theirs had not only been a 'fair companionship,' but they had also 'with singing cheered the way.' (Tennyson, In Mem. c. 22.)

ODE VII

'*Pompeius, with whom I once saw service under Brutus, with whom I have often joined in revelry, who has thus restored you to your civil rights? How I remember being in the rout of Philippi with you, when I ran away so ingloriously and Mercury spirited me away safe home, while you were sucked back into the tempest and tumult of the war! Come offer a sacrifice to Jupiter for your return, and then we will hold a reckless revel beneath the laurels here. On such a day I scorn to be sober.*'

1. **saepe**, *i.e.* during the two years before the battle of Philippi. **tempus in ultimum deducte**, 'led down into uttermost peril when Brutus was our leader.' There seems a play on words in *deducte . . . duce*. *tempus* here = 'a critical period of time'; the notion of 'peril' attaches to it from *ultimum*, which implies danger. Cf. Cic. Phil. 5. 17. 46 *tempore summo reipublicae* 'at an extreme crisis of the state'; Catull. 64. 151, 169. 2. **Bruto**. M. Brutus, the murderer of Caesar, commanded, along with Cassius, at Philippi (B.C. 42). 3. **redonavit Quiritem**, 'given thee back a (full) citizen.' After Philippi most of the republican party were pardoned by Octavian, Horace among them: Pompeius, however, seems still to have remained in arms with the relics of the beaten faction, and had only just been amnestied. *Quirites* signifies a Roman citizen in full possession of his civil rights, or, in legal phrase, *capite non deminutus*. Hence in public documents the phrase *populus Romanus Quiritium*, and among the jurists, *ius Quiritium*. The word was only applied to Roman citizens in a civil capacity, never to soldiers; hence the point of Caesar's beginning a speech to the mutinous Tenth legion with the word *Quirites*.

5. **sodalium**, 'comrades in enjoyment' in connexion with the lines which follow. 6. **morantem . . . fregi**, 'I have often with (the aid of) wine defeated a wearisome day.' *frangere* is common = 'crush,' 'defeat,' 'break the back of': the day threatened to be dull and tedious, but Horace had a remedy powerful enough to defeat its threats and make it move along fast and pleasantly. 7. **coronatus . . .** : lit. 'garlanded as to my locks glistening with Syrian unguent,' *i.e.* wearing a garland on my locks, etc. 8. **malobathrum** is a corruption of the Indian name for a plant from which unguent was extracted. It is called 'Syrian' because Indian products were brought to the sea-coast through Syria, and bought by Roman merchants in Syria, so that all such merchandise is indiscriminately called 'Syrian.' Cf. 2. 11. 16.

9. **Philippos et celerem fugam**, 'Philippi's hurried rout.' A good instance of Hendiadys (ἓν διὰ δυοῖν) or the use of two words or phrases simply put side by side, instead of a single complex phrase in which the words qualify each other. Cf. 1. 35. 33 *cicatricum fratrumque* 'wounds inflicted by brethren,' 3. 4. 4 *fidibus citharaque*, 3. 4. 43 *Titanas inmanemque turmam*, Caes. B. G. 4. 18 *solitudinem et silvas*. 10. **sensi**: a favourite word of Horace, = 'feel to one's cost,' 'feel anything painful.' Cf. 4. 4. 25 *sensere*, of the conquered tribes 'feeling to their cost' the power of Rome; 3. 27. 22 *sentiant motus*, of those at sea; 3. 5. 36 *lora sensit iners;* A. P. 66. **relicta non bene parmula**. Horace speaks of his military career as of something he can look back upon as too absurd to be talked of gravely; that

he is half jesting is clear from the ironical use of the diminutive *parmula*, 'my poor shield.' *non bene* is also used in jest='not over bravely': in serious writing *non bene* would='most disgracefully,' by litotes, cf. 1. 18. 9 n. He is probably induced to tell this tale against himself by the fact that he is imitating the example of Alcaeus, Archilochus, and Anacreon (v. Orelli). For the disgrace of throwing away the shield cf. ῥίψασπις and the Spartan mother's advice to her son, 'Return either with your shield or upon it.' **11. cum . . . mento.** The description in these lines is sober earnest, all the more telling preceded and followed as it is by ironical jesting. **minaces . . .** 'those but late so threatening touched with their chin the disgraceful dust.' The *solum* is called *turpe*, because when they 'bit the dust' they were defeated, and to a certain extent all defeat is disgraceful. Most editors take *tetigere mento* as referring to the abject prostration of suppliants, with their faces in the dust, rather than as a reproduction of phrases such as ὀδὰξ λαζοίατο γαῖαν Hom. Il. 2. 418. They quote Appian 4. 131 to prove that certain leaders did, after the battle, 'come as suppliants' (ἱκέται προσῄεσαν) to Antony. But this is really too recondite and unimportant. What Horace wishes to do is not to commemorate the cowardly behaviour of his fellow-soldiers after the battle—to do which would be at once unpoetical and ungenerous—but to tell us in five thrilling words how in that fierce fight those 'grim warriors bit the dust.'

13. sed me . . . te: ἀλλ' ἐμὲ μὲν . . . σὲ δέ; *sed* contrasts the divergence of their after-fortunes with their previous union in danger, cf. the emphatic *tecum* at the beginning of the preceding stanza. **Mercurius**: as the special patron of poets, cf. 1. 10. 1 n. **14. denso aere**: ἠέρι πολλῇ, 'in a thick cloud.' *aer* is constantly opposed to *aether*, the pure upper air (so too in Greek ἀήρ and αἰθήρ),='cloud,' 'mist.' Horace is here satirising Homer, who represents his divinities as rescuing a defeated hero by this somewhat unfair device whenever convenient, *e.g.* Il. 3. 380. **15. resorbens**, 'sucking back.' The metaphor is from a shipwreck: the breakers had cast Horace safe upon the shore; a back eddy had sucked his friend back amid 'the raging surf' (*freta aestuosa*), cf. ἀναροιβδεῖ, Hom. Od. 12. 105.

17. ergo, *i.e.* since after so many dangers you are safe at home. **obligatam redde**, 'duly offer the banquet as you are bound.' *reddo* is frequently not 'to give back,' but 'to give what is due,' the two meanings being in fact really one: Pompeius had doubtless bound himself by a vow (*voto se obligare*) to offer a feast to Jove, and so when he 'duly offered' it, he was but 'giving back' to the god what the god had given him. **obligatam**, 'that is bound on you,' *i.e.* to which you are bound: the word is technical with regard to religious obligations, *e.g.* Cic. Leg. 2. 16. 41 *voti sponsio quia obligamur deo* (cf. *religio*, perhaps from *religare*).

21. oblivioso . . . Here Horace represents the feast to which he invites his friend as actually realised, and himself as urging on the attendants to their various duties. **oblivioso**, 'that brings forgetfulness,' *i.e.* of care, cf. *Liber*, *Lyaeus;* the οἶνον λαθικηδέα of Alcaeus. **levia**: cf. 1. 2. 38 n. **Massico**: from *Mons Massicus* in Campania. **22. ciboria**: large cups shaped like the pod of the Egyptian bean (*colocasium*). **23. conchis.** Shells, or vessels made to imitate shells, were used to contain unguents. So Martial 3. 82. 27 speaks of a *murex aureus* as used for this purpose. **quis . . . myrto?** 'whose task is it speedily to fashion garlands with pliant parsley or with myrtle?' *propero*, 'to make haste,' is frequently used transitively in

the secondary sense of 'to make hastily,' cf. 2. 13. 26 n.; *deproperare* has the additional meaning of 'completing.' *apium* was used both by the Greeks (*e.g.* in the garland given as a prize at the Nemean games) and Romans for chaplets, cf. Virg. E. 6. 68 *floribus atque apio crines ornatus amaro.* For **udo** cf. Theocr. 7. 69 πολυγνάμπτῳ τε σελίνῳ, 'easily bent parsley.'

25. **curatve.** For position of *ve* see 2. 19. 28 n. **quem . . . bibendi?** 'whom shall Venus declare lord of the revel?' **Venus** = *iactus Veneris;* see 1. 4. 18. 26. **dicet**: cf. *dictatorem dicere,* Virg. G. 3. 125 *pecori dixere maritum.* 27. **Edonis**: a Thracian people near the Strymon. The Thracians were notorious for their orgiastic worship of Dionysus; cf. 1. 27. 1. 28. **furere**, 'to be mad' = 'to hold furious revel.' So too 3. 19. 18 *insanire.*

ODE VIII

An Ode to Barine, fair, fickle and forsworn. Perhaps this is the only Ode of which there is an adequate English rendering—that by Sir Charles Sedley (see Selected Translations, by C. W. Cooper).

1. **ulla . . . umquam**, 'had any punishment, Barine, for faith forsworn ever marred your beauty.' The ancients believed that the gods specially punished perjury by the infliction of personal disfigurement; Ov. Am. 3. 3. 1 *esse deos, i, crede; fidem iurata fefellit: | et facies illi, quae fuit ante, manet.* **iuris perierati**: *ius* is never used by itself for 'an oath,' but from the analogy of its use in *iusiurandum* Horace has invented this phrase, which is at once so clear and effective that it is a distinct addition to the Latin language. For the oxymoron, cf. 3. 11. 35 n. 3. **nigro uno.** Both adjectives go with both *dente* and *ungui; uno* is emphatic, *one single.*

5. **crederem.** Notice the contrast between the long protasis and the emphatic monosyllabic apodosis. Had I, he means to say, one atom of hope that you might possibly keep your word, then I would, spite of everything, then and there, unreasonably and unhesitatingly believe. **tu**: emphatic. **simul** = *simul ac*, 'as soon as.' **obligasti**: cf. 2. 7. 17 n. 6. **caput.** It was customary to 'swear by the head' (cf. St. Matt. v. 36), *i.e.* invoking a curse on the head if the oath were broken: hence Horace's selection of the word here. But he is not uninfluenced by the recollection how charming was that same 'perjured head,' 'wreathed' though it was 'with broken vows' (*votis obligatum*). **enitescis . . . cura**, 'you shine forth in still more radiant beauty, and advance the cynosure of all our youth.' *enitescis* and *prodis* admirably describe Barine's soft and dazzling beauty as she appears: they are words that might be used of the rising moon as she 'unveils her peerless light.'

9. **expedit**: emphatic. Not only does perjury do you no harm but it absolutely 'suits you'! 10. **fallere**, 'to deceive,' *i.e.* 'to swear falsely by'; cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 324 *di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen*, and the common *fidem fallere* 'to break a pledge.' **et toto . . . carentes.** Horace heaps together words of weight and solemnity to express the awfulness of the oaths Barine had broken. 13. **hoc**, *i.e.* the fact of your perjury. Notice the climax: not only does Barine not suffer for her perjury, but it absolutely does her good, nay the deities even smile approbation of it. **inquam**: just as we insert 'I assure you' when we think what we are saying may appear incredible. 15. **ardentes**: burning arrows were frequently used in war: Cupid's are so called because they kindle 'the fire' of love.

17. **adde quod**: poetical for *accedit quod;* 'then too there is the fact

that.' **pubes crescit, servitus crescit.** Horace by simply putting these two statements side by side expresses the completeness of Barine's empire: to say 'new youths are growing up' is identical with saying 'you have new slaves growing up,' the two phrases are interchangeable. **21. te . . .** Barine was the dread of three classes—timid mothers, thrifty fathers, and anxious brides. **iuvencis**: see 2. 5. 1 n. It is used here satirically for some such word as 'darling.' **23. tua aura,** 'the breath of your love.'

ODE IX

'*Rain, storm, frost do not last for ever, but your grief, Valgius, for Mystes seems eternal. And yet even Nestor ceased to lament his son, nor did his sisters bewail Troilus for ever. Cease then these womanly tears, and let us find relief for private sorrows in singing of the glorious exploits of Augustus.*'

When Augustus was in Spain B.C. 27-25 he received a deputation from the Scythians (cf. *Gelonos* line 23) offering submission, and in 23 he received similar deputations from the Parthians at Rome. Hence most fix the date of this Ode between 27 and 23 B.C. The definite language, however, of 18 seq. about the 'recent trophies' secured from the conquest of Armenia and Parthia points to a later date, for Augustus went to the East B.C. 21, and in B.C. 20 sent an expedition into Armenia under Tiberius and recovered from the Parthians the standards lost by Crassus at Carrhae, receiving the personal submission of Prahates (cf. Ep. 1. 12. 26). Horace when he wrote the last two stanzas seems to have had in mind Virgil, G. 3. 30 *addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten | fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis, | et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste tropaea*, and, although the date of the Georgics is B.C. 37-30, these lines are generally considered an addition made by Virgil shortly before his death in B.C. 19. For Valgius cf. S. 1. 10. 82 n.

1. **hispidos**, 'shaggy,' *i.e.* 'rough,' 'disordered,' representing the effect of continuous wet weather on the fields. **2. Caspium, Armeniis, Gargani.** Cf. 1. 1. 13 n. **3. inaequales**: either 'uneven,' 'gusty,' or 'that make uneven' (cf. *hispidos*), the latter sense being supported by the application of the adj. to a bad haircutter, Ep. 1. 1. 94.

5. **stat**, 'is stiff,' referring to the rigidity of ice; cf. 1. 9. 3. **iners**, 'lifeless.' So 4. 7. 12 *bruma recurrit iners.* The epithet partly refers to the torpor which is always associated with extreme cold, and partly to the fact that frost stops all outdoor work. Cf. too 1. 22. 17 *pigris campis* of the Arctic regions. **7. laborant,** 'strain beneath the N. winds.' The timber groans and creaks as if in pain. Cf. 1. 9. 3 *silvae laborantes*, of snow-laden branches. Garganus is a mountain in Apulia. **8. viduantur,** 'are widowed of,' *i.e.* 'are despoiled of.' Notice how throughout these two stanzas Horace selects illustrations from nature which admirably fall in with the idea of grief, 'rain,' 'disorder,' 'storms,' 'lifelessness,' 'winds,' 'groans, 'desolation.'

9. **tu**, 'but you.' The adversative force is brought out by the prominent position of *tu*. **urgues flebilibus modis,** 'pursue unweariedly with mournful measures.' *urguere* is a favourite word with Horace; cf. 2. 10. 2; 18. 20. It here indicates that Valgius will not let the subject of Mystes' loss go; he is 'continually pursuing' it. **10. Mysten**: from μύστης = initiated. Probably he was a favourite Greek slave (such as the *anagnostes* or *reader*, whom Cicero laments, ad Att. 1. 12); the name is found in inscriptions applied to slaves. **Vespero**: from *Vesperus* the evening star

personified, the usual term being *Hesperus*. Both words are identical with ἕσπερος, the rough breathing in Greek appearing in Latin as either *h* or *v*. The same star when it appears in the morning is called *Lucifer* and Φωσφόρος; cf. Tennyson, In Mem. c. 120 'Sweet Hesper-Phosphor, double name | For what is one.' **12. rapidum**: in artistic contrast with **fugiente**. Lucifer flies before the Sun when he comes forth 'as a giant to run his course.'

13. ter aevo functus, 'who had passed through three generations.' *aevum* appears to mean a space of about 30 years, 'a generation.' Men on the average have children at about the age of 30 (one generation), grandchildren (the second generation) at 60, and great-grandchildren (the third generation) at 90. Hence a man of 90 may be said to have 'passed through three generations.' Horace is copying Homer's description of Nestor, Il. 1. 250 ἤδη δύο μὲν γενεαὶ μερόπων ἀνθρώπων | ἐφθίατο . . . μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν. **amabilem** = 'though so loveable'; so below **inpubem** = 'though cut off in the flower of his youth.' **14. Antilochum**: slain by Memnon. **16. Troilon**: slain by Achilles; cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 475 *infelix puer atque inpar congressus Achilli*. **Phrygiae sorores**, *i.e.* Cassandra, Polyxena, etc. **Phrygiae**, 'Trojan.' The historical Phrygia would not include Troy.

17. semper: emphatic by position. Horace dwells all through not on the folly of sorrow but of ceaseless sorrow. Cf. *semper* line 1; *usque* 4; *menses per omnes* 6; *semper* 9; *omnes annos* 14; *semper* 17; *tandem* 18. **desine mollium querellarum**, 'cease those womanly laments.' *desine* takes a gen. on the analogy of Gk. words, such as λήγειν, παύεσθαι, etc. Cf. 4. 9. 35 n. **19. tropaea.** See Intr. *Tropaeum* = τροπαῖον, a memorial set up by the victors at the spot where the enemy's line was 'turned back' (τρέπω). **20. rigidum Niphaten**, 'frozen Niphates,' a mountain of Armenia. **21. Medumque flumen . . . vertices.** The construction changes to acc. and inf.; 'and that the Persian stream (*i.e.* the Euphrates) . . . rolls its eddying waves less proudly and the Geloni within fixed limits career over narrowed plains.' For *Medus* = Parthian cf. 2. 1. 31 n. The same event is alluded to by Virgil in similar terms, Aen. 8. 726 *Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis;* G. 4. 560. For **minores volvere vertices** cf. R. C. Trench, The Alma: 'Alma, roll thy waters proudly, | Proudly roll them to the sea.' **23. Gelonos**: a nomad tribe of Scythians who, like the modern Cossacks, roamed over the wide steppes (*campis*) by the Tanais or Don, and made raids on horseback (*equitare*) into Roman territory. Cf. 3. 8. 23, 24.

ODE X

An Ode on the virtue of moderation, as the true lesson to be derived from philosophy and experience (see n. on line 5). Licinius Murena, afterwards called A. Terentius Varro Murena, was the brother of the Proculeius of 2. 2. 5, and of Terentia, wife of Maecenas. According to Dion Cassius 54. 3 ἀκράτῳ καὶ κατακορεῖ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς πάντας ὁμοίως ἐχρῆτο, so that he must have been singularly wanting in the virtue which Horace, perhaps designedly, here selects for praise. He joined Fannius Caepio in a conspiracy against Augustus B.C. 22, and was put to death. Cf. too 3. 19. 11.

1. rectius. The adj. *rectus* is used by writers on moral philosophy as almost = *honestus*, to indicate 'that which is in accordance with the moral standard' (*regula*, from *rego*), 'what is morally right'; and *rectum* as a noun represents the Stoic κατόρθωμα = 'a morally right act performed with a

knowledge that it is so'; see Dict. s. v. The whole Ode is a good instance of Horace's happy power of combining the lessons of philosophy with those of practical common-sense and experience. For other philosophical terms in it cf. *auream mediocritatem*, *sobrius*, *bene praeparatum pectus*, *sapienter*. **altum urguendo**, 'by ever strenuously making for the deep (*i.e.* open) sea.' For *urguere* cf. 2. 9. 9 n. 3. **nimium . . . iniquum**, 'by too closely hugging the dangerous shore.' To keep too close in shore involves risks from breakers, rocks, etc. The excess of caution or boldness is equally unwise.

5. **auream mediocritatem**, 'the golden mean.' **mediocritas** is the Gk. τὸ μέσον, τὸ μέτριον, and is defined by Cic. de Off. 1. 25 *illa mediocritas, quae est inter nimium et parum.* From observation of the advantages of moderation had sprung up such proverbial sayings as that inscribed over the temple of Delphi, Μηδὲν ἄγαν, 'nothing in excess'; but it was Aristotle who first embodied the general idea into a philosophic conception, and made it the first principle of a system of moral philosophy. He showed that all the virtues, courage (cf. stanza 1), temperance (cf. stanza 2), etc., are 'mean states' lying between two extremes, which are 'vicious states,' one erring on the side of excess, the other of deficiency, *e.g.* 'courage' is the 'mean' or virtuous state, lying between excess of courage, *i.e.* recklessness, on one side, and deficiency of courage, *i.e.* cowardice, on the other. **auream**: cf. 1. 5. 9 n. and our 'a golden rule.' 6. **diligit tutus**, 'securely chooses.' Many place a comma after *diligit*, but the natural division of the verse is against this, and it also destroys the careful and rhythmical balance of *caret obsoleti sordibus tecti* and *caret invidenda sobrius aula.* **caret** . . . 'avoids the squalor of a tumble-down dwelling, avoids too in his temperance the envy that a palace excites.' As in 1-4 Horace has depicted courage as a mean between two extremes, so here he depicts 'temperance' as a mean equally removed from (*caret . . . caret*) squalor and extravagance. 8. **sobrius** = σώφρων, which is used by Aristotle of the man who is 'temperate in all things,' as opposed to the man who indulges himself without restraint (ἀκόλαστος); Aristotle adds that this particular virtue has not two opposites, 'as men who are inclined to take too little pleasure do not exist.' For **invidendus**, = 'that is to be envied,' cf. 3. 1. 45 *invidendis postibus.*

9. **saepius**, 'more frequently,' *i.e.* than smaller pines. The point of the stanza is at once made clear by noticing that the emphatic words are *ingens, celsae, summos.* 13. **infestis, secundis.** Datives: 'hopes for adversity, fears for prosperity, the opposite lot'; cf. Sall. Cat. 40. 2 *quem exitum tantis malis sperarent.* **metuit**: not of cowardly fear, but of just and reasonable fear, which begets prudence, temperance, and the like. 14. **bene praeparatum**, *i.e.* by the precepts of philosophy; cf. Sen. de Vita Beata 8 *sapiens in utrumque paratus artifex vitae.* Horace here inculcates a virtue for which we have no special name, but which is equally removed from foolish over-confidence and unreasonable despondency. 15. **informes.** So Virg. G. 3. 354 speaks of Scythia as *aggeribus niveis informis*, 'shapeless with heaps of snow.' 16. **Iuppiter**: cf. 2. 6. 18 n. and for the thought Theoc. 4. 41 θαρσεῖν χρή, φίλε Βάττε· τάχ' αὔριον ἔσσετ' ἄμεινον. | ἐλπίδες ἐν ζωοῖσιν, ἀνέλπιστοι δὲ θανόντες. | χὼ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὕει. **idem**, 'but yet he also.' *idem* gets this adversative sense, because it intensifies the contrast when you say that two opposite actions are done by the *same* person. Cf. line 22; 2. 19. 27; 3. 4. 67.

17. **si male nunc**, i.e. *si male est nunc;* κακῶς ἔχει: cf. 3. 16. 43 *bene*

est. **olim,** 'some day'; cf. 4. 4. 5 n. **18. quondam,** 'sometimes'; cf. Ep. 1. 18. 78 n. **cithara . . . Musam,** 'wakes with the lyre his (previously) silent muse.' For *suscitat* cf. Gray, Progress of Poesy, 'Awake, Aeolian lyre, awake.' **19. arcum tendit Apollo,** 'stretches his bow,' *i.e.* keeps it strung. Cf. 3. 4. 60-65. For Apollo as a destructive deity (? connected with ἀπόλλυμι) see Class. Dict.

21. rebus angustis, 'in straitened circumstances'; abl. abs. **22. appare,** 'show thyself.' *apparere* is here not 'appear,' *i.e.* 'not be in reality,' but = 'show' or 'display oneself' in any character; as φαίνεσθαι is often used. **sapienter idem,** 'you will yet if you are wise.' *sapiens* is the technical Stoic word for 'the ideal wise man,' 'the perfect philosopher.' **23. contrahes,** 'you will take in,' *i.e.* make smaller; ὑποστέλλειν τὰ ἱστία. For the metaphor from sailing cf. stanza 1. **nimium secundo,** 'too favourable.' Excessive prosperity was held by the ancients to be fraught with danger. Cf. the whole plot of Aesch. Agamemnon, and the general belief in 'Nemesis'; see too our own Litany, 'in all time of our wealth . . . good Lord, deliver us.' **secundo** (from *sequi,* = 'following') is used of a wind right astern.

ODE XI

'*Cease, Hirpinus, from your cares about wars and wealth: "we need but little here below, nor need that little long." Fading flowers and waning moons warn us against the wearisome uselessness of endless calculations. Come and be happy while you may.*'

'Live while you live,' the Epicure will say,
'And give to pleasure every fleeting day';
'Live while you live,' the sacred Preacher cries,
'And give to God each moment as it flies.'
Lord, in my life let both united be;
I live to pleasure while I live to Thee.—DODDRIDGE.

1. Cantaber. Cf. 2. 6. 2 n., and for **Scythes** (Σκύθης) n. on *Gelonos* 2. 9. 23, and 3. 8. 23. **2. Hirpine Quincti.** See Ep. 1. 16 Intr. **quid . . . cogitet,** 'what he plots'; oblique interrogation after *quaerere.* **Hadria divisus obiecto.** The Scythians were 'separated' from Italy not only by the Adriatic but also by an immense tract of country. Perhaps therefore Horace purposely exaggerates, or adopts Hirpinus' own exaggerated description of the situation: 'though the Cantabri are eager for war,' he says, 'and the Scythian hordes only separated from us by the barrier of the Adriatic, yet why, even then, be so anxious?' Others take *obiecto* = 'shielding,' and say that a shield is held close to the body without reference to the distance of the assailant, but *divisus* hardly agrees with this metaphor. **3. remittas:** lit. 'to slacken anything that has been in a state of tension'; here of relaxing the strain on his mind—'cease so anxiously to enquire.' **4. trepides . . . aevi,** 'fret thyself about the requirements of life that needs but little.' For *trepido* cf. 2. 4. 23 n. and the use of πτοεῖσθαι, of nervous, fluttering anxiety. **in** denotes the aim and end to which that anxiety is directed, and for *usus aevi* cf. Cic. Verr. 2. 4. 5 *usum provinciae supplere,* Livy 26. 43 *quae belli usus poscunt suppeditare.* For what Epicurus considered 'epicurean,' cf. his saying (Diog. L. 10. 11) 'For myself I can be pleased with bread and water, yet send me a little cheese that when I want to be extravagant I may be.'

6. levis, 'beardless,' 'smooth-faced'; cf. 4. 6. 28 *levis Agyieu*, 'O ever-youthful Apollo.' **arida canitie**, 'wizened hoary age.' **9. non semper . . .** Cf. Hymns A. and M.: 'Yet birds and flowerets round us preach; | All, all the present evil teach | Sufficient for the day.' **11. aeternis . . . fatigas**: *consiliis* is governed both by *minorem* and *fatigas*. 'Why weary with eternal schemes your mind which is less than (*i.e.* incapable of dealing with) them?' *aeternis* bears two senses: (1) = 'ceaseless,' (2) = 'that are concerned with an infinite future,' as if you would live for ever.

13. platano. The plane was a favourite tree in pleasure-gardens because of the shelter afforded by its broad-spreading leaves (πλάτανος, πλατύς), cf. Plat. Phaedr. 229 A, 330 B. **hac**: graphic and vivid. **14. sic temere**, 'carelessly just as we are'; cf. Hom. Il. 2. 120 μὰψ οὕτω, Plato Gorg. 506 D οὕτως εἰκῆ. The final *e* of *temere* is of doubtful quantity and always elided in poetry. **et rosa . . .** 'and our gray locks crowned with scented roses.' **16. Assyria**: cf. n. on *malobathro Syrio*, 2. 7. 8. **17. Euhius.** Bacchus was so called from the cry εὐοῖ (2. 19. 5) used in his festivals. **18. edaces**, 'carking,' 'consuming'; cf. 1. 18. 4 *mordaces sollicitudines*. **puer** = παῖς, 'a slave.' **ocius**, 'with more than ordinary speed.' **19. Falerni**: cf. 2. 3. 8 n. Its 'fire' needed to be 'quenched' with 'water from the stream hard by' (*praetereunte lympha*).

21. quis devium . . . 'who will lure Lyde, that coy damsel, from her home?' **22. dic age . . . maturet**, 'go, bid her hasten.' *age* is used like an interjection and does not affect the construction; *maturet* is dependent on *dic*, being the subj. of Oblique Petition. **23. in comptum . . . nodum**, 'her hair bound back into a neat knot after the fashion of a Laconian maiden.' Any one who has seen a Greek statue will know the simple elegance with which Greek women dressed their hair, and the Laconians were especially noted for simplicity. Many MSS. read *incomptum*, which gives no satisfactory construction. Bentley seeing the excellent sense given by the adj. *incomptus* in connexion with Horace's hasty summons, boldly proposes to read *incomptam . . . comam religata nodo*.

ODE XII

'*You would not, I am sure, Maecenas, desire that I should attempt to tell of the wars of the Romans and the contests of gods and heroes on the peaceful lyre, and besides you yourself will recount Caesar's triumphs better in a prose history. 'Tis my more fitting task to describe the charms of Licymnia—Licymnia one single curl of whom you would not barter for the wealth of Arabia, so powerful are her kisses, her coquetry, and her love.*'

Doubtless Horace had been urged by Maecenas to compose an Ode or Odes on some national theme in which the deeds of Augustus might be introduced as a climax (for an instance see 2. 1. 6), and this Ode is his apology for refusing to do so—a refusal for which he atones by selecting Licymnia (*i.e.* Terentia, his wife) as a perfect instance of a theme more befitting his Muse.

1. nolis . . . tuque . . . dices, 'you would be unwilling (*i.e.* on general grounds of taste and inappropriateness) . . . and (there is also a special reason, viz.) you will yourself tell . . .' **longa ferae**: both adjectives are emphatic; 'long' wars need an epic poem, 'savage' combats do not suit the lyre. Numantia was taken B.C. 133 by P. Scipio Africanus the younger after a siege of eight years. **2. dirum Hannibalem.** The MSS. read

durum, but *dirum*, the epithet applied to Hannibal 3. 6. 36 and 4. 4. 42, is appropriate and almost necessary here. Two centuries after the invasion of Hannibal there still lived in Italy 'the terror of his name': he was still 'Hannibal the Dread'; with his name that epithet was indissolubly united. How then could Horace, especially here, where he is selecting typical instances of great wars and warriors, venture on such a parody of *dirus* as *durus*? It would be as pardonable to call Wellington not the 'Great Duke,' but the 'Grand Duke.' **Siculum mare . . .** : referring to the victories of C. Duilius at Mylae, with the first fleet the Romans ever built, B.C. 260, and to that of Lutatius Catulus at the Aegatian Islands, B.C. 242. Cf. 3. 6. 34. **3. Poeno purpureum.** The conjunction of these adjectives is remarkable, considering the notoriety of 'Phoenician purple': it is probably an oversight. **mollibus aptari citharae modis,** 'be set to the lyre's gentle measures.' *aptari c. m.* expresses the fitting or adjustment of a subject to such metres as are suited for the accompaniment of the lyre. **mollibus**: so 1. 6. 10 *inbellis lyrae.* Horace in both cases selects the epithet to assist his excuse, not because he regards lyric poetry as universally 'unwarlike' and 'gentle.' He was well aware of its capability to sound a graver note; cf. next Ode line 26, and for admirable instances the first six Odes of Book 3.

5. nimium mero, 'wild with wine'; cf. Tac. Hist. 4. 23 *rebus secundis nimii.* Hylaeus was one of the Centaurs; for their battle with the Lapithae, cf. 1. 18. 7 n. **7. Telluris iuvenes** = γίγαντες 'the Earthborn.' For their attack on heaven, cf. 2. 19. 21-24 and notes. **unde periculum . . . domus,** 'at the danger of whose attack the bright abode of ancient Saturn shook with fear.' *unde*, 'whence' = 'from whom,' 'at whose hands.' *periculum* is acc. after *contremuit*, which though intransitive becomes transitive (cf. 2. 13. 26 n.) = 'to quake' or 'shake with fear at.' For the sense cf. Joel ii. 10 'The earth shall quake before them; the heavens shall tremble.' **8. fulgens**: because the sky is the abode of light and brightness, cf. 3. 3. 33 *lucidas sedes* 'the halls of light,' *i.e.* heaven.

9. tuque . . . Must be Maecenas, though we know nothing of his having attempted such a work. **pedestribus,** 'prose'; cf. S. 2. 6. 17 n. **10. historiis**: ἱστορία, 'an enquiry,' then 'a history'; cf. Herod. 1. 1 ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, 'this display of the results of my enquiry.' In 3. 7. 20 *historias* = 'stories,' 'legends.' **11. per vias**: especially up the 'Sacred Way' to the summit of the Capitol. **12. colla**: with reference to the chains on their necks; cf. Epod. 7. 7. **13. me . . .** : in strong contrast to *tu.* **dominae . . . Licymniae,** 'the Queen of hearts Licymnia.' Under the *nom-de-plume* of Licymnia (Λικυμνία: cf. **dulces cantus** λιγεῖς ὕμνοι) Horace refers to Terentia the wife of Maecenas. The fact that the two names are identical in scansion makes this very probable: the Ode would be sent privately with the real name, but be published with the fictitious one substituted. So too Catullus puts *Lesbia* for *Clodia*, Tibullus *Delia* for *Plania.* Moreover the fact that Licymnia (line 20) takes part in the festival of Diana shows that she must have been a Roman lady. *domina* (*dominus* 'a master of slaves') = 'one who holds hearts in thrall.' **14. lucidum fulgentes,** 'brightly (cf. 1. 22. 23 n.) sparkling.' **15. bene fidum,** 'firmly faithful,' the adverb confirms the force of *fidus*, as *male* would obliterate it (*male fidus* = 'unfaithful'). Cf. 1. 17. 25 n.

17. quam nec dedecuit, 'in whom it was not unbecoming . . . ,' *i.e.* 'most becoming'; Litotes, cf. 1. 18. 9 n. **ferre pedem choris,** 'to move

her feet in the dance'; cf. Virg. Georg. 1. 11 *ferte simul Faunique pedem Dryadesque puellae.* The dancing was possibly on the occasion of 'Dian's thronged festival,' cf. A. P. 232 n. Except in connexion with religious ceremonies dancing was not highly esteemed as a lady's accomplishment, cf. 3. 6. 21 n.; Sall. Cat. 25 (of Sempronia) *saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae.* Orelli however explains in connexion with *certare ioco* of private entertainments—'whom it has often graced to dance and jest.' **18. dare bracchia,** *i.e.* in dancing, of which rhythmic movements of the arms formed a chief part; cf. S. 1. 9. 25 n. and *saltare* used of a *carver*, Juv. 5. 121. **19. nitidis,** 'in festal attire.' **20. celebris**: lit. 'thronged' with worshippers.

21. quae tenuit . . .: an adjectival phrase put for a noun, and parallel to **Mygdonias opes,** both being governed by **permutare**='to take in exchange,' as at 3. 1. 47. **Achaemenes**: the legendary ancestor of the Persians. Eastern potentates are the accepted types of vast wealth, cf. 1. 29. 1 n. **22. Mygdonias**: Mygdon was a prince of 'fertile Phrygia' mentioned Hom. Il. 3. 186. **24. plenas,** 'full,' because hitherto unrifled by the Romans. **Arabum**: cf. 1. 29. 1 n. **25. cum.** This stanza goes closely with the preceding one: 'he would not barter a lock of hair for the whole world, when under the fascination of her caresses'——what he might do in calmer moments Horace wisely does not say. **detorquet ad,** 'bends to catch' whereas the next moment *facili saevitia (oscula) negat.* **26. aut facili . . . occupet,** 'or with yielding sternness refuses the kisses which for all that even more than her suitor she loves to have stolen from her (and) sometimes is herself the first to snatch.' **facili saevitia**: oxymoron. *occupo* is used like φθάνω followed by a participle—'to anticipate some one in doing something.' **27. quae . . . gaudeat . . . occupet**: the subjunctives, because *quae=quamvis ea* '*although* she loves them to be stolen,' etc.

ODE XIII

'Verily I could believe the fellow guilty of any crime who first planted thee, accursed log, that didst nearly crush me to death! Crushed by a falling tree! yes, take all the precautions we may, death ever comes from a quarter we had never guarded against. Narrowly indeed have I escaped a voyage to the world beneath, and an introduction to my lyrical predecessors, who amid the Elysian fields sing their songs of love and war to the listening throng of ghosts, and even cast a spell on Cerberus and teach the damned to forget their tortures.'

The Ode is suggested by one of his trees nearly falling on his head; an event also alluded to 2. 17. 27; 3. 4. 27; 3. 8. 8. The subject is treated here with an attractive blending of jest and earnest.

1. ille . . . produxit. The construction is obvious if it be observed that *quicumque primum* (i.e. *quicumque primum te posuit*) is parenthetical. **ille** is strongly emphatic, and picked up with vehemence in *illum* at the beginning of the second stanza and *ille* in its striking position line 8. **quicumque primum** also has great force from its parenthetical position: 'that wretch (who he was and when it was, I don't know, but he) both planted . . .' **nefasto die**: (1) a day on which the magistrate did 'not utter' (*nefastus* from *ne* and *fari*) the three technical words, *do, dico, addico,* which indicated that he was prepared to sit for the administration of the laws; cf. Ovid Fast. 1. 47 *ille nefastus erit per quem tria verba silentur: | fastus erit per quem lege licebit agi;* (2) a day on which for any reason law could not be adminis-

tered : but as many of these days were 'ill-omened days' (*e.g.* the anniversary of Cannae) *nefastus dies* was gradually used for 'a day of evil omen,' a usage which would be encouraged by the tendency to connect the word with *nefas* rather than *ne-fari*. Cf. 1. 35. 35 *nefasti*='guilt,' and see Dict. s. v.

5. **et**, 'even.' **crediderim**, 'I can well believe.' The perfect subj. of verbs of 'believing' or 'affirming' is elegantly used to express a certain diffidence in asserting a belief or making an affirmation. The Roman writers felt that for fallible men such words as *credo, affirmo, dico*, were not to be used lightly, and loved to modify them in such phrases as *crediderim, pace tua dixerim, hoc pro certo affirmaverim.* 6. **penetralia, hospitis.** Both words are emphatic: it is not only murder, but the murder of a guest, and it is in the inmost part of the house, the most sacred spot in it, specially under the guardianship of the *Penates*, or 'Gods of the interior.' The horror is increased by the addition of the epithet *nocturnus*. 8. **venena Colcha.** Some MSS. read *Colchica*, but an open vowel at the end of one stanza before a vowel at the commencement of the next, though objectionable where there is no pause, is better than the very harsh elision which *Colchica* involves. *Colchus* is analogous in form to such adjectives as *Medus, Maurus, Thynus, Dardanus, Romulus*, cf. 1. 15. 10 n. Poisons are called 'Colchian' because Medea came from Colchis. 11. **caducum**, 'destined to fall.' 12. **domini**, 'thy owner'; the tree must have been on Horace's Sabine farm.

13. **quid quisque . . . horas**, 'no man has ever been sufficiently guarded, hour by hour, what he personally is to avoid.' **cautum est** is used impersonally, 'it has been guarded by a man.' **quid vitet** is the direct question *quid vitem?* put as a dependent clause; **quisque** is added because each individual carefully selects what he himself should avoid, though the result too often is that while *A* carefully avoids *C*, and *B*, *D*, yet *D* turns out to be what *A*, and *C* what *B* should have avoided, or some unregarded force *E* ruins both alike. Cf. lines 15-20. 14. **Bosphorum.** For the dangers of the Bosphorus cf. 3. 4. 30; at its entrance were the so-called Symplegades or Clashing Rocks. What the 'Carthaginian sailor' is doing there need not trouble us: Horace merely remembers that in the days when Carthage existed its seamen were bold and venturesome, and he mentions the Bosphorus quite vaguely as a type of any dangerous strait. Moreover, he is influenced in his choice of the word by the early reputation for seamanship of those Phoenicians from whom the *Poeni* or Carthaginians were descended. *Thynus* (cf. 3. 7. 3) is a conjecture accepted by many. 16. **caeca**, 'hidden,' 'obscure,' *i.e.* not obvious. **timet**: the last syllable lengthened by ictus, cf. S. 1. 5. 90 n. **aliunde**: emphatic, cf. *inprovisa*, line 19.

17. **miles.** Obviously from the next clause, 'the Italian soldier.' **sagittas . . . Parthi.** The soldier fears 'the arrows and swift flight of the Parthian' because the flight was only a manœuvre which enabled them to discharge their arrows without danger into masses of infantry who could not follow them, cf. 1. 19. 11 n. 19. **robur.** A dungeon in the Mamertine prison on the Capitol, made by Servius Tullius and called after him *Tullianum*, was frequently spoken of simply as *Robur*, 'the Strong Place.' Cf. Tac. Ann. 4. 29 *robur et saxum aut parricidarum poenas minitari*, Lucr. 3. 1030 *verbera, carnifices, robur, pix.* When the *triumphator* began to ascend from the Forum to the Capitol the chief prisoners were led away to be executed there. The connexion with *catenas* here makes it unlikely that

the word is simply 'strength,' 'power.' **inprovisa**: emphatic := 'But it is the unforeseen violence of death that ever has and ever will,' etc.

21. **Proserpinae.** The first syllable short, but 1. 28. 20 long, as usually. 22. **Aeacum.** Aeacus, Minos, and Rhadamanthus, having been righteous rulers during life, were appointed judges of the dead. 23. **discriptas,** 'marked off' (*dis, scribo*); wrongly spelt *descriptas* in some MSS. Others have *discretas.* Elysium was separated from Tartarus; Virg. Aen. 8. 670 *secretosque pios.* 24. **Aeoliis**: both Sappho and Alcaeus, though Lesbians, used the Aeolic dialect; cf. 4. 9. 12 *Aeolia puella.* 25. **Sappho**: acc. =Σαπφῶ.

26. **sonantem . . . dura,** 'chanting . . . the hardships.' Many intransitive verbs are in poetry used transitively in a secondary sense: so here *sonare* = 'describe sonorously,' *ludere* 1. 32. 2; *lusit* 4. 9. 9 = 'write sportively,' *deproperare* 2. 7. 24 'make hastily,' *contremuit* 2. 12. 8 'shook with fear of,' 3. 24. 61; *palluit* 3. 27. 28 'paled for fear of,' *arsit* 4. 9. 13 'was hotly in love with,' *sileri* 4. 9. 31 'pass over in silence'; Ep. 1. 2. 61 *poenas festinat;* 1. 3. 10 *expalluit haustus.* **plenius,** *i.e.* in comparison with Sappho's plaintive feminine laments; Alcaeus had a fuller, manlier ring. 27. **dura navis | dura**: see Notes on Metres, p. xviii. § 4. 28. **fugae, belli**: cf. 1. 32. 5 n.: *fugae* = 'exile.' 29. **sacro digna silentio,** 'things worthy of reverent silence.' *sacro* because the bard is 'the Muses' priest,' cf. 3. 1. 2-4. 32. **densum umeris,** 'thick-packed, shoulder to shoulder.' **bibit aure,** 'drinks in with the ear,' *i.e.* listens eagerly to; cf. Ep. 1. 2. 67 *adbibe verba;* Ovid, Trist. 3. 5. 14 *auribus ista bibi;* Virg. Aen. 4. 359 *auribus hausi.*

33. **carminibus stupens,** 'dazed by the strains.' 34. **demittit aures.** The effect produced on Cerberus is stupor (*stupens*); he does not listen, for to listen he would 'prick up his ears' (cf. *aures acutas* 2. 19. 4), but is lulled into forgetfulness of his duties as a watch-dog, 'he lets his dark ears droop.' **centiceps.** Hesiod, Theog. 312, speaks of Cerberus as κύνα πεντηκοντακάρηνον; Sophocles, Trach. 1098, as τρίκρανον, and he is generally so represented; cf. 2. 19. 31. 36. **Eumenidum**: Εὐμενίδες, 'the kindly' or 'gracious goddesses,' *i.e.* the Furies, so called euphemistically from a desire to avoid ill-omened expressions. Cf. such phrases as πόντος εὔξεινος, εὐφρονή (=night), etc. They are depicted with snaky tresses, cf. Virg. G. 4. 482 *inplexae crinibus angues | Eumenides.* **recreantur,** 'find rest' or 'relief.'

37. **quin et . . .** 'nay even . . . ,' cf. 3. 11. 21 n. **Prometheus.** 'This form of the legend, which makes Prometheus still undergo punishment in Tartarus (cf. 2. 18. 35, Epod. 17. 67), is known to no other extant author.' —Wickham. **Pelopis parens**: Tantalus. 38. **laborum decipitur,** 'are cheated of their toils.' The gen. depends on the sense of 'forgetfulness' or 'freedom' contained in *decipitur;* the song makes them forgetful of their agonies. Good MSS. give *laborem,* an acc. of respect, which is less elegant. **Prometheus et Pelopis parens . . . decipitur.** The verb is singular in accordance with Horace's favourite practice of putting a singular verb after two nominatives, if the last one be singular. Cf. 2. 1. 28, 2. 11. 2 *Cantaber et Scythes cogitet,* 3. 11. 22 *Ixion Tityosque risit,* 2. 18. 26 *pellitur et uxor et vir,* 3. 2. 7 *matrona et virgo suspiret,* 4. 5. 22 *mos et lex edomuit;* but see 3. 16. 7 n. 39. **Orion.** The great hunter still follows the same pursuit in the under world.

ODE XIV

'*Alas, Postumus, life is fast slipping away: from death neither piety nor prayers nor costly hecatombs can win a respite; even the strongest and most daring of the sons of earth the river of death imprisons, yes, the river we must all cross, rich and poor alike: thither, for all our care and caution, we must all wend our way, quitting all that we hold most dear, leaving to a reckless heir the wealth of which we called ourselves the owners.*'

1. Postume, Postume. Horace is very fond of this repetition of a word: its use is to give emphasis, reduplication being the earliest and most natural method of expressing intensity of feeling. The peculiar emphasis must be determined by the context in each case. Here the object is to intensify the idea of sadness; so too 3. 3. 18 *Ilion, Ilion;* 4. 4. 70 *occidit, occidit.* Cf. also such expressions as 'Vanity of vanities, saith the preacher, all is vanity,' and for the repetition of a proper name, Matt. xxiii. 37 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets'; Luke x. 41 'Martha, Martha.' On the other hand cf. 2. 17. 10 *ibimus, ibimus* (strong resolution), 1. 13. 1 *Telephi . . . Telephi* (fondness), 1. 35. 15 *ad arma . . . ad arma,* 4. 2. 49 *io Triumphe . . . io Triumphe,* 4. 13. 1 *audivere Di . . . Di audivere* (exultation), 4. 13. 10 *te quia . . . te quia* (derision). **2. labuntur.** This word, which is frequently used either of the motion of a stream (Ep. 1. 2. 43) or of the heavenly bodies (*labentia signa* Lucr. 1. 2; Virg. G. 1. 6), expresses motion which, without being hurried, is unceasing (*ohne Hast doch ohne Rast*), and is constantly applied to the silent flight of time. Cf. Ov. Fast. 6. 771 *Tempora labuntur tacitisque senescimus annis,* and see Dict. s. v. **3. rugis . . . senectae . . . morti**: note the advance. **4. indomitae,** 'unconquerable'; cf. 1. 24. 7 n.; Hom. Il. 9. 158 Ἀΐδης ἀδάμαστος.

5. non . . . 'no, not if with three hecatombs of bulls each day that passes you essay to appease tearless Pluto . . .' Most MSS. read *tricenis,* but this from *triginta* would have the first syllable long. **6. inlacrimabilem,** 'who never weeps,' *i.e.* can never be moved to pity; cf. 1. 3. 22 n. **8. Geryonen.** A Spanish giant with three bodies, whose oxen were carried off by Hercules. **Tityon:** Τιτύον; cf. 3. 4. 77; 4. 6. 2. He was a son of Earth, and insulted Latona. Geryon and Tityos are selected as symbols of enormous strength subdued by death notwithstanding. **tristi compescit unda,** 'confines with melancholy stream'; cf. 2. 20. 8 *nec Stygia cohibebor unda.* With its slow and weary windings nine times interposed the Styx formed the boundary of Tartarus; cf. Virg. G. 4. 478 *tardaque palus inamabilis unda | alligat et noviens Styx interfusa coercet;* Aen. 6. 438.

9. scilicet, from *scire licet*='surely,' 'doubtless,' is frequently used, as here, where an incontrovertible statement is repeated with fresh emphasis and particularity; 'with melancholy stream, yes, the stream that all must traverse . . .' Cf. 1. 37. 30. **10. quicumque . . . vescimur,** 'whoever feed on the bounty of earth,' a reproduction of Hom. Il. 6. 142 βροτῶν οἳ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν. **11. sive reges | sive**: Notes on Metres p. xviii. § 4. **reges,** 'kings,' or possibly 'rich men'; cf. 1. 4. 14. **12. coloni** (from *colo*), 'husbandmen.' **13. carebimus,** 'we shall keep free from.' **14. fractis fluctibus,** 'the breakers.' Note the sound of these two lines. **15. per autumnos . . . Austrum.** Autumn is the most unhealthy part of the year in Italy, owing partly to the prevalence of the Sirocco wind

(*Auster*), that blows from Africa and the Sahara; cf. S. 2. 6. 18. **16. corporibus**: governed partly by *nocentem*, partly by *metuemus*.

17. ater: a general epithet of things infernal; cf. *atras aures* 2. 13. 34. **flumine languido**: cf. *palus* used of the Styx by Virg. l. c. **18. Cocytos** = κωκυτός, 'wailing'; cf. Milton, P. L. 2. 579 'Cocytus named of lamentation loud.' **Danai genus.** For the daughters of Danaus, see Class. Dict. and 3. 11. 23 to end. **19. damnatus longi laboris.** After verbs of condemning, acquitting, etc., a gen. of the charge (e.g. *damnatus furti*) is regular; but here *longi laboris* is not the charge but the sentence, 'condemned to endless toil.' So Livy has *damnatus voti*, 'condemned to pay the thing vowed'; Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 11 *damnare octupli*: Wickham considers it a gen. of estimation or valuing. **longi**: 2. 16. 30 n. **20. Sisyphus**: cf. Epod. 17. 68.

21. linquenda. By its pointed position in strong contrast with **visendus** at the commencement of the preceding stanza. **placens**: a perfect epithet. **23. invisas,** 'hateful,' not because the cypress itself is ugly but as being sacred to Pluto, and constantly associated with death: it is called *funebris* Epod. 5. 18, *feralis* Virg. Aen. 6. 216. **24. brevem dominum,** 'their short-lived lord.' For *brevem*, cf. 2. 3. 13 *breves flores rosae*, and for a similar satire on the application of such terms as 'ownership' to men who are at best but tenants with short leases cf. Ep. 2. 2. 170-180. *brevis dominus* is in fact a sort of oxymoron: legally *dominus* is the possessor in perpetuity, as opposed to one who is only a tenant or holder under a lease; *brevis dominus*, 'an owner for a short time,' is therefore strictly a contradiction in terms.

25. Caecuba, sc. *vina*, from a district in Latium near Fundi. **dignior,** *i.e.* because he uses and enjoys it, the epithet being added with 'a certain bitterness' (Wickham). Cf. Eccl. xi. 9 'Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth . . . *but* know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment.' **26. centum**: any indefinite number; cf. 2. 16. 33; 3. 8. 13. **27. superbo**: hypallage, cf. 3. 1. 42 n.: the epithet is transferred from the drinker to the wine: 'he will (proudly)' or '(in his pride) stain the pavement.' At the same time *superbus* may be applied to the wine itself, as we speak of a 'generous' wine. The phrase *tinguet pavimentum* implies that the banquet was riotous and reckless, much wine being spilt. **28. pontificum potiore cenis,** 'superior to that of priestly banquets': for the use of *comparatio compendiaria*, see 2. 6. 14. The *pontifices* (see Dict. of Ant.) formed one of the *collegia* or 'guilds' at Rome, and, as such bodies often do, owed their chief reputation to the splendour of their banquets; cf. 1. 37. 2 *Saliaribus dapibus*.

ODE XV

'*Soon little land will be left for agriculture, and huge villas with their fishponds, shrubberies, and gardens will take the place of vineyards and oliveyards. Far different were the principles of our ancestors, of Romulus and rugged Cato; in their days individuals were poor, the commonwealth rich, private dwellings modest, the public dwellings and temples alone magnificent.*'

The Ode was probably written at the request of Augustus, who about 28 B.C. having accepted the functions of the censorship, made strenuous endeavours by legislative enactments to restore the rapidly fading virtues of early Rome (Merivale, c. 33), and naturally applied to Horace, as to a sort of Poet Laureate, in the hope that his verses might excite popular enthusiasm for his

measures. In the present case however Horace found the theme uncongenial, the Ode bearing in its stiffness and constraint every mark of being 'made to order' (*invita Minerva*). On the other hand Odes 1-6 of Book 3 are brilliant examples of what he could do under similar circumstances.

1. **iam . . . relinquent.** The decline of the number of small holdings in Italy, and the almost total extinction of the yeoman class, which had formed the strength of the Roman legions, was at this time a most difficult political problem. Among the causes which brought it about are (1) the destruction of property and death or ruin of thousands of small proprietors during a century of civil war, (2) the increasing number of wealthy capitalists at Rome who purchased large estates which they turned into parks, preserves, pastures and the like, (3) the vast increase in the number of slaves, acquired by foreign conquest, which made it possible to work such vast estates, (4) the fact that owing to large imports of agricultural produce from all quarters of the world, much land in Italy could not be cultivated so as to leave a margin of profit. **regiae moles,** 'princely piles.' Roman 'villas' seem to have covered an incredible space of ground; cf. Pliny's account of his own two, Ep. 2. 17, and 5. 6; Tac. Ann. 3. 53 *villarum infinita spatia.* 3. **Lucrino lacu.** The Lucrine lake close to Baiae is selected as the best known instance of a large lake. 4. **stagna,** 'ponds,' *i.e.* fishponds, *piscinae.* The Roman epicures made a special study of fish; the literature of the empire teems with allusions to the subject; in Cicero's time even men of talent and position such as Crassus, Hortensius and Lucullus devoted their retirement to the rearing of mullet, etc.; cf. Cic. ad Att. 1. 19; 2. 1. **platanus caelebs,** 'the unwedded plane.' *caelebs:* 4. 5. 30 n. *platanus:* 2. 11. 13 n.

5. **evincet,** 'will drive out,' cf. 4. 5. 22 *edomuit.* **violaria . . . narium:** Horace selects the 'violet,' 'myrtle,' etc., because owing to their scent and fragrance they were used at banquets; they are typical of luxury as contrasted with usefulness. 6. **copia narium:** lit. 'wealth of the nostrils,' a bold expression = 'abundance of sweet-scented plants.' 8. **domino priori.** Ethic dative. 9. **spissa ramis:** because the laurel can be cut into any shape and when so cut grows very thick and compact. 10. **ictus,** 'darts,' *i.e.* of the sun's rays; the particular meaning to be given to the word is determined by the addition of *fervidos.* **non ita,** 'not so' = 'far differently'; litotes. 11. **praescriptum,** sc. *est,* 'was it ordained.' **intonsi Catonis auspiciis,** 'by the example of unshaven Cato.' It was the special duty of a general to take 'the auspices,' and the army was said to fight under his 'auspices'; hence *auspicia* = 'leading,' 'example.' Cato here is not the younger Cato (as 2. 1. 24), but Cato the Censor who died B.C. 149, after a long life spent in trying to stem the tendencies of the age. He is called *intonsus* because as an outward sign of his conservative views he continued to wear a beard after the old Roman fashion, cf. 1. 12. 42; Juv. 4. 103 *barbato regi* 'a primitive monarch'; 5. 30 *capillato consule* 'an ancient consul.' Barbers were introduced at Rome B.C. 300.

13. **census,** 'income.' It was the duty of the censors to 'assess' (*censere*) the value of each citizen's property, partly with a view to taxation, partly that he might be registered in the proper 'class' for voting in the *comitia centuriata.* Hence *census* = 'wealth,' 'income.' 14. **commune:** a rare use of the neut. adj. = τὸ κοινόν 'the public treasury.' **decempedis:** the regular instrument used by *agrimensores* in measuring land. Here the size of the rule suggests the size of the portico which required it, but

the word sounds somewhat practical and inelegant. **15. privatis** is very emphatic, as in line 13. **16. excipiebat,** 'caught.' *excipio*, as distinguished from *capio*, ='to be ready to receive'; it was specially used of hunters who *received* the game driven *out* of cover; cf. 3. 12. 11 *alto latitantem fruticeto excipere aprum;* Ep. 1. 1. 79. Here the word signifies that, whenever there was a breath of cool air on a hot day, the colonnade was waiting ready to catch and secure it. **Arcton**: τὴν Ἄρκτον, the constellation of *Ursa Major;* then the wind which blows from that quarter, the N. wind.

17. fortuitum . . . caespitem, 'the chance turf,' *i.e.* such as a man might come across anywhere. Horace probably refers to a cottage roofed with turf, such as were common in country districts, cf. Virg. Ecl. 1. 68 *pauperis et tuguri congestum caespite culmen.* What 'the laws did not permit men to despise' exactly means it is impossible to say, for the whole stanza lacks reality and sincerity; Horace would have been the last man in the world to desire a restoration of the 'mud-cabin' era, or to wish to be catechised as to the historical accuracy of such a phrase as 'the laws did not permit.' **20. novo,** 'new cut.' Others give 'novel,' and say that the 'novel stone' is 'marble,' referring to the well-known boast of Augustus, Suet. Aug. 28 *urbem . . . marmoream se relinquere quam latericiam accepisset,* but this seems forced. For the restoration of temples by Augustus when Censor B.C. 28, cf. 3. 6 Intr.

ODE XVI

'Repose is what all men pray for when in difficulty, but repose, Grosphus, neither gold nor purple can purchase, for neither wealth nor position can get rid of the cares and worries of the mind. Contentment is the great remedy; and indeed considering the short span of life why should we be so ambitious, so bustling, so eager for change? Go where we will, do what we will, care clings to us. Try then to be cheerful, make the best of things, and do not expect perfect happiness: remember that though Achilles' career was glorious it was brief, Tithonus on the other hand was immortal but miserable: so too you abound in wealth, and I am poor, but as a compensation I have my gift of song.'

For Pompeius Grosphus see Ep. 1. 12 Intr.

1. otium. No single word accurately represents the various meanings to be assigned to this word here: its force must be inferred from the various ideas with which it is contrasted, *e.g.* storm line 1, war line 5, anxiety of mind line 11, ambition line 17, etc. **patenti**: emphatic. The sailor is out of sight of land. **2. prensus,** 'caught,' *i.e.* by a storm; the technical word is *deprensus*, cf. Virg. G. 4. 421 *deprensis olim statio tutissima nautis;* Lucr. 6. 429. **simul . . . condidit**: see 2. 8. 5 n. **3. certa,** 'with trusty light,' *i.e.* only an occasional vague glimpse is caught of them, or else 'with their trusty light,' *i.e.* the stars in whose light sailors trust for guidance do not shine at all. Cf. Acts xxvii. 20 'and when neither sun nor stars in many days appeared and no small tempest lay on us (cf. *pressus* found in some MSS. for *prensus*), all hope that we should be saved was then taken away.'

5. bello furiosa Thrace. So Virg. Aen. 3. 13 calls Thrace *Mavortia terra.* **Thrace** = Θρᾴκη. **6. Medi**: 1. 2. 51 n. **7. non gemmis . . . auro**: cf. Job xxviii. 15 'It (wisdom) cannot be gotten for gold, neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof.' **ve|nale**: Notes on Metres, p. xix. § 1. **purpura**: 'purple' is classed with 'gems' and 'gold' because of its costliness: in Aesch. Ag. 949 the adj. ἀργυρώνητος is used of it, and 959 ἰσάργυρος.

10. **summovet.** This word is technically used of the lictors making a disorderly crowd 'move on'; cf. Livy 3. 48 *i lictor, summove turbam* and see Dict. **tumultus,** 'disturbances,' a continuation of the metaphor of *summovet.* 11. **curas volantes,** 'cares that flit (even) round fretted roofs'; 'cares' are readily thought of as winged (cf. line 23, and Theogn. 729 φροντίδες ἀνθρώπων ἔλαχον πτερὰ ποικίλ' ἔχουσαι), and are then spoken of as bats or ill-omened birds that haunt even the dwellings of the wealthy. **laqueata tecta** (cf. 2. 18. 2) are roofs much carved and panelled (*laqueatus* from *lacus* 'a hollow'), such as are only found in the dwellings of the great, the 'ceiled houses' of Haggai i. 4.

13. **vivitur parvo bene, cui**: lit. 'it is lived on little well to him to whom (*ei, cui*),' *i.e.* 'he lives well on little, for whom . . . ' For *vivere parvo* cf. S. 2. 2. 1. *parvo* and *bene* form a sort of oxymoron: 'to live well' is not 'to live sumptuously.' **paternum . . . salinum**: the 'silver salt-cellar' is his one piece of family plate. Salt being a necessary accompaniment of food, salt and the salt-cellar have always been regarded with special respect. 14. **splendet,** 'is spotless,' *i.e.* kept carefully cleaned and polished. **tenui,** 'humble.' Cf. Pers. Sat. 3. 25 *rure paterno* | *est tibi far modicum, parvum et sine labe salinum* | . . . *hoc satis?* 15. **leves,** 'like infants' slumbers pure and *light*.' **cupido sordidus,** 'ignoble greed.' *cupido* is always masc. in Horace. *timor* and *cupido* are opposed as 'fear of loss' and 'greed of gain.'

17. **brevi fortes,** antithetical; the shortness of life does not check daring attempts. The same antithesis occurs 1. 3. 37 *nil mortalibus ardui est.* **iaculamur multa,** 'do we aim at many things,' *i.e.* form many ambitious projects. For nobler lines on the same theme cf. Milton's Lycidas 67-84, 'Were it not,' etc. 18. **quid terras . . . mutamus,** 'why do we exchange (*i.e.* take in exchange for our own) countries . . . ?' etc. *alio sole* is used with a slight inaccuracy = 'another climate.' 20. **fugit,** perfect; 'has (by becoming an exile) escaped himself.' Cf. Ep. 1. 11. 27 *caelum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt;* Milton P. L. 1. 254 'The mind is its own place and of itself | Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven.'

21. **vitiosa cura,** 'morbid'—*e mentis vitio orta,* Orelli. **aeratas naves,** 'ships with their brazen prows'; the adj. is added to show that care is no respecter of persons; no position however dignified, not even the pomp and pageantry of a great expedition, can terrify it. The thought is borrowed from Lucr. 2. 40 *si non forte tuas legiones per loca campi* | *fervere cum videas . . . fervere cum videas classem lateque vagari,* | *his tibi tum rebus timefactae religiones* | *effugiunt animo pavide, mortisque timores* | *tum vacuum pectus lincunt curaque solutum.* On the other hand, 3. 1. 39, *aerata triremis* is a *private* yacht. 26. **oderit curare,** 'let it (*animus*) scorn to be careful about . . .' *laetus in praesens animus* is the nom. to *oderit,* and *quod ultra est* the acc. after *curare.* It is necessary to render *curare* 'be careful' because of *cura* above, but the phrase must be used with the same meaning as in Luke x. 41 'Martha, Martha, thou *art careful* and troubled about many things.' **lento,** 'quiet.' *lentus* (from root *len* = soft) which when applied to things means 'clinging,' 'sticky,' 'tough,' 'pliant,' etc., when used of persons or qualities means 'dull,' 'phlegmatic,' 'easy-going,' 'quiet'; it is opposed to such words as 'nervous,' 'excited,' 'energetic,' cf. Virg. Ecl. 1. 4 *tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra;* Cic. de Or. 2. 190 *lente ferre,* 'to take easily.'

29. **abstulit . . .** These lines give examples of the general truth *nihil . . . beatum.* Achilles had the choice of a brief but glorious career, or of one

that was inglorious and long, cf. Hom. Il. 9. 412. **clarum** and **cita** are therefore both emphatic. **30. longa,** 'long,' used by a rhetorical artifice for 'eternal.' In referring to any well-known tale of horror the effect produced may be enhanced by a studied moderation in the use of descriptive terms; the imaginative faculties are excited, not crushed and exhausted. When a modern preacher speaks of a punishment lasting for 'billions of aeons' he is not even rhetorically so effective as when Horace speaks of the *longus labor* (2. 14. 19) of Sisyphus, or as here of the *longa senectus* of Tithonus. Cf. too 3. 11. 38 *longus somnus*='the sleep of death,' 4. 9. 27 *longa nocte* 'eternal night,' Eccl. xii. 5 'man goeth to his long home.' **Tithonum.** Aurora who loved him asked for him immortality, but failed to ask that it might be accompanied with eternal youth, and therefore it was his lot to grow older and more wasted (*minuit*) for ever, 'immortal age beside immortal youth' (Tennyson's 'Tithonus' q.v.) **31. et mihi . . .** *i.e.* 'and so, to come to ourselves, you are rich, I poor, but I may have something given me you have not,' and then this is illustrated in the next two stanzas. **32. hora,** 'the hour,' *i.e.* time at some particular hour, sooner or later.

33. te: governed by *circum.* It is put prominently forward, as is *tibi*, in emphatic contrast to *mihi.* **te . . . tibi . . . te:** cf. 1. 2. 4 n. **34. mugiunt:** Zeugma, as the word can only refer to *vaccae* and not to *greges.* Others take *greges Siculaeque vaccae* as hendiadys, and for *greges* =*armenta* cf. Epod. 2. 11 *mugientium greges.* **hinnitum:** the final syllable is elided before the vowel which begins the next line; Notes on Metres, p. xix. § 1. **35. apta quadrigis equa.** To keep such a stud as to be able to compete in the four-horse chariot races was, as it is now to keep racers, a sign of great wealth. Cf. Aesch. P. V. 466 ἵππους ἄγαλμα τῆς ὑπερπλούτου χλιδῆς: Thuc. 6. 15; and οἰκίη τεθριπποτρόφος, 'a family that could keep a four-in-hand,' Herod. 6. 35. **equa:** the ancients believed in the superior fleetness of mares (cf. Virg. G. 1. 59), but modern experience is against them. **bis Afro murice tinctae.** The reference is to δίβαφα, 'twice-dyed purple robes.' 'The dye was obtained from two kinds of univalves: (1) the smaller *bucinum, murex,* "whelk," which was picked off the rocks; (2) *purpura,* πορφύρα, caught in the sea and thence called *pelagia.* To produce the true Tyrian dye (the colour of clotted blood, but varying with the light in which it was seen) the wool was dipped in two different baths, first of *pelagia*, then of *bucinum.*' Mayor, Juv. 1. 27. **Afro:** because the *murex* was found on that coast.

38. spiritum tenuem, 'some poor inspiration,' following up the idea of *parva rura*, which makes it necessary to give this sense to *tenuis* here; cf. 1. 6. 9 *conamur tenues grandia.* Orelli prefers 'finished,' 'refined,' referring to the special characteristics of Greek poetry; cf. A. P. 46 *in verbis etiam tenuis cautusque serendis;* Cic. Or. 3. 52 *oratio teres et tenuis*, 'polished and refined,' a meaning which agrees well with the derivation of *tenuis* (the English 'thin,' lit. 'drawn out,' cf. *tendo*, τείνω, ταναός), but is out of place here. For **spiritum** cf. 4. 3. 24; 4. 6. 29. **Camenae:** the purely Italian name for the goddess of song (cf. 1. 12. 39 n.) is here used loosely with **Graiae**='Muse.' **39. Parca non mendax,** 'that does not belie her name,' *i.e.* because she is *parca* 'sparing' in her gifts. **malignum spernere vulgus:** *spernere* is used as acc. after *dedit*, like the Gk. inf. with the article; *vulgus* is acc. after *spernere.* **malignum,** 'envious' of his name and fame.

ODE XVII

'Why, Maecenas, do you take the life out of me by your melancholy forebodings? You are the prop of my fortunes, the very half of my being; when you die I shall die too; I have sworn it and will keep my oath. I will never quit your side, even on that last dread journey, no not even if all the monsters of hell endeavour to prevent me. Such is the decree of Fate, for whatever the constellation that governs your career, Libra, the Scorpion, or Capricornus, at any rate it is wonderfully in accord with mine: remember how you *have been snatched from death itself, while I have had a similar miraculous escape; let us then be thankful, and each duly offer such thank-offerings as befit our position.'*

Maecenas was a great invalid but passionately attached to life. Pliny, H. N. 7. 51, speaks of him as suffering from a *perpetua febris*, and for the last three years of his life never enjoying a moment's natural sleep. He died in B.C. 8, Horace surviving him but a few days.

2. **amicum est**, 'is it pleasing.' 3. **obire**, sc. *diem supremum*, 'to die.' 4. **grande decus columenque rerum.** Cf. 1. 1. 2 *Maecenas ... o et praesidium et dulce decus meum.* For the metaphor in *columen* cf. Eur. Iph. T. 57 στῦλοι γὰρ οἴκων εἰσὶ παῖδες ἄρσενες; Gal. ii. 9 Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι, 'who seemed to be pillars'; Tennyson, In Mem. c. 63 'the pillar of a people's hope.' 5. **partem**: supply *alteram* from *altera* in the next line = 'one of two parts,' *i.e.* 'the half'; cf. 1. 3. 8. 7. **nec superstes integer**, 'nor remaining a complete whole.' Without Maecenas he would be but a part, a fraction of himself. Cf. our use of 'an integer,' and 2. 4. 22 n. 8. **utramque ducet ruinam**, 'shall bring (with it) destruction to us both.' *ducet* seems used in its simple sense, and Virgil's *trahit ruinam* (Aen. 2. 465, quoted by Orelli), used of one portion of a wall falling and dragging after it the rest, is not analogous.

10. **dixi sacramentum**: a technical phrase for taking the military oath of obedience; see Dict. of Ant. **ibimus, ibimus**: 'Horace speaks in the plural, keeping up the idea of soldiers swearing to their general.'—Wickham. The explanation is tempting, but cannot be right, for the plural is used because Horace is speaking of himself and Maecenas. 'We will go, whenever you shall lead the way, ready to take the last journey together.' For the repetition of *ibimus* cf. 2. 14. 1 n. 11. **supremum iter** = τὰν νεάταν ὁδόν, Soph. Ant. 807. 13. **Chimaerae**: cf. 1. 27. 23 n. Virgil places it with other monsters at the entrance of the under world. **igneae**: cf. Hes. Theog. 319 ἡ δὲ χίμαιραν ἔτικτε πνέουσαν ἀμαιμάκετον πῦρ, and 4. 2. 16. 14. **si resurgat.** Not 'should he rise up again,' *i.e.* from the grave, as Horace is speaking of himself as forcing his way at Maecenas' side through the portals of death. It must therefore mean 'should he rise to confront me' (cf. the use of *re* in *refulgens*, line 23). Most MSS. read *Gigas* here and 3. 4. 69, but the selection of one particular giant is more Horatian. 15. **sic ... placitum**, 'such is the decree of,' 1. 33. 10 n.

17. **seu Libra seu me ...**: see Dict. of Ant. s. v. *Astrologia.* It was a common belief that some particular planet was in the ascendant at the hour of a person's birth (**pars violentior n. h.**: cf. Ep. 2. 2. 187 n.), and exercised a malignant or beneficent influence over him. Horace was not a believer in Astrology (cf. 1. 11), and here implies that he knows and cares little about it; 'whatever the character of your horoscope,' he says, 'or of mine, I neither know nor care; one thing only do I know, viz., that they are both

alike.' For the whole subject cf. Guy Mannering, especially Intr. and Chap. 3. **19. tyrannus undae**, 'lord of the waves,' cf. 1. 3. 15 n.

22. te . . . The clue to this clause is found by observing that *inpio Saturno* goes both with *refulgens*='shining brilliantly from the opposite quarter,' *i.e.* to oppose impious Saturn, and with *eripuit*='snatched thee from the power of.' **25. alas.** For the metaphor cf. S. 2. 1. 58; Byron, The Destruction of Sennacherib, 'But the angel of death spread his *wings* on the blast.' **cum . . . sonum**, 'when the thronging populace thrice made their joyous applause echo through the theatres.' Maecenas was greeted with applause on first entering the theatre after a serious illness; cf. 1. 20. 4. The theatre would be that of Pompey at the S. end of the Campus Martius. **ter**: just as when we say 'three cheers,' cf. Prop. 4. 10. 4. *crepo* is (1) intransitive of any dry sound, *e.g.* rustling, rattling, clapping, and (2) in the poets active=to make such a sound, here by clapping of hands (cf. *plausus* 1. 20. 4).

28. sustulerat, 'had carried me off.' By this use of the indicative in a hypothetical sentence an event is spoken of as *positively certain* to have happened, but for something or other having prevented it; cf. 3. 16. 3 *munierant . . . si non risissent.* For the event see 2. 13. **Faunus.** Perhaps as a woodland god and therefore having control over trees, and also as the friend of poets who love the country and the country's gods; but the expression 'Faunus guardian of the men whom Mercury guards' is at best awkward. For the reasons why Horace calls Mercury the patron of poets see 1. 10. 1-8, where he is called the 'giver of speech' (*facundus*) and 'father of the lyre' (*lyrae parens*); cf. too 2. 7. 13. In S. 2. 3. 25 *Mercurialis* means 'a favourite of Mercury the god of gain.' **30. reddere**, 'to duly pay.' A vow consisted in promising, if the gods did something for you, to give or pay (*dare*) something in return (*re*): when the gods had done their part, you became *voti reus*='a debtor of your vow,' which it then was your duty to 'repay,' 'pay as you were bound to do' (*reddere*), cf. 2. 7. 17 n.

ODE XVIII

'I have no lordly palaces, no princely fortune, but I have honesty, ability, reputation, and above all contentment. You, on the other hand, as though for you time halted on its course, though old, are still eager to build new villas encroaching even on the sea's domain, yes, and worse still, encroaching on your poor neighbour's ground, driving him out from hearth and home with his wife and ragged children. And yet more surely than all your palaces does the grave await you. What would you have? Impartially does earth open to take back her children, poor and rich alike: no wealth can bribe Death: in Death the rich man finds an eternal prison, the poor man eternal repose.'

1. non ebur neque aureum lacunar. The words go closely together ='no panelled roof adorned with ivory and gold.' That *ebur* cannot be taken by itself='ivory furniture' is plain from the other things mentioned, viz. 'a roof,' 'architraves,' 'columns.' **2. renidet**, 'reflects the light' as a gilded ornamental ceiling would. **lacunar**: 2. 16. 11 n. **3. trabes Hymettiae**, 'architraves of marble from Hymettus.' *trabes*='beams,' *i.e.* huge blocks of marble, shaped like beams. The marble of Hymettus was of pure white. **4. recisas**, 'quarried.' Numidian marble was famous.

5. neque . . . occupavi, *i.e.* nor have I unexpectedly had a fortune left me. The wealth of the Attalid kings of Pergamos was proverbial (cf. 1. 1. 12),

but the peculiar form of expression is also due to the fact that Attalus III. had (B.C. 133) bequeathed his property to the Roman people. **7. Laconicas purpuras.** Cf. Juv. 8. 101 *Spartana chlamys.* The shell-fish (see 2. 16. 35 n.) from which the purple dye was made were found on the coast of Laconia; cf. Aesch. Ag. 958. **8. trahunt,** 'spin.' The word is used of 'drawing out' the thread (*filum*) from the ball of material on the distaff (*colus*), with a view to winding it round the spindle (*fusus*). **honestae,** 'of gentle birth'; it would only be the very wealthy or noble who would number persons of gentle birth among their retainers. **9. ingeni benigna vena,** 'a rich vein of talent.' *ingenium* (from *in* and *gigno*), 'that which is born in one,' 'natural ability.' For the contracted gen. cf. 1. 6. 12 n. **vena** is used in the same sense A. P. 409 *sine divite vena,* where from the epithet it is plain that the metaphor is from a vein of ore. **11. nihil supra deos lacesso,** 'for nothing beyond do I importune the gods.' *lacesso* takes a double acc. from the sense of 'asking' contained in it.

14. beatus. As frequently, it is difficult to decide between the two meanings 'happy' and 'wealthy'; the word involves both ideas. **unicis Sabinis,** 'my one dear Sabine farm.' See 1. 17 Intr. It was usual to describe a farm in any district by the name of the people of the district, and *Sabinis* is the abl. of *Sabini.* So in Pliny continually *in Tuscos* = 'to my Tuscan estate' (see Mayor, Pliny, Ep. 3. 4. p. 67), and cf. 3. 4. 22 *in arduos tollor Sabinos* 'I climb to my hilly Sabine farm'; Mart. 10. 44. 9; Ov. Am. 2. 16. 37; Ov. Fast. 4. 685 *Paelignos, natalia rura, petebam.* **15. truditur dies die . . .** These words are the connecting link between what precedes and what follows: I practise contentment, because I remember that life is short; you, although life is short, still build,' etc. **16. novaeque . . . lunae,** 'and new moons only wax to wane.'—Martin. The application is obvious, cf. Wisdom v. 13 'Even so we, in like manner, as soon as we were born, began to draw to our end.' Cic., Lucr., Plaut. also use *pergo* with inf.

17. tu . . . Note the position of *tu;* he represents himself as specially addressing some single person. *locare* is regularly used with an acc. and gerundive of putting anything in the hands of a contractor for carrying out. **secanda,** 'to be hewn.' **18. sub ipsum funus,** 'when on the very borders of the grave'; cf. 1. 8. 14 n. **20. marisque . . .** 'and are eager to push forward the shore of the sea that breaks on Baiae, not satisfied with the possession of the unbroken line of coast.' For *urgues,* see 2. 9. 9, and for *Baiae* 3. 4. 24 n. **21. summovere** (cf. 2. 16. 10 n.) = 'make to move forward.' **22. continente ripa:** either (1) 'the confining shore,' taking *continente* as part., or (2) the 'unbroken shore,' taking *continente* as adj. nearly = *continuus* (from *cum* and *teneo*) 'holding together,' the sense being that he is not satisfied until his villa projecting into the sea has *broken* the hitherto unbroken line of coast. Orelli and Wickham give 'the coast of the mainland,' but without proof except quoting Livy 44. 28 *continenti litori.* For villas projecting into the sea, cf. 3. 1. 33.

23. quid quod . . .: lit. 'what (shall I say) of the fact that . . . ?': the phrase introduces a stronger charge—there is not only extravagance but crime. **24. terminos,** 'bound-stones,' set up at the four corners of each plot of ground; they were under the special protection of the venerable god Terminus, and the citizen who moved one was devoted to the gods. See Merivale c. 33, and cf. Deut. xxvii. 17 'Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark, and all the people shall say, Amen.' **25. clientium:**

emphatic; the crime was more heinous because committed against those he was bound to protect. The Laws of the Twelve Tables say, *Patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit, sacer esto.* **cliens**='one who listens' or 'obeys'; cf. *κλύω.* **26. salis avarus,** 'leap in the eagerness of greed.' *salis* indicates his boldness and eagerness, cf. *transiliunt* 1. 3. 24. **pellitur . . . natos.** The natural order of this sentence is considerably altered, on purpose to get the emphatic verb *pellitur* first, 'forth is driven . . .' For the whole scene, cf. Guy Mannering, c. 8, and Meg Merrilies' curse on Ellangowan.

29. nulla certior tamen, 'and yet no hall awaits its wealthy lord more surely than the appointed end of greedy Death,' *i.e.* more certainly than the hall you are building does the grave, the appointed end of all men, await you. So Nauck rightly, and *finis Orci* is simply the common Gk. phrase *τέλος θανάτοιο.* All editors however agree in saying that *fine* and *destinata* though side by side do not go together, and Kiessling, for example, explains 'no hall more certainly awaits its lord than the hall destined for you (*aulā destinatā*) by the end of ravening Orcus, *i.e.* by the end which Orcus (personified) has appointed for you.' But that in three consecutive words *fine destinata aula,* the abl. *fine* is to be separated from the abl. *destinata,* and made dependent on it (an abl. case being thus forcibly thrust in between *certior* and its own abl. which ought to follow it closely), and that before *aula* in the nom. *aulâ* in the abl. is to be supplied, seems impossible.

34. regum. Either actual 'kings,' or, as often, 'great men.' **satelles Orci:** no doubt Horace is thinking of Charon, but the peculiar form of the expression 'attendant' or rather 'sentinel of Orcus' is to be noticed. The palace (*aula*) which the rich man is preparing is compared with the place (*Orcus*) that is prepared for him; he has his 'guards' (*satellites*), 'attendants, and so has the grave, a grim and incorruptible one (*satelles Orci*). **35. callidum,** 'notwithstanding his cunning.' For this account of Prometheus, see 2. 13. 37 n. **36. auro captus.** Cf. 3. 16. 9 *aurum per medios ire satellites . . . amat,* a passage which shows the force of *satelles* here. **hic.** Both Orelli and Wickham say 'not Charon but Orcus,' for, they urge, the next lines, and especially the word *vocatus,* cannot refer to Charon. But (1) to make *hic* not refer to the main nom. of the preceding sentence, but to a merely qualitative word such as *Orci,* especially when the last words of the sentence are *auro captus* in agreement with *satelles,* is to violate the first principles of speech. If a schoolboy were to say, 'The Head-master's butler wouldn't let me out though well tipped. He is a beast,' according to this theory 'He' would=the Head-master. (2) Those who say that line 40 could not be used of Charon forget that Horace, though no doubt thinking of Charon, has only spoken of *satelles Orci,* and surely it is the part of a *satelles* when summoned (*vocatus*) to hearken (*audire, ὑπακούειν*). Cf. too *coercet* accurately used of a 'guard' or 'sentinel.' **37. Tantali genus,** *i.e.* men like Tantalus, such men as the rich man of lines 17-28. From the nature of his punishment it is clear that Tantalus was taken as a type of greedy and grasping characters. **38. hic levare . . .** 'he too when summoned—ay and unsummoned—to relieve the poor man whose toils are over, obeys.' **functum:** 4. 15. 29 n.

ODE XIX

'I have had a vision of Bacchus teaching his sacred hymns to all his train: spare me, dreadful deity, and grant me to tell of thy kingdom abounding in

wine and milk and honey, of thy glorified bride, thy victory over thy foes, thy power over nature and overthrow of the rebellious Titans, yea, and even the monsters of the under-world reverencing the symbol of thy strength.'

This Ode is usually accounted a mere imitation of a Gk. dithyramb, but it seems rather the expression of the poet's longing in a period of anarchy and discord for an ideal and idyllic world: this he symbolises under the form of a vision of the reign of Bacchus, the giver of happiness and abundance, the founder of civilisation, and the conqueror of the rebel powers of darkness.

1. **Bacchum.** See carefully the article Dionysus in Class. Dict. **in remotis rupibus**: his favourite haunts; cf. Soph. O. T. 1105 *ὁ Βακχεῖος θεὸς ναίων ἐπ' ἄκρων ὀρέων.* **carmina,** 'hymns' connected with his worship. 4. **acutas**: either 'peaked,' 'sharp-pointed,' as they were always represented, or—which is better, considering the emphatic position of the adj. and the fact that it then matches *discentes*—'pricked up,' *i.e.* to listen.

5. **euhoe** = *εὐοῖ*, a shout used in the festivals of Dionysus; cf. 2. 11. 17. 6. **pleno Bacchi pectore,** 'my heart filled with (*i.e.* inspired by) his divinity.' The Gk. Dionysus causes all forms of enthusiasm and excitement: his worshippers become 'intoxicated' (not merely with wine, for this is only one form of 'Bacchic intoxication'); hence he is the special protector of the poet 'his eye in a fine frenzy rolling'; cf. 3. 25. 1 *quo me, Bacche, rapis tui plenum?* 3. 19. 14 *attonitus vates.* **turbidum laetatur,** 'tumultuously rejoices,' cf. 1. 22. 23 n. 7. **parce.** Why he should spare is explained by the words *gravi metuende thyrso*, for the stroke of the thyrsus caused a frenzy bordering on madness. For the rhythm cf. p. xviii. § 4. 8. **thyrso**: *θύρσος*, a wand wreathed in ivy and vine leaves with a pine cone at the top.

9. **Thyiadas**: *Θυιάδας* (from *θύω*), the female followers of the god. 10. **vinique fontem . . .** These are all the miraculous gifts of the god, cf. Eur. Bacch. 704. 'Wine,' 'milk,' and 'honey' are well-known types of plenty and abundance, cf. Exod. iii. 8 'a good land and a large . . . a land flowing with milk and honey.' 11. **truncis cavis.** Bees often hive in hollow trees, cf. Virg. G. 2. 453. 12. **iterare**: not 'to tell of more than once,' but to 'represent' (*i.e.* make present once more) in language what has been previously seen with the eyes. 13. **beatae . . .**: see Class. Dict. s.v. Ariadne. **beatae,** 'deified.' 14. **honorem,** 'mark' or 'token of dignity,' *i.e.* the queenly crown which was given her by Dionysus on their marriage and which became the constellation *Corona*, cf. Virg. G. 1. 222. **Penthĕi.** From *Πένθευς* comes *Pentheus* which forms gen. as if trisyllabic, cf. 1. 6. 7 n. 15. **non leni.** Litotes, cf. 1. 18. 9 n. 16. **Thracis**: a Greek adj. *Θρᾷξ, Θρᾳκός.* For Pentheus and Lycurgus, see Class. Dict.

17. **tu flectis . . .** 'thou dost make yield to thy sway . . . .' During his Indian travels Dionysus crossed the Orontes and Hydaspes which afforded a passage on dry ground when touched by his thyrsus. The same happened with regard to the Red Sea (*mare barbarum*). **barbarum,** 'foreign,' cf. 2. 4. 9 n. 18. **uvidus,** *i.e.* 'tipsy,' *βεβρεγμένος*: cf. 1. 7. 22 n. 19. **nodo coerces viperino,** 'dost confine in a knot of serpents,' *i.e.* Bacchus binds up their hair with serpents to amuse himself. 20. **Bistonidum,** 'the women of the Bistones,' a tribe in Thrace: it is a Greek feminine adj. **sine fraude,** 'without harm,' 'unharmed.' The use of *fraus* in this sense is chiefly found in legal documents (cf. SE FRAUDE in the Twelve Tab.) and is somewhat antiquated. A Bacchante with snake-bound hair and thyrsus is represented in Smith's Class. Dict.

21. **tu cum** . . . For the battle of the Giants see 3. 4. 49 seq., and Class. Dict. s. v. Gigantes. **parentis regna**, 'the realms of the great Father,' *i.e.* heaven the abode of Jupiter. **per arduum**, 'through the steep sky': Virgil G. 1. 281 describes how they attempted this by piling mountains upon one another, Horace purposely uses a vague phrase. 23. **Rhoetum**: one of the giants. **leonis**, because Bacchus assumed this form during the fray; he had also assumed it when taken prisoner by Tyrrhenian pirates.

25. **quamquam** . . . The construction is *quamquam, choreis et iocis ludoque aptior dictus, pugnae non sat idoneus ferebaris.* 26. **non sat idoneus**, 'not sufficiently well suited,' *i.e.* 'very ill-suited,' cf. *non leni* line 15. 27. **sed idem**, 'but yet'; for *idem* used where opposite qualities are represented as existing in the same individual, see 2. 10. 16 n. 28. **pacis eras mediusque belli**, 'thou didst take thy part in peace and war alike'; *i.e.* Dionysus notwithstanding what was said of him showed that though he enjoyed peace he was ready for war. On the position of *que* here and line 32, Orelli well remarks that the phrase, if expressed fully, would be *pacis eras medius mediusque belli*, but that, one *medius* being omitted for brevity, the phrase is left as in the text. No doubt too convenience as regards scansion has a great influence in poetry on the position which *que* is allowed to assume. Cf. 1. 30. 6 *Gratiae properentque Nymphae*, 3. 4. 11 *ludo fatigatumque somno*, C. S. 22 *cantus referatque ludos.* For *ve* in a similar position cf. 2. 7. 25. The idiom is naturally very common in elegiacs, e.g. *patriam destituuntque domum.* 29. **aureo cornu decorum.** The horn is a very ancient symbol of strength, vigour, plenty and fertility. Hence the god of wine 'that strengthens man's heart' is represented with horns (see Sandys, *Bacchae* 920-2). Ovid, A. A. 1. 239, says that under the influence of wine *pauper cornua sumit*; cf. too 3. 21. 18 *tu* (*i.e.* wine) . . . *addis cornua pauperi*, and also for the use of the word 'horn' 1 Samuel ii. 1 'my horn is exalted in the Lord.' Orelli and Kiessling refer to the 'golden drinking-horn' with which, they say, the god is often depicted as 'adorned.' 31. **recedentis**: with *pedes* and *crura* = 'of you retreating,' 'as you retreated.' The god had gone to Hades to bring back his mother Semele. **trilingui ore** ought to mean 'a mouth with three tongues,' but = 'the tongue of each of his three mouths.'

ODE XX

'I, Maecenas, shall never die but shall be changed into a swan whose song shall be heard throughout the world: therefore let none mourn over my cenotaph.'

The Ode is conventional and unnatural: Book 3 also concludes with an Ode which expresses the hope of an immortality of fame, but which affords an admirable contrast to this in force and power. The Ode is an amplification of Ennius' Epitaph on himself, *nemo me lacrumis decoret, nec funera fletu | faxit. cur? volito vivus per ora virum*, but the epitaph and the Ode show vividly the distinction between what is genuine and what is fantastic in poetry. Plüss takes this to be the situation: the poet is dead; his corpse is on the funeral pyre; Maecenas calls upon his friend (cf. *quem vocas* line 6) for the last time: in answer the poet's ghost or shade proclaims its transformation, etc.

1. **non usitata** . . . 'on no ordinary or faltering pinions will I sweep, a bard of double shape, through the bright upper air.' **non usitata**: partly meaning that lyric poetry had not been attempted in Latin by any before him, partly that the quality of his poetry was of no common stamp; cf. 3. 1. 2

carmina non prius audita. **2. liquidum aethera**: the epithet *liquidus* is applied to *aether*, either with reference to its being 'translucent' like water, or 'yielding' like all fluids (cf. Milton's 'the buxom air,' where 'buxom,' the German 'beugsam,' means 'yielding'). **4. invidiaque maior**, 'and soaring high above envy.'

5. pauperum sanguis parentum, 'the offspring of lowly parents.' The phrase is employed in close connexion with *invidia* in line 4: Horace was the son of a freedman (*libertinus*), and the meanness of his birth was a favourite subject for the sneers of those who were jealous (*invidi*) of his social and poetical success (cf. S. 1. 6. 46). He here adopts the very words in which they had sneered at him in order to make the glory which he was destined to attain greater, by contrast with the position from which he had started. For **sanguis** cf. 3. 27. 65 *regius sanguis;* C. S. 50 *Anchisae Venerisque sanguis.* **6. quem vocas, dilecte Maecenas.** The old rendering 'whom thou, O Maecenas, dost call Dear friend' may be dismissed, for *dilecte Maecenas* must go together, cf. *care M.* 1. 20. 5; *candide M.* Epod. 14. 5. But the meaning of *quem vocas* is obscure. (1) Orelli and Kiessling explain 'whom thou dost summon,' *i.e.* to thy house, company, or the like, but this seems mean and matter-of-fact in the middle of such a rhapsody. (2) Bücheler (accepted in Orelli[4]) gives *quem vocas, ut ego audiam, clueam, quoniam cliens tuus sum . . . qui in clientela tua sum idemque in amicitiam tuam receptus.* (3) May not *vocas* have a much wider and larger sense, = 'dost summon,' *i.e.* to poetic endeavour, to the hope of immortality? So taken it gives excellent sense, and the behaviour of Maecenas is forcibly contrasted with that of Horace's detractors —'I, whom many sneer at as lowborn, yes I, whom thy voice (*vox, voco*) on the contrary, Maecenas, ever urges forward, shall never die': so Wrangham (*v.* Translations of Horace, selected by C. W. F. Cooper): 'Not I, from humble lineage sprung, | Not I, dear Patron, whom thy tongue | Summons to fame, will fear to die | Or bound by Styx's fetters lie.' (4) If Plüss be right in his opinion as to the Ode, then *vocas* is used of 'calling on' Horace by name at the funeral pyre and bidding him 'hail and farewell': cf. Cat. 101. 10 *frater, ave atque vale;* Virg. Aen. 11. 97. **7. obibo**: 2. 17. 3 n.

9. iam iam . . . He speaks as though he felt his metamorphosis already beginning. **residunt cruribus**, 'settle down on my ankles.' *sido* and its compounds (as distinguished from *sedeo*) express a *slow* and *gradual* process of coming into a position of rest. **11. leves.** Notice the quantity. **13. Daedaleo notior.** So the best MSS. Orelli's old reading *ocior* involved a hiatus without parallel in Horace; and why should he wish to fly 'more swiftly' than Icarus, though he may wish his flight to be 'more famous'? Of course Icarus (see Class. Dict.) is an unfortunate type of soaring humanity for Horace to select, but in considering passages of this nature a too strict examination of all allusions is only foolish: the writer merely accumulates sonorous and somewhat vague proper names, and trusts that they will have much the same effect on the reader that an old lady once confessed to having experienced from 'that blessed word Mesopotamia' in an otherwise unintelligible sermon. Bentley's conjecture *tutior* is excellent but improbable. **15. canorus ales**, *i.e.* a swan. Cf. 4. 3. 19 *o mutis quoque piscibus | donatura cycni, si libeat, sonum.* So Pindar is called *Dircaeum cycnum* 4. 2. 25, where Kiessling refers to a wild swan (? *cycnus musicus* of naturalists) which in winter visits Greece from the N. and in its flight utters two trumpet-like notes. It was sacred to Apollo, and in Alexandrine writers is the symbol of poets.

17. **dissimulat**, 'endeavours to hide.' 19. **noscent**, 'shall come to know'; *nosco* is inceptive like γιγνώσκω. **peritus**: proleptic, not as Orelli takes it, 'me the Spaniard shall study when he becomes learned,' but, as its position between *me* and *discet* shows, 'by the study of my writings shall the Spaniard become learned.' Considering, however, that during the next century Spain produced many great writers, *e.g.* the two Senecas, Lucan, Martial, Columella, Quintilian, perhaps even at this time the Spaniards were noted for literary zeal and Horace uses the adj. with strict accuracy. 20. **Rhodanique potor**: a periphrasis for 'dwellers by the Rhone.' Cf. 3. 10. 1 *Tanain bibere*, 4. 15. 21 *qui Danuvium bibunt;* Hom. Il. 2. 825 πίνοντες ὕδωρ μέλαν Αἰσήποιο. 21. **inani**: line 24 *supervacuos*: because Horace will still survive, *i.e.* his fame will. How there could be a *funus* at all it is difficult to see, as his body had been changed into that of a swan at the beginning of the Ode: here however he speaks as if his spirit only had taken flight, leaving its tenement of clay behind, over which his friends will perform funeral rites, 'empty' rites however, because the real Horace will be still alive and immortal. Attempts to explain the discrepancy are idle: conventional poetry and conventional painting evade the ordinary rules of criticism and common sense, sometimes with success, usually without.

BOOK III

ODE I

THE first six Odes of this Book are remarkable for their sustained dignity of style and general unity of subject. They are all in the Alcaic metre and of considerable length, and all deal with subjects of public and political interest. It is probable that their composition was at any rate suggested by Augustus, whose object it was to appeal in support of his political system not merely to the interests but to the feelings of his subjects (see Merivale, c. 41). Lines 1-4 of Ode I are a stately exordium to the whole six Odes rather than a particular introduction to the first; indeed, as the introduction to a single Ode they would be exaggerated and unnatural.

'*Kings rule over their subjects, but are in their turn the subjects of almighty Jupiter; one man may be wealthier, nobler, more famous than another, but all alike are the slaves of necessity. Then cease to be anxious: where anxiety exists, not all the luxuries of wealth can procure that sound sleep the poor often enjoy. To want but little is the great secret; the owner of huge estates is harassed by a hundred anxieties about them, the builder of vast villas by the sea often vainly flies from care. If this be so, why should I wish to change my modest home for wealth which is only a burden?*'

1. **odi . . . arceo**, 'I abhor the unhallowed throng and hold it aloof.' As before the celebration of the mysteries or any solemn rites the priests bade the uninitiated or unholy to depart (cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 258 *procul o, procul este, profani*), so here the poet, as the priest of the Muses, bids all who have never worshipped at their shrine to depart, while he chants his hymns (*carmina*) in their honour. **profanus**, 'outside the shrine,' is used of those who were

not allowed to enter it. So in the Temple at Jerusalem none but Jews could pass beyond the outer court, 'the court of the Gentiles'; the Gentiles were *profani*. **2. favete linguis,** *εὐφημεῖτε*. As ill-omened words vitiated any sacred rite, it was customary for the priest before commencing to ask the people 'to be favourable with their lips' (*ore* or *linguis favere*), *i.e.* to utter none but favourable words, and as the safest way of doing so was to be silent, the phrase is often = 'be silent.' Cf. 3. 14. 11; Prop. 4. 6. 1 *sacra facit vates, sint ora faventia sacris;* Virg. Aen. 5. 71 *ore favete omnes.* **non prius audita**: 2. 20. 1 n. **3. Musarum sacerdos**: poets are 'priests of the Muses' as being their interpreters to men, and specially consecrated to their service. Cf. Theoc. 16. 29 Μουσάων . . . ἱεροὺς ὑποφήτας, 'sacred interpreters of the Muses.' **4. virginibus puerisque**: because the young are especially susceptible to the influence of poetry, and also because it is to them that those who wish to improve the character of a nation must chiefly look.

5. in proprios greges. Nauck reasonably finds 'something objectionable' in this phrase, remarking that, though it is a kindly idea to call a king 'shepherd of the people' (Homer's ποιμένα λαῶν), it is not the same thing to call the people 'sheep of the king.' This is especially so when *proprios* which implies absolute ownership (2. 2. 22 n.) is added. Plüss solves the difficulty by observing that to a Roman *rex* = 'an Oriental despot,' and that the sense is, 'the despot to whom his subjects are but herds of slaves is none the less himself . . .' In English the harshness of the phrase does not appear, owing to Scriptural associations connected with the words 'flock' and 'sheep,' *e.g.* 'fear not, little flock,' 'feed my sheep.' **6. reges in ipsos . . .** For the antithesis cf. the prayers for the Queen in the Prayer-Book, and especially such phrases as 'thy chosen servant Victoria, our Queen and Governor, that she (knowing whose minister she is) . . .' **8. cuncta . . .** 'that moves the world with his frown.' The phrase is from Hom. Il. 1. 528 ἦ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων, | . . . μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον; cf. Virg. Aen. 9. 106 *nutu tremefecit Olympum*, and the connexion between *nutus* and *numen.*

9. est ut, 'it is possible that,' 'it may be that'; cf. ἔστιν ὅπως. **latius,** 'more widely,' *i.e.* over a wider extent of ground. **ordinet arbusta sulcis,** 'arranges his trees (in rows) in the furrows.' *arbusta* is the technical word for the trees upon which vines were trained (Virg. G. 2. 416), and *ordines* for the rows in which they were planted. Cf. Virg. G. 2. 276. **10. hic . . . descendat**: dependent on *est ut.* **hic** = 'another,' and, in line 12, 'a third.' **11. in Campum,** i.e. *in Campum Martium*, which, as the best known 'Field' at Rome, was constantly spoken of without any distinctive adj. **descendere** is used partly because most men of position lived on the hills, and hence it was necessary *descendere in Forum, in Campum* (v. Dict.), partly because the word is constantly used of combatants, e.g. *descendere in aciem, in proelium*, etc. **12. moribus . . . meliorque fama.** These words are opposed to *generosior;* one candidate has high *birth*, another high *character.* For position of *que* cf. 2. 19. 28 n.

14. aequa, 'impartial.' **Necessitas**: Ἀνάγκη, the mysterious power who, more especially among the Greeks, is always described as ruling even over the gods. Cf. the picture of her 1. 35. 17-20. **16. movet,** 'shakes,' cf. 2. 3. 26 n. **17. destrictus ensis . . .** See Class. Dict. s.v. Damocles. **cui** = *ei cui*, or perhaps *ei cuius*, 'for him, over whose neck . . .' **18. Siculae dapes.** The epithet is chosen partly because the feast of Damocles

took place at Syracuse, partly because Syracusan luxury was noted. Plato, Rep. 404 D, uses Συρακοσία τράπεζα as an almost proverbial expression. **19. saporem,** 'flavour'; the word is identical with 'savour.'

21. somnus. Notice the effect of the repetition of the word, and cf. with it that produced in Macbeth, II. ii. 35 'Methought I heard a voice cry, "Sleep no more! | Macbeth does murder sleep."—The innocent sleep, | Sleep that knits up the ravell'd sleave of care . . .' **agrestium virorum:** after *domos*. **24. non,** sc. *fastidit*. **Tempe,** neut. plural, cf. τείχη. **27. saevus inpetus,** 'the fierce onset of setting Arcturus.' When Arcturus (Ἀρκτοῦρος, the Bear Ward) sets at the end of October, the sea is tempestuous (*tumultuosum*) and the merchant harassed (*sollicitat*) about his ships. **28. orientis Haedi,** *i.e.* early in October.

29. non, sc. *sollicitant desiderantem quod satis est*. **verberatae,** 'lashed.' **30. mendax,** 'lying,' because the crops which *promised* well turn out badly; cf. 3. 16. 30 *segetis certa fides meae;* Epod. 16. 45; Ep. 1. 7. 87 *spem mentita seges*. **arbore . . .:** the construction is *arbore culpante nunc aquas, nunc sidera torrentia agros, nunc . . .* **arbore,** *i.e.* the tree *par excellence*, the olive. **aquas,** 'rains.' **32. sidera:** especially the Dogstar.

33. contracta . . . Cf. 3. 24. 3 and 2. 18. 20. Horace refers to the practice of building villas projecting into the sea: the expression is of course hyperbolical. **sentiunt:** 2. 7. 10 n. **34. molibus,** 'masses of stone' for foundations. **frequens . . . redemptor cum famulis,** 'the contractor with crowds of workmen'; cf. Ter. Andria 1. 1. 81 *cum illis qui amabant Chrysidem una aderat frequens;* Plut. Them. 12 βασιλεὺς (Xerxes) μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἄθρους; Soph. Oed. R. 750 ἐχώρει βαιός. Kiessling wrongly gives *frequens* = 'unceasingly.' **35. caementa:** from *caedo*, 'chippings,' 'rubble,' flung in (*demitto*) to fill up the spaces between the solid masonry. **36. terrae fastidiosus,** 'sick and weary of the land.' *fastidium* expresses the feeling of dissatisfaction and discontent that inevitably results from indulgence in luxury; cf. 3. 29. 9.

37. Minae, *i.e.* threatening forebodings of coming harm. **39. aerata triremi,** 'the brazen-beaked trireme.' The vessel is here clearly a private one (cf. *priva triremis*, Ep. 1. 1. 93), used for purposes of pleasure or convenience, not a war-vessel. The words *triremi* and *equitem* are selected not merely because 'yachts' and 'horses' may be thought of as able to distance care by their speed, but also because they are appanages of wealth and luxury. Cf. 2. 16. 21. **41. Phrygius lapis:** a marble from Synnada in Phrygia, celebrated for its bright blood-red spots, and much used for columns. **42. purpurarum sidere clarior usus,** 'the wearing of purples (*i.e.* purple robes, cf. 2. 18. 7) more lustrous than the stars.' In strict grammar the adj. *clarior* ought to agree with *purpurarum*, but in poetry the transference or exchange (hypallage) of the adj. from one substantive to another in a closely connected expression is not uncommon. Cf. Virg. Aen. 8. 526 *Tyrrhenusque tubae clangor* = *Tyrrhenae tubae clangor*, and 2. 14. 27 *superbo mero tinguet* = *superbus mero tinguet*, see too 1. 12. 34 *superbos Tarquini fasces*, 1. 15. 33 *iracunda classis Achillei*, 1. 31. 9 *Calena falce*, 1. 37. 7 *dementes ruinas*, 3. 3. 61 *Troiae renascens fortuna*, 3. 21. 19 *iratos regum apices*, 3. 30. 2 *regalis situs pyramidum*, 4. 7. 21 *splendida arbitria*. Purple is spoken of as 'lustrous' because the true Tyrian dye possessed a peculiar sheen and varied in colour according to the light in which it was seen, cf. 3. 15. 15 n.

44. Achaemeniumque costum. For Achaemenes as a type of wealth cf. 2. 12. 21 n. The adj. here conveys the idea that the perfume was of the rarest and most costly. **45. cur . . . atrium,** 'why should I rear a hall with portals that arouse envy and towering high in modern fashion?' The *atrium* or 'hall' was among the Romans—as in many old English mansions—the most important room in the house: in it were displayed the *imagines*, and it was used for the reception of clients and visitors; it was therefore natural to spend large sums on its decoration. **invidendis:** cf. 2. 10. 7 *invidenda aula.* **postibus:** so Virg. G. 2. 463, in a passage which Horace clearly has in mind, describes how the clients, as they pour forth from a great man's levée, *varios inhiant pulchra testudine postes.* **novo ritu** suggests an antithesis with the simplicity of early Rome. Cf. 2. 15. 14-20. **47. permutem,** 'take in exchange.' **48. divitias operosiores,** 'the greater burden of wealth.'

ODE II

On true manliness.—

'Let the boy, who means to be a man, lead a simple and hardy life as the best training for a soldier's career; in the field let the foeman fear him, and let his courage be inspired by the thought that death is glorious indeed when encountered in his country's cause: the true man is independent of the honours the mob can give or withhold, he treads a path of his own, heaven and immortality are his reward, for rewarded his uprightness and true reverence shall surely be, as certainly as profanity and guilt shall be punished.'

1. amice pati, 'to endure gladly.' Not merely = 'to bear contentedly' (*lente ferre, ἀγαπητῶς φέρειν*) but almost an instance of oxymoron; not only should the young Roman 'endure poverty,' but such 'endurance' should be 'welcome as a friend' to him, seeing that in it he will find the best training for life. Observe the emphatic alliteration in this line, and in 13, 16, 32. **pauperiem:** not 'poverty' but 'humble circumstances,' *e.g.* the condition of a yeoman farmer, from which class the best soldiers had always come, cf. 1. 12. 42; 3. 16. 37 n. **2. robustus acri militia,** 'hardened in war's sharp school.' **puer:** cf. *virum* line 14, *iuventae* 15, *virtus* 17, *virtus* 21. **3. condiscat:** stronger than *discat;* so 1. 37. 28 *combiberet* = 'drink deeply,' 4. 2. 33 *concines*, stronger than *canes.*

5. sub divo, 'beneath the open sky,' cf. 1. 1. 25 n. and 2. 3. 23 n. **trepidis in rebus,** 'amid deeds of hazard'; found also Livy 4. 17; 34. 11. **6. illum . . .** 'him (*i.e.* such a youth as I have described) from the foeman's walls let the wife of a warring emperor behold and her full-grown daughter sighing, alas! for fear lest . . .' *illum* is thrown forward for emphasis, and though *matrona* and *virgo* both form the nom. to *suspiret* (2. 13. 38 n.), yet the clause *eheu . . . suspiret* expresses only the feelings of the 'maiden.' **9. eheu:** dramatic and vivid after *suspiret.* **rudis agminum sponsus,** 'her betrothed unskilled in combats.' *rudis* takes a gen. of ignorance, cf. 1. 15. 24 n. **10. lacessat:** constantly used of recklessly 'provoking' a dangerous enemy, who might easily have been avoided. **asperum tactu,** 'dangerous to touch.' The supine is here used more fully to define the meaning of the adjective, in place of Horace's favourite infinitive (1. 3. 25 n.) **12. per medias caedes,** 'through the thickest of the carnage.'

13. dulce . . . Connected with the preceding stanza as showing why a soldier should be brave as 'a lion.' Swift renders: 'How bless'd is he who

for his country dies, | Since death pursues the coward as he flies ; | The youth in vain would fly from fate's attack, | With trembling knees and terror at his back.' **mori : mors.** For this method of joining clauses, cf. 1. 2. 4 n. Cf. Tyrtaeus, fr. 10 *τεθνάμεναι γὰρ καλὸν ἐνὶ προμάχοισι πεσόντα* | *ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν, περὶ ᾗ πατρίδι μαρνάμενον.*

17. **virtus,** from *vir*, 'manliness,' 'virtue,' is here distinct from 'courage' which has already been dealt with 1-16 : it is that manly independence and determination which acts up to the principle 'That, because right is right, to follow right | Were wisdom in the scorn of consequence.' Such a character may well be described as 'ignorant of disgraceful defeat,' 'bright with unsullied dignities,' and independent of the shifting 'breeze of popular favour' ; at the same time Horace is influenced in his description by a recollection of the well-known Stoic paradox that the perfectly virtuous man, however low his position in life, is nevertheless 'rich,' 'noble,' and 'king of kings.' Cf. 4. 9. 39 ; S. 1. 3. 136 ; Ep. 1. 1. 107. **repulsae sordidae :** cf. Ep. 1. 1. 43. **18. honoribus :** *honor* is frequently used for 'an office of dignity,' 'a magistracy,' cf. 1. 1. 8 n. **19. secures.** See Dict. Ant. s.v. *fasces*, and cf. C. S. 54 n. **20. arbitrio,** 'at the decision,' *i.e.* in obedience to the decision. The expression **popularis aurae** explains itself ; cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 816 *gaudens popularibus auris ;* Cic. pro Clu. 47 *ventus popularis.*

21. **virtus** . . . 'virtue opening the gate of heaven for those who have not deserved to die essays her course along forbidden paths . . .' **inmeritis mori,** *i.e.* those who like Pollux, Hercules and Quirinus (see next Ode, lines 9-15) have by the nobility of their lives deserved to escape the common doom of death, and have won for themselves an immortality of renown. **22. caelum.** Cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 130 *quos . . . ardens evexit ad aethera virtus.* **negata via.** Although to mortals immortality is *forbidden*, virtue does notwithstanding discover the way which leads to it. The expression recalls Job xxviii. 7 'There is a path which no fowl knoweth, and which the vulture's eye hath not seen.' **23. udam humum,** 'the damp ground,' *i.e.*, apart from metaphor, the ordinary mean and unworthy objects of human pursuit.

25. **est et** . . . The difficult connexion between these stanzas and the preceding ones is indicated in the summary (after Plüss). Opposed to uprightness (*virtus*) and true reverence for the mysteries of religion (*fidele silentium*), are profanity (cf. *vulgarit*) and crime (*incesto, scelestum*) : the reward of the one is as sure as the punishment of the other. On the other hand Friedrich (Phil. Unt. 154), following Mommsen, considers that Horace is in this Ode describing the qualities required (1) in military (*virtus*) and (2) in civil service (*fidele silentium*) under the empire ; and this line is a fragment of Simonides *ἔστι καὶ σιγῆς ἀκίνδυνον γέρας* which we know (Plut. Apophth. Aug. 7) to have been quoted by Augustus. **26. vetabo,** 'I will forbid one who has made public the rites of mystic Ceres to be beneath the same roof-tree or to launch his bark with me.' **Cereris sacrum.** See Dict. Ant. s.v. *Eleusinia.* **28. sit :** dependent on *vetabo ;* cf. *volo fiat, fac sis,* etc.

29. **solvat.** Used of undoing the cable which fastened a ship to the shore. For the danger of embarking with guilty men cf. Aesch. S. c. Theb. 602 *ἢ γὰρ συνεισβὰς πλοῖον εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ* | *ναύταισι θερμοῖς καὶ πανουργίᾳ τινὶ* | *ὄλωλεν ἀνδρῶν σὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει ;* Genesis xviii. 23-33 'Wilt thou also destroy the righteous with the wicked ?' **Diespiter :** an archaic word used to give an impression of solemnity, cf. 1. 34. 5 n. For derivation cf. 1. 1. 25 n. **saepe . . . raro :** notice the emphatic position and antithesis of these words.

Translate 'rarely has Retribution with her halting foot left the track of the guilty though far in front.' Retribution slowly but surely dogs the heels of the guilty, even though, their crime having been committed long before (cf. *antecedentem*), they might think they had escaped; cf. Aesch. Ag. 58 Ζεὺς . . . ὑστερόποινον πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἐρινύν, 'Zeus sends after transgressors a *late-avenging* Fury.' **30. integrum.** For deriv. cf. 2. 4. 22 n. Here of one in whom there is no flaw, 'a holy man,' cf. 1. 22. 1 *integer vitae.* **32. deseruit pede Poena claudo.** The alliteration and rhythm seem to suggest the 'halting gait.' **claudo**: very emphatic by position = 'though lame.'

ODE III

'*The man who is upright in purpose and strong in will nothing in heaven or earth can shake. By those qualities mortals have become divine, Pollux, Hercules,—yea, and Augustus also—Bacchus, too, and especially Rome's first founder Quirinus who was allowed to enter heaven, for Juno's words were welcome to the gods when she declared that her wrath against Troy and Trojan guilt had been appeased: so long as Troy remained in ruins a lair for the wild beasts, to the great descendants of the Trojans the path to glory and to world-wide empire was open: only let them beware of the greed of gain, and remember that if ever they sought to rebuild the old Troy, if ever those walls rose again, again too would her ancient wrath arise with ruin to the race.*'

Lines 1-16 are similar in thought to Ode 2, and seem like the whole of the first six Odes to have a didactic purpose, but at line 17 the poet breaks off into a dramatic description of which it is not easy to see the purpose. We know of no adequate historical reason for the introduction of so strong a warning against the rebuilding of Troy; Suetonius (Caes. 79) does indeed tell us of a rumour that Julius Caesar intended to remove the seat of empire to Alexandria or Ilium, but it is difficult to imagine either that such a rumour could have been circulated about the calm and philosophic Augustus or that he would have resorted to such a method of refuting it as these lines would furnish, while the connexion between the rebuilding of Troy and the opening lines is still left unexplained. Plüss (followed by Sellar and Kiessling) gives a reasonable solution of the difficulty: the clue to the Ode which he furnishes is this:

Uprightness and strength of will have won for individuals fame and immortality: by these virtues Romulus the founder of Rome reached heaven; by these Rome has broken the ban that rested upon Troy, and shall attain to universal empire. Only she must (1) look upon that empire as a responsibility and not a means for self-enrichment, (2) she must not imagine that she can restore that which has been doomed to destruction, *i.e.* apart from symbolism, she must give up the old Republic and accept the new Monarchy as the divinely appointed condition of her continuance.

1. tenacem propositi. Many verbal adjectives in *ax* take an objective gen. *e.g. edax, rapax, capax.* **3. vultus**: graphic, because anger is displayed in the face. Cf. Psalm xxxiv. 16 'the *face* of the Lord is against them that do evil.' **instantis**, 'lowering.' **4. mente quatit solida,** 'shakes from his rock-like purpose.' Cf. Tennyson's Will: 'O well for him whose will is strong! . . . Who seems *a promontory of rock*, | That, compass'd round with turbulent sound, | In middle ocean meets the surging shock, | Tempest-buffeted, citadel-crown'd.' **5. dux . . . Hadriae.** Cf. 1. 3. 15 n.; the wind *rules* the waves. **7. si fractus** . . . 'should the shattered

universe o'erwhelm him, the ruins will strike him untrembling.' **si . . . inlabatur . . . ferient**: note the irregular consecution, the indic. expressing the *certainty*, the subj. the *hypothesis*; cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 374.

9. **hac arte**, 'by such virtue,' *i.e.* by the virtue described in line 1; cf. 4. 15. 12 *veteres artes*, 'the virtues of antiquity.' For Pollux, Hercules, and Bacchus, see Dict. Ant. They are frequently selected as types of deified mortals, cf. 4. 5. 36; Ep. 2. 1. 5; Tac. Ann. 4. 38. 10. **enisus . . .** 'striving upwards reached the starry heights.' Some MSS. give *innisus*. 11. **quos inter . . .** The introduction of the living Augustus 'quaffing nectar with ruddy lips' in this Roman Valhalla for departed heroes is startling. To speak of the Emperor as a 'god on earth,' as 'destined to return to heaven' (1. 2. 41-52), is only the language of extravagant flattery and the purest Latin writers (*e.g.* Virg. G. 1. 24), but to speak of a person actually living as actually 'drinking nectar in heaven' is to offend not only our moral but our intellectual judgment, an offence of which classical writers are rarely guilty. Many MSS. give *bibet* which looks like a correction but perhaps improves the passage. The use of the term *Augustus* seems to place the date of the Ode about B.C. 27, when that title was conferred on him; see Merivale, c. xxx., Ovid, Fast. 1. 609. 12. **purpureo ore**, says Wickham, 'implies the halo of rosy light which surrounds the beatified Augustus'; the more prosaic rendering 'ruddy,' *i.e.* with wine, seems more natural, but should be perhaps rejected for that reason in a passage of this character.

13. **merentem**, *i.e.* as having travelled through Asia teaching men the use of the vine, and introducing civilisation (of which the tamed tigers are a type). 16. **Martis equis**, 'on the chariot of Mars,' his father. Ovid, Fast. 2. 493, describes the ascent of Romulus to heaven: *hinc tonat, hinc missis abrumpitur ignibus aether: | fit fuga; rex patriis astra petebat equis.* 17. **gratum . . .** 'when Juno had spoken welcome words . . .' Horace implies that Quirinus was not admitted into heaven until Juno assented. 18. **Ilion, Ilion.** The repetition is solemn and impressive: she dwells on the name of the city whose fortunes had so long excited her passionate interest. See 2. 14. 1 n. 19. **fatalis**, 'doomed,' *i.e.* bringing with him death and destruction. **iudex** refers to the famous 'Judgment of Paris' which brought on him the wrath of Juno, cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 26 *manet alta mente repostum | iudicium Paridis spretaeque iniuria formae.* 20. **mulier peregrina**, *i.e.* Helen. It is to the rape of Helen that *incestus* refers, although it also hints at his decision in favour of Venus rather than of Juno or Minerva (cf. *castae* line 23).

21. **ex quo . . . Laomedon**, 'since the day when Laomedon having fixed their reward failed the gods.' Apollo and Neptune helped Laomedon to build the walls of Troy, and he then refused them their wages. **ex quo** (=*ex quo tempore*) with **damnatum**; the city was 'condemned from the day when,' etc. 25. **iam . . . hospes.** 'The Spartan wanton's shameless guest | No longer flaunts in brave array.'—Martin. It is simpler to take *adulterae* as gen. after *hospes* than as dat. after *splendet*, though *splendet adulterae* might mean 'decks himself for,' *i.e.* to please, his mistress. Horace also refers to the brilliant appearance of Paris 1. 15. 13-20, 4. 9. 13-16; cf. Hom. Il. 3. 392 κάλλεΐ τε στίλβων καὶ εἵμασιν. 26. Paris is called **famosus hospes**, 'the infamous guest,' because his violation of the laws of hospitality added double infamy to his crime. 28. **refringit**, 'breaks (and drives) back': the word is used of first breaking and then driving backwards an enemy's line. 29. **nostrisque . . .** 'and the strife prolonged by our

discords has sunk to rest.' The length of the Trojan war was due to the gods having taken different sides, and being therefore unable to decide what the issue should be. **seditio** = *se-d-itio*, 'a going apart,' 'a dividing into two factions;' the Gk. στάσις. **30. protinus,** 'forthwith,' immediately from now: from *pro*, and *tenus*, which implies succession, that which '*holds on*' (*tenet*) to a thing being that which comes immediately after it; cf. *continuus*. **31. nepotem.** Mars the father of Romulus was the son of Juno. **32. Troica sacerdos.** Rhea Silvia, see Class. Dict. s.v. *Romulus*.

33. redonabo: only found here and 2. 7. 3, where it means 'to give back.' Nauck rightly explains: 'I will give up to Mars who has a claim on him,' *re* being used as frequently in *reddo* (cf. 2. 7. 17 n.), *e.g.* a postman *reddit epistolam* 'hands it over to the person to whom it is addressed,' 'duly delivers it.' **illum ego**: notice the juxtaposition of these emphatic pronouns. **34. ducere,** 'quaff,' 1. 17. 22 n. Most MSS. give *discere*. **35. adscribi . . . deorum,** 'to be enrolled among the peaceful ranks of heaven.' *adscribere* (see Dict.) is a technical word = 'add to the register,' *e.g.* of citizens. In his use of *ordinibus* Horace is thinking of the 'rows' or 'ranks' of senators in the Roman Curia. **inire . . . ducere . . . adscribi,** 'three successive steps: the entrance, the cup of welcome, and the acceptance of the new *civis adscripticius* (Cic. de N. D. 3. 39).'—Kiessling. **quietis** partly suggests an antithesis to the continued struggle in which the race of Troy has hitherto been engaged, partly refers to the Epicurean belief that the gods enjoyed a 'sacred everlasting calm,' unmarred by any care for human sorrow; cf. 1. 34 Int.

37. dum, 'so long as,' 'provided that,' 1. 16. 26 n. **38. qualibet . . . beati,** 'let the exiles reign and prosper in whatever quarter of the world they will.' **exsules,** *i.e.* the Romans as descendants of the Trojans who had been driven into perpetual 'exile' from Troy: the word is employed with a certain contempt, for with all her magnanimity Juno is not above the feminine weakness of saying something unpleasant (cf. the sneer in *peperit sacerdos*, line 32, and observe the same thing in Lydia 3. 9. 21 and 22). **42. stet.** Emphatic both itself and by position. *sto* is used in preference to any of its compounds to express immovable fixity; the smallness of the word is its strength; cf. 1. 16. 19 n. **43. triumphatis.** The intransitive *triumphare* has no passive, but Horace for convenience uses the past part. pass. = 'triumphed over,' 'led in triumph.' **possit,** 'be strong to.' **44. ferox,** 'fiery,' 'warlike,' in antithesis to *triumphatis*. **dare iura,** 'impose laws on.' For **Medis** = 'the Parthians,' cf. 1. 2. 51 n.

46. qua . . . Nilus, 'where the intervening sea divides Europe from the African, where the swollen Nile waters the fields.' These words explain and define *ultimas oras*: the 'farthest coasts' are the Straits of Gibraltar in the W., and Egypt in the E. **48. tumidus rigat arva,** *i.e.* by its annual inundation, on which the fertility of Egypt depends; cf. Virgil's careful description (G. 4. 293), *et viridem Aegyptum nigra fecundat harena.* **49. aurum . . . dextra**: a somewhat awkward stanza, in which a fresh condition is imposed on Rome's exercise of empire, viz. that she shall be superior to the lust of gold. 'More brave in despising gold left undiscovered—and so better placed when earth hides it—than in amassing it with hands that seize for human ends all holy things.' The construction *spernere fortior quam cogere* is a harsh extension of the use of the epexegetic infinitive; the parenthesis *et . . . celat* adds needless complexity, and the necessary separation of *cogere* from *humanos in usus* is unsatisfactory.

53. quicumque . . . 'whatever limit has been set to the universe this shall she reach with her arms, eager to see in what quarter . . .' By *quicumque . . . obstitit* Horace means no more than we do when we speak of 'the ends of the earth.' **55. qua . . . ignes.** The torrid zone. **debacchentur,** 'revel to the end,' 'till they have had enough of it,' there being nothing to control them; 1. 3. 13 n. **56. qua . . . rores.** The frigid zone. **58. hac lege . . . ne,** 'on this condition . . . that (they do) not.' **pii:** *pius* expresses the dutiful affection of a child for its parents, here that of the Romans for their parent city (μητρόπολις). **59. rebus,** 'fortunes.'

60. Troiae. Troiae. Cf. 1. 2. 4 n. 'Of Troy, if it rise again with mournful omens, the fortune shall be repeated in grievous disaster.' **61. renascens:** by hypallage (3. 1. 42 n.) in agreement with *fortuna* instead of *Troiae.* **alite:** 1. 15. 5 n. **64. coniuge . . . et sorore.** So Virg. Aen. 1. 46 *ast ego, quae divom incedo regina, Iovisque | et soror et coniunx.* **65. aeneus,** *i.e.* strong as bronze; cf. 3. 16. 1 and 1. 35. 19 *manu . . . aena.* **66. auctore Phoebo:** abl. abs. = 'by Phoebus' aid'; he helped to build Troy (line 21 n., Virg. G. 3. 36 *Troiae Cynthius auctor*).

69. non hoc . . . 'such a strain will ill suit the sportive lyre,' *i.e.* pathetic descriptions of war and disaster are the subjects of epic and dramatic, not of lyric poetry. The stanza is merely a convenient device for bringing the long Ode to a close; cf. 2. 1. 37-40. **72. magna . . . parvis,** 'to dwarf with puny verse a mighty theme'; cf. 1. 6. 9 *conamur tenues grandia;* 4. 15. 3.

ODE IV

'*Inspire me, Calliope. Nay methinks, ye Muses, that I am already listening to your voice and wandering amid your haunts. You by heaven's favour specially guarded my infant years. Yours I shall be ever and everywhere; you thrice have saved my life; with you I will dare to go anywhere. Your task it is too, when all his weary wars are over, to give rest and refreshment to great Caesar, and aid him with your ever welcome counsels of gentleness and peace. (He, so aided, shall rule the world, and overthrow all impious rebellion, even as) we know that Jupiter overthrew the Titans.*'

An exceedingly skilful Ode, in which, after dwelling on his own career as the child of the Muses, Horace by an easy transition proceeds to panegyrise the government of Augustus, the gentleness of which can only be due to the same fostering care, and finally with singular abruptness but singular force introduces a dramatic account of the defeat of the giants, which at once suggests the thought how Jove's great vicegerent on earth shall in like manner be victorious over his foes.

1. descende caelo. The Muses dwell in heaven; cf. Hom. Il. 2. 491 Ὀλυμπιάδες Μοῦσαι. But Porphyrion says *quod velit iam transire a Iunonis sermonibus.* **dic age . . .** 'come breathe upon the pipe a lengthy lay, or if thou now dost choose with clear-ringing voice, or with the strings and harp of Phoebus.' Calliope is allowed *three* choices (*tibia—seu voce acuta—seu fidibus citharaque*), (1) to 'utter a lay on the pipe,' *i.e.* a lay accompanied by the pipe, (2) a lay sung without accompaniment, (3) a lay accompanied by the lyre. If only she will sing, Horace makes no condition as to the manner. *citharave* has all MS. authority, but *fides* cannot denote 'the strings *of a lyre*' as opposed to a cithara, and the hendiadys (cf. 2. 7. 9 n.) *fidibus citharaque* is quite clear, cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 120 *fretus cithara fidibusque canoris.*

5. auditis? Horace represents himself as hearing the voice of Calliope in answer to his appeal, but referring to his companions to test the reality of his impression. **ludit,** 'mocks.' **amabilis insania,** 'a fond illusion'; oxymŏron, cf. 3. 11. 35 n. The Greeks constantly speak of poetic inspiration as *ἐνθουσιασμός*, and *μανία*, cf. Plat. Phaed. 245 A. **6. pios,** 'holy,' *i.e.* where only holy beings, human or divine, may enter. Groves and running streams are always spoken of as favourite haunts of the Muses.

9. me fabulosae. Both words are emphatic by their position and juxtaposition. Cf. 1. 22. 9. The epithet (='storied,' *e.g.* as drawing Venus' car) in close connexion with the prominent *me* draws attention to the fact that the poet's early years were associated with legends and tales of mystery, which, like the story of a swarm of bees settling on the lips of the infant Pindar, indicate a favourite of the Muses, so that he might well hear the voice of Calliope. **Vulture . . . Apuliae.** A very doubtful passage, which, as it stands, must mean 'on Apulian Vultur just beyond the limit of my native Apulia,' *i.e.* on Mt. Vultur which is in Apulia, and called Apulian, but on a part of it which stretches just beyond the border of Apulia. The explanation given is that Horace was born at Venusia on the borders of Apulia and Lucania, and indeed elsewhere describes himself as 'half Lucanian, half Apulian' (*Lucanus an Apulus anceps* S. 2. 1. 34). Such extreme accuracy however of local description seems out of place in so imaginative a passage, and the remarkably harsh variation in the quantity of *Āpŭlus* and *Ăpūlia* at once suggests that the text is corrupt. *limina Pulliae* (assumed to be his nurse) has some MS. authority. Conjectures are *V. in arduo, in arido, in avio.* Variations in the quantities of proper names are common, e.g. *Prĭamus Prīamides, Ĭtalus Ītalia*, etc., but these afford little authority for such a violent double change in two consecutive lines as we have here. For cases where poets intentionally vary the accent, and so the quantity, of a repeated word cf. 1. 32. 11 n. **11. ludo . . .** 'worn out with play and (weighed down) with sleep.' An inaccurate but perfectly lucid expression, copied from Hom. Il. 10. 98 *καμάτῳ ἀδδηκότες ἠδὲ καὶ ὕπνῳ.* For position of *que* cf. 2. 19. 28 n.

13. mirum quod foret omnibus, 'so that it was a marvel to all . . . how (line 17) I slept . . . how . . .' **14. nidum.** Because the town was situated like a 'nest' high up among the rocks; it 'nestled' among them. Acherontia, Bantia and Forentum are all small places near Horace's birthplace. **16. humilis,** 'low-lying.' **17. ut . . . dormirem, ut . . .** These clauses explain *mirum quod* in line 13, a clause with *ut* being frequently employed to explain a neuter pronoun, such as *hoc, illud, quod*, etc., but *ut* here also partly depends on *mirum.* **atris,** 'deadly,' cf. 1. 37. 27 n. **18. sacra . . . myrto.** The 'laurel' sacred to Apollo, and the 'myrtle' to Venus, are symbolic of his future career as the poet who should sing the praises of love: Apollo and Venus are marked out as his tutelar deities (cf. *non sine dis*). **20. non . . . infans,** 'not without heaven's favour a poetic child,' *i.e.* by heaven's special favour (litotes; cf. 1. 18. 9 n.) All editors give *animosus*='courageous,' but it is hard to see what 'courage' an infant shows who wanders into the woods and when tired out lies down and falls asleep, or why Horace should allude to his 'courage' here at all. On the other hand *animus* (cf. *ἄνεμος, anima* and *inspirare, afflare*) is used of 'inspiration,' as in Virg. Aen. 6. 11 *magnam cui mentem* animumque | *Delius inspirat vates.* As therefore *animosus*='possessing *animus*,' why may not its meanings vary with the meaning of *animus*, so that it here='possessing

inspiration,' 'inspired'? The connexion with the next stanza is thus admirably maintained: '... an inspired child. Yes, and as you inspired my childhood so will I be yours, O Muses,' etc.

21. **in arduos tollor Sabinos,** 'I climb the Sabine hills,' *i.e.* to my Sabine farm among the hills, cf. 2. 18. 14 n. 22. **frigidum.** Praeneste on a lofty hill 20 miles S.E. of Rome was from its consequent 'coolness' a favourite suburban resort of those who wished to avoid the excessive heat of Rome. 23. **Tibur supinum,** 'the slopes of Tibur.' **supinum,** lit. 'upturned': the opposite of *pronus.* 24. **liquidae Baiae,** 'the clear' or 'bright air of Baiae'; cf. Virg. G. 4. 59 *per aestatem liquidam,* 'through the clear summer air.' Horace elsewhere alludes to the 'brightness of Baiae,' Ep. 1. 1. 83 *nullus in orbe sinus Bais* praelucet *amoenis.* It was the Brighton of Rome, and the whole coast from Baiae to Puteoli was studded with villas; see Merivale, c. 40. Kiessling gives 'by the sea,' so that Baiae is here described as 'a watering-place'!

25. **amicum** gives the reason for his preservation, 'because I was dear to...' **fontibus,** *e.g.* Castalia, Hippocrene. 27. **non . . . arbor,** 'neither did an army routed at Philippi nor an accursed tree destroy me.' For Horace at Philippi cf. 2. 7. 9-16, and for the 'accursed tree' 2. 13 Int. 28. **Palinurus**: a promontory on the W. of Lucania so called from the pilot of Aeneas who lost his life there (Virg. Aen. 6. 373). We know nothing of Horace having been nearly shipwrecked. 30. **Bosphorum**: cf. 2. 13. 14 n. 33. **Britannos hospitibus feros**: cf. 1. 35. 29 n. Their reputation for cruelty was in great measure due to the reports of human sacrifices by the Druids; Tac. Ann. 14. 30. 34. **Concanum.** A tribe of the Cantabri; cf. 2. 6. 2 n. For the Geloni cf. 2. 9. 23 n.; Virgil describes them as drinking 'milk coagulated with horse's blood' (G. 3. 463 *et lac concretum cum sanguine potat equino*). 36. **Scythicum amnem.** The Tanais (Don).

37. **vos . . . antro,** 'you too to exalted Caesar, longing to end his labours so soon as he has disposed among the towns his war-worn squadrons, give repose in a Pierian cave.' Notice the emphatic *vos* connecting this with the preceding stanzas. **simul** = *simulac.* 38. For **addidit** most MSS. give *abdidit* and a few *reddidit.* Orelli supports *addidit* by Tac. Ann. 13. 31 *coloniae Capua atque Nuceria* additis *veteranis firmatae sunt,* where the reference is as here to giving soldiers assignments of land at the close of a campaign in the neighbourhood of various towns (see Virg. Ecl. 1). *abdidit* is explained as suggesting the idea of a well-won *retirement* (cf. Ep. 1. 1. 5), but this idea is harshly expressed by speaking of the troops as 'hidden in the towns.' *reddidit* gives excellent sense, but seems a correction, for, had it been original, it is difficult to see why it should have been altered to the more difficult *addidit* or *abdidit.* 41. **vos . . . almae,** 'you gentle counsels give, and when they are given rejoice with kindly care.' The 'gentle counsels,' which the Muses give and which the victorious Augustus follows, at once suggest a contrast with the proscriptions of Marius, Sulla, and Antony. **dato**: Horace clearly implies by his use of the perfect part. here after the present *datis* that not merely do the Muses 'give' or 'proffer' counsel, but that what they so proffer becomes a real *gift, i.e.* is not only proffered but *accepted.* **consilium**: scanned as a trisyllable, the second *i* being pronounced almost like *y.* So too *principium* 6. 6, and cf. S. 2. 8. 1 n. 42. **almus,** from *alo,* = 'fostering,' 'nurturing'; the Muses treated Caesar as their 'foster-child' (*alumnus*).

42. scimus . . . For the connexion of thought see Summary. **inpios Titanas inmanemque turmam**: acc. after *sustulerit* to which the nom. is (*ille*) *qui* in line 45. Note the alliterative assonance; and for the hendiadys, see 2. 7. 9 n. **44. fulmine caduco,** 'with down-rushing bolt'; cf. Aesch. P. V. 358 καταιβάτης κεραυνός. *caducus* more usually = 'ready to fall,' *e.g.* 2. 13. 11. **45. inertem.** The earth is so called because of its huge and motionless bulk in artistic contrast to *mare ventosum.* So 1. 34. 9 *bruta tellus*) (*vaga flumina.* **46. urbes regnaque tristia,** 'cities (of the living) and realms of gloom.' Horace elsewhere (2. 20. 5 *urbes relinquam;* 1. 35. 10 *urbesque gentesque*) uses *urbes* without any adj. = 'the world,' 'the haunts of men,' and so here, for the sake of brevity and to avoid too numerous adjectives, he boldly places it by itself in contrast to the 'realms of gloom.' In English however we must add some qualifying words for the sake of clearness. Notice that *et* joins *temperat* with *regit*, and that *regit* governs all the accusatives from *urbes.* **48. aequo,** 'impartial'; emphatic by position.

49. magnum illa terrorem . . . The lines from here to the end are inconsistent with lines 42-48. After reading how as sole ruler of the universe Jove had annihilated the Titans, we are not prepared for the sudden statement that he had really quaked for fear, and would indeed, but for the firm front displayed by some subordinate deities, have fared badly. Horace, however, is thinking not of Jove but of the dangerous opposition which Augustus had overcome. **50. fidens . . . bracchiis,** 'that band of youth confident in (the horror of) its upraised arms.' *fidens* governs *bracchiis*, but, as Wickham says, 'Horace intends by the collocation of *horrida* to give the force of *fidens bracchiis quibus horrebat.*' *horrida* is used partly = 'bristling' in reference to the innumerable arms with which some giants 'bristled' (line 69 *centimanus Gyas*) and to the forest of arms so upraised (cf. *horridi* 3. 29. 22), partly in its derivative sense = 'fearful' in reference to the effect produced on Jove. **51. fratres.** Otus and Ephialtes; cf. Virg. G. 1. 280 *et coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres.* | *ter sunt conati inponere Pelio Ossam* | *scilicet, atque Ossae frondosum involvere Olympum.* **tendentes inposuisse,** 'striving to have piled'; the perfect because it was their object not merely 'to pile' Pelion on Olympus but 'to keep it piled' there so as to employ it as a means of scaling heaven. Cf. 1. 1. 4 *collegisse iuvat;* 3. 18. 15. **opaco,** 'shady,' *i.e.* well-wooded.

53. Typhoeus. From τυφώς, 'a whirlwind.' **54. minaci statu,** 'with threatening mien.' **57. contra . . .** 'but what (*sed quid,* line 53) . . . could they avail rushing against the echoing shield of Pallas?' **aegis** = αἰγίς (see Lidd. and Scott): in works of art the *aegis* of Pallas is not a shield but a sort of short cloak or breastplate: several illustrations are given in Smith's Class. Dict. s.v. Athena. **60. numquam . . .** 'he who from his shoulders shall never lay aside the bow, who . . .' In the subsequent stanza Horace dwells upon the attributes of Apollo which set his beauty and dignity in effective contrast to the monstrous Titans. For Apollo with the bow cf. the Homeric epithets applied to him, ἑκατηβόλος, κλυτότοξος, and in Latin *Arcitenens;* the famous statue of the Apollo Belvidere at Rome represents him as the ideal of manly beauty.

61. lavit: 2. 3. 18 n. **62. solutos,** 'flowing.' **Lyciae.** Apollo had a temple at Patara on the coast of Lycia, and is commonly called *Lycius*, Λύκιος; the similar epithet applied to him Λύκειος is variously explained as

'Lycian,' 'wolf-slaying,' or 'light-giving,' see L. and Scott, s.v. **63. natalem silvam**: on Mt. Cynthus in Delos. See Class. Dict. s.v. Leto.

65. vis consili . . . 'strength void of judgment falls by its own weight: strength self-controlled the gods also increase more and more: but they abhor the strong whose thoughts are busy with all impiety.' The 'maxims' (*sententiae* line 70, γνῶμαι) here enunciated express the moral lesson to be deduced from the defeat of the giants and are illustrated by the statement of their punishment (lines 73-77) and by the fate of Orion, Tityos, and Pirithous. **vis . . . vim . . . vires**: usually *vis* = 'violence,' *vires* = 'strength,' but here no such distinction is to be drawn. **mole ruit sua**: the metaphor is from a building which is reared to such a size that it falls in. **67. idem**, 'but they also,' cf. 2. 10. 16 n. **vires**, 'strength,' *i.e.* the strong; cf. *animo* in next line. **68. omne nefas animo moventes.** Observe the assonance in *ne ne*, *mo mo*. **69. Gyas**: 2. 17. 14 n. **70. notus et** . . . 'and Orion too notorious as the assailant of the spotless Diana.'

73. iniecta . . . 'piled on her own monsters Earth groans, and mourns her brood hurled by the thunderbolt to ghastly Orcus. The giants were the offspring of earth, hence called *monstra sua*; cf. γίγαντες as if from γαῖα, and γίγνομαι. **75. peredit**: perfect. The giants were pinned to the ground with a thunderbolt, and then had a mountain piled upon them: the volcanic nature of Etna and similar mountains was supposed to be due to the fire thus planted at their base, and their eruptions to the agonised writhings of the giants. **77. Tityi**: 2. 14. 8 n. **78. reliquit**, 'has left,' *i.e.* from the time when it was placed there. **nequitiae additus custos.** The use of *additus* is noticeable: it implies that the warder thus 'assigned to his profligacy' could not be got rid of. Cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 90 *nec Teucris addita Iuno | usquam aberit*; Stat. Theb. 2. 320 *mortalibus addita cura*; Plaut. Aul. 3. 6. 20 *custodem addidit.* **79. amatorem**, '*per* λιτότητα *pro scelesto raptore*,' Orelli. **trecentae**, *i.e.* any indefinite number: so more commonly *sexcenti.* Pirithous attempted to carry off Proserpine. It has been well suggested that the mythological instances selected by Horace in these stanzas are selected with a definite purpose: they are all instances of those whom lust has ruined —*temptator Orion, incontinens Tityos, amator Pirithous.* Considering to whom the Ode is addressed and whose victories are suggested, there can be little doubt who the fallen foe hinted at is,—the Roman Antony who had perished in the meshes of Cleopatra. For similar eloquent omissions of his name cf. 1. 37 Int., 3. 8. 18 n.

ODE V

'Jove is king of heaven and Augustus his vicegerent on earth, as shall be manifest, when he has added Britain and Parthia to his empire. And yet (though Rome's fortune and Rome's future are thus assured) could the soldiers of Crassus condescend to purchase their lives by repudiating their religion and their race and accepting the life of barbarians? It was such a decay of the true spirit of national honour that Regulus foresaw and feared when he refused assent to dishonourable terms, as involving a precedent which would be fatal to ages yet unborn. "No," he said, "let those who surrendered perish unpitied. Why should you seek to recover such men? Once cowards they will be always so. Think how they have given glory to Carthage and brought Italy low even to the dust." And then without one kiss to wife or child as one disgraced, without raising his eyes from the ground until he had confirmed the wavering senate in their stern resolve, he hastened back to exile, to torture and to death.'

1. **caelo**: with *regnare* in opposition to *praesens divus.* 3. **adiectis**: in connexion with the future *habebitur* not = 'since they have been,' but 'when they shall have been added.' For the *Britanni* cf. 1. 35. 29 n. Julius Caesar made raids into Britain B.C. 55 and 54, but it was not really subjugated until the reign of Claudius A.D. 43. 4. **gravibusque Persis**: 1. 2. 22 n.

5. **milesne . . .** A sudden outburst of indignation, for which lines 1-4 give the ground (see Summary): 'Could the soldier of Crassus *live* in disgraceful wedlock, his wife a barbarian?' It is simpler to take *coniuge barbara* as an abl. abs., rather than as abl. after *turpis* = 'disgraced by a barbaric wife.' For the defeat of Crassus cf. 1. 2. 22 n. 6. **hostium socerorum.** Conington's 'earning his *foemen-kinsmen's* pay' avoids the awkward word 'fathers-in-law.' 7. **pro** '*est demirantis cum indignatione*' Orelli. 'O shame for our senate and character overthrown.' **curia** (1) = the Curia Hostilia where the senate met, (2) = the senate itself (cf. 2. 1. 14 *consulenti curiae*), which is here mentioned as a type of Roman institutions.

9. **Medo Marsus**: antithetical juxtaposition. The Marsi were proverbial for their bravery; cf. 2. 20. 18, and for the Marsic War 3. 14. 18 n. Horace with reasonable partiality joins to them his native Apulians. 10. **ancili-orum.** See Dict. Ant. s.v. Salii. On the preservation of the *ancile* which fell from heaven the safety of Rome was said to depend. Horace seems to have known a nom. *ancilium.* **togae**: the distinctive Roman dress, cf. Virgil's famous line Aen. 1. 282, *Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.* 11. **aeternae**, 'undying,' in reference to the fire which was kept ever burning on her altar. 12. **incolumi . . .** 'while Jove's temple stands uninjured and the city Rome,' *i.e.* the soldier acts as though these were in ruins. **Iove**, 'the temple of Jove,' *i.e.* the Capitol, the sign and symbol of Rome's dominion; cf. 3. 3. 42 *stet Capitolium.*

13. **hoc.** See Summary. 15. **et exemplo . . . pubes**, 'and making ruin extend to ages yet to come from the precedent, if the captive youth did not perish unpitied.' **traho** = 'to draw,' 'drag out,' 'extend,' and a person may be said 'from a precedent to extend ruin into the future,' who describes or foresees ruin so extending from a precedent into the future. The emendation *trahenti* is tempting but wrong, for *trahentis* is necessary as a parallel to *dissentientis*: Regulus objects on two grounds, (1) he disagrees with the terms as disgraceful, (2) he foresees that the precedent is ruinous. 17. **si non . . . pubes.** These words explain *exemplo*: the precedent would arise 'if,' etc. For the lengthening of the final syllable in *periret*, cf. S. 1. 5. 90 n. *perirent* and *perires* are obvious corrections. Plüss puts a full stop after *periret*, and makes *inmiserabilis captiva pubes* an indignant exclamation, 'Unpitied (be) the captive youth!' the description of Roman disgrace which follows giving the reason why there should be no pity. 18. **signa**, *i.e.* Roman eagles. 20. **sine caede**, 'without bloodshed': notice the brilliant antitheses *militibus sine caede, civium retorta . . . libero*, warriors who surrendered without fighting, free Romans who had become Carthaginian slaves.

21. **ego** (18) . . . **vidi**; **vidi ego.** Notice the emphasis with which *ego* = 'with my own eyes' is repeated, and how in repeating *ego vidi* the order is carefully changed, in accordance with the almost universal practice of the Roman poets, cf. 4. 13. 1 *audivere Di . . . Di audivere*, and especially Ov. Her. 5. 29-32. 23. **portasque non clausas.** The sign of security and peace; cf. A. P. 199 *apertis otia portis.* **arva . . . nostro**, 'the fields (being) tilled our warriors had plundered.' 25. **scilicet**: from *scire licet*,

'you may be sure,' 'doubtless,' is frequently used ironically. **acrior,** 'keener for the fray.' **27. damnum.** Orelli says 'not the loss of the ransom' but the 'damage which would accrue from such a precedent.' But *damnum* certainly refers to *auro;* Regulus of course does not mean 'Think too of the money it will cost,' but he uses the words in bitter irony, just as he had used the mercantile words *auro repensus* ('handed back over the counter for due weight of gold'): 'if,' he says, 'you care not for the disgrace (*flagitium*) of such traffic, at any rate buy something worth what you pay for it,' which he then shows (lines 27-36) these soldiers are not. Cf. Eur. Rhes. 102 *αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς αἰσχύνῃ κακόν.* **amissos colores,** *i.e.* its pristine purity and whiteness. **28. medicata fuco,** 'tinctured with dye.' *medicare,* 'to doctor,' is common = 'to dye': cf. *φαρμάσσειν.*

29. semel: *ἅπαξ,* 'once,' once for all.' **30. curat . . .** 'cares to be restored to the degraded.' *deteriores fiunt ex bonis, peiores ex malis,* says the Scholiast. **32. ille.** Scornfully emphatic. **33. perfidis:** in opposition to *credidit* (cf. 3. 7. 13 *perfida credulum,* 3. 27. 25 *doloso credidit*) and also with a special reference to the 'perfidy' which without reason was always attributed by Roman writers to the Carthaginians, *e.g.* Livy attributes to Hannibal *perfidia plus quam Punica.* Cf. 4. 4. 49 *perfidus Hannibal,* and the well-known *perfide Albion.* **35. restrictis lacertis,** 'with arms bound behind his back.' Cf. line 22. **36. sensit:** of feeling anything painful, cf. 2. 7. 9 n. **iners,** 'spiritless,' used of dull sluggish cowardice, cf. 4. 9. 29 *inertia*)(*virtus.*

37. hic . . . 'he, ignorant whence to win life, confounded peace with war.' *hic* picks up the scornful *ille* of 32 and seems to point out the very wretch whom Regulus takes as a type of the disgraced troops. **unde vitam sumeret** puts into oblique narration the soldier's thought *unde vitam sumam?* The answer ought to have been 'By the sword.' **38. pacem duello miscuit:** the soldier forgot that in war there should be no 'bargaining,' no such *peaceful* methods of settlement. **duello.** Cf. Ep. 1. 2. 7 n. **40. altior ruinis,** 'towering higher by,' or 'on the ruins of Italy.'

41. fertur. Here Regulus' speech ends, and the narrative recommences. *fertur* marks the conduct of Regulus as 'almost incredible' (Kiessling) and fabulous in its heroism, cf. 1. 7. 23; 16. 13; 3. 20. 13. **42. ut capitis minor.** Horace alters to a more poetical shape the legal phrase *capite deminutus. caput* is the full body of rights possessed by a Roman citizen, viz. those of liberty, citizenship, and family (*libertatis, civitatis, familiae*): the loss of any of these, *e.g.* of liberty as in the case of Regulus, involved *deminutio capitis.* Being therefore no longer a full citizen, Regulus considered himself to have forfeited also the position of *pater familias,* or 'head of the household.' **capitis** is the so-called gen. of respect; cf. *militiae inpiger, integer vitae, seri studiorum,* etc. **44. torvus,** 'grimly.'

45. donec: with *posuisse.* He fixed his gaze grimly on the ground '*until* his weighty words might confirm the wavering fathers with counsel such as never before was given': after that he recovered his Roman calmness as described in lines 49-56. For *donec* with subj. cf. S. 2. 1. 73. **46. auctor** (= *qui auget*) is one who 'gives strength' to anything; hence the 'author,' 'supporter' of a proposal: but there often attaches to it, as here, a collateral notion that the person to whom it is applied possesses *auctoritas,* that his character lends weight to his words. Orelli says that **consilio** is emphatic; that whereas a senator had a right *sententiam dicere* 'to declare his judgment,'

Regulus as being *capitis minor* was now only able *consilium dare* 'to give advice,' and he must therefore explain *numquam alias dato* as expressing that Regulus 'had at no other time so given *counsel*.' Such an explanation seems too recondite: surely the words mean, 'with counsel such as ne'er before was given,' and refer to the unprecedented nobility of the counsel with which Regulus counselled his own certain death. **48. egregius exsul**: oxymoron. **properaret**: emphatic: he 'hastens' lest he be recalled.

49. atqui: 1. 23. 9 n. **50. non aliter**: with *quam si*, line 53. **51. dimovit**: from *dis* and *movere*, 'to make to stand apart,' so as to form a lane down which one may pass. **53. clientum . . . relinqueret**, 'he were leaving the tedious business of his clients, their suits decided.' The *patronus* gave advice and assistance to his clients (*clientes*, κλύοντες, 'those who listen'), especially on legal matters, the old Roman aristocracy all possessing legal training: this he would do at Rome, after which he would be free to seek the repose of his country estates. **55. Venafranos . . . Tarentum.** Local colouring to give reality and distinctness, see 1. 1. 13 n. See too 3. 7. 1-8 *Favonii*, *Thyna*, *Notis*, *Oricum*, *Caprae*. As here, Horace frequently selects his names a good deal for their harmonious sound. Moreover the quiet ending of the Ode affords an artistic contrast to the rhetorical emphasis of the rest, cf. 4. 2. 60 n., 4. 14. 52 n. **56. Lacedaemonium**: because founded by Phalanthus, for whom see Class. Dict.

ODE VI

'*The sins of the fathers will be visited upon the children until the crumbling temples of the gods are restored: to reverence for the gods we owe the rise of our empire, to our neglect of them we shall owe its ruin; let the defeats we have already suffered be a warning to us. Moreover immorality, like a rising flood, has overspread the nation and sapped the foundations of that simple household life in which were reared the early soldiers of Rome. Alas, so we move from bad to worse.*'

The Ode commemorates two portions of the domestic policy of Augustus, (1) The restoration of many decayed temples (Virgil, Aen. 8. 716, says 300) as a visible sign of his desire to restore the old customs and observances of Rome, cf. Ovid, Fast. 2. 63 *templorum positor, templorum sancte repostor*; (2) the introduction of several measures intended to check the continual decrease in the number of regular marriages which was due partly to decay of religious feeling and a consequent looseness of morals, partly to increased cost of living and the more luxurious habits of society. See Dict. Ant. *Lex Iulia Papia et Poppaea*, and cf. 3. 24 and 4. 5. 21-24; Merivale, c. 33.

1. delicta . . . Orelli quotes a fragment of Euripides τὰ τῶν τεκόντων σφάλματ' εἰς τοὺς ἐκγόνους | οἱ θεοὶ τρέπουσι, which reproduces the very words of Exod. xx. 5 'I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children.' **2. Romane.** For the singular cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 851 *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.* **3. labentes**, 'mouldering': *labi*, 'to slip,' 'glide,' 'fall away,' is admirably used of the sure but silent process of decay. Notice the different quantity and meaning of *labantes* 3. 5. 45. **5. dis . . . imperas**, 'the lord of mankind only because thou art the servant of the gods.'—Merivale. Cf. 1. 12. 57 *te minor latum reget aequus orbem*, and 3. 1. 5 n. **te minorem geris**, 'dost carry thyself (as) inferior,' 'behave thyself as the servant.' **6. hinc**, 'from this,'

i.e. from showing obedience. With **principium** supply *est*; and for its scansion see 3. 4. 41 n. **8. Hesperiae,** 'the land of the West,' *i.e.* Italy; cf. 2. 1. 32 n. **luctuosae** is explained by the next two stanzas.

9. iam bis . . . There is no reference to Crassus, who was defeated by Surenas, but (1) to the defeat of Decidius Saxa, the lieutenant of Antony, B.C. 40, by Pacorus son of Orodes king of Parthia, and (2) to that of two legions under Oppius Statianus B.C. 36. See Mommsen in Orelli[4]. **10. non . . . inpetus,** 'have crushed our unblest assaults.' For the verb in sing. cf. 2. 13. 38 n. **non auspicatos:** as the gods were neglected they refused their favour to the arms of Rome, which are therefore spoken of as 'lacking good auspices.' **11. adiecisse renidet:** *renidet* takes an inf. from the sense of 'rejoicing' contained in it; cf. line 21 *doceri gaudet.* It literally means 'beams back,' and portrays the grin of satisfaction with which a savage positively 'beams again' when tricking himself out in new finery.

13. paene with **delevit. seditionibus.** See 3. 3. 29 n. The reference is to the civil wars, which since the days of Marius and Sylla had 'seized on' (cf. *occupatam*) Rome as their prey, but especially to the final struggle between Octavian and Antony, which was concluded by the battle of Actium, B.C. 31. **14. delevit urbem Dacus.** Notice the effective juxtaposition of *urbem* and *Dacus. delevit* is the strongest word Horace could have selected; cf. the saying of Cato the Censor, *delenda est Karthago.* Dacian bowmen served under Antony at Actium; **Aethiops** refers to the Egyptian troops who manned the fleet of Cleopatra. **17. fecunda . . .** 'generations prolific in guilt first defiled wedlock and the family and homes: from that source disaster's growing flood o'erspread our name and nation.' **culpae** is the gen. after *fecunda*, which implies abundance. Cf. 3. 11. 26 *inane lymphae*, 3. 30. 11 *pauper aquae*, 4. 4. 58 *feraci frondis*, 4. 6. 39 *prosperam frugum*, 4. 8. 5 *divite artium*; S. 1. 1. 79. **18. primum** forms the link between this and the previous stanza: 'the *origin* of all was,' etc. **20. patriam populumque:** found also in Ovid and Juvenal, the combination being a favourite one owing to its sonorous character.

21. motus Ionicos, 'dances,' such as were in favour among the luxurious inhabitants of Asia Minor. With the Greeks and Romans dancing was an accomplishment rarely practised except by slave girls who exhibited their skill for hire at banquets and the like. **22. artibus** refers not merely to dancing but to all the tricks and devices which women practise to attract attention; cf. Ov. Rem. Am. 691 *artibus innumeris mens oppugnatur amantum.* Many MSS. have *artubus.* **23. iam nunc,** 'even now,' *i.e.* while still unmarried, in opposition to **mox,** line 25. 'Even now she is trained in wiles, and dreams of unhallowed amours from the bottom of her soul.' **24. de tenero ungui** (cf. Cic. ad Fam. 1. 6. 2 *praesta te eum, qui mihi a teneris, ut Graeci dicunt, unguiculis es cognitus*; Plautus, Stich. 5. 5. 20 *perpruriscamus usque ex unguiculis*) is a translation of ἐξ ἁπαλῶν ὀνύχων, = 'from the most sensitive part of the body,' or as we say, 'from the heart' (*penitus, medullitus*), the base of the nail where it joins the flesh being peculiarly sensitive and susceptible to feeling.

29. non sine conscio: litotes, = 'with the full privity of her husband.' **30. institor.** The 'pedlar' or travelling merchant played a more important part in antiquity than he does now, and his jewels and silks offered strong temptations; cf. Seneca, fr. de matr. 52 *institores gemmarum sericarumque vestium si intromiseris, periculum est.* **32. dedecorum . . .** 'who highly

pays the price of shame.' **33. non his . . .** 'not from such parents sprang the youth who dyed the sea . . .' **34. aequor.** For the victory referred to cf. 2. 12. 2 n. **35. ingentem . . . Antiochum:** Antiochus the Great, king of Macedonia B.C. 223-187; defeated by L. Scipio at Magnesia B.C. 190. **36. Hannibalemque dirum.** For *dirus* the standard epithet of Hannibal cf. 2. 12. 2 n. His invasion lasted from B.C. 218-203 and he was finally defeated by Scipio at Zama B.C. 202.

37. rusticorum militum, 'yeomen soldiers.' Horace refers to those hardy farmers who, in peace living on their own farms, in war had furnished the commonwealth with its best soldiers, but whose rapidly declining numbers are under the empire continually deplored by both poets and politicians. **38. Sabellis.** The Sabines are the type of a sturdy simple mountain race. Cic. pro Lig. 11 calls them *florem Italiae ac robur rei publicae*; cf. Virg. G. 2. 531. **39. et severae . . .** 'to shoulder the faggots hewn at a stern mother's bidding.' **41. ubi mutaret,** 'when the sun should shift the shadows': the subj. because he was *told* (cf. *ad arbitrium*) to do it 'when the sun' etc. **iuga demeret:** the time is βουλυτός, which is not evening but the time of extreme heat just after midday, when the sun having passed the zenith 'shifts the shadows' from West to East, see Arist. Av. 1499. **44. agens abeunte:** oxymoron, cf. 2. 4. 10 *ademptus tradidit.*

45. damnosa. After presenting in the main portion of the Ode a Hogarth-like picture of what life *was* at Rome, the poet has in lines 33-44 painted a sketch, half-historical half idyllic, of what life *had been* and still *might be.* But now his reason overpowers his hopes: sad reality recurs to his mind and warns him that such visions of the future are but dreams. Harshly thrown forward at the commencement of the stanza the word *damnosa*, as Plüss remarks, 'sounds like a sigh.' **46. aetas . . .** Notice the masterly brevity of expression; these three lines in eleven words describe the downward progress of four generations. **peior avis,** 'worse than *that of* our grandsires.' For the *comparatio compendiaria* cf. 2. 6. 14 n. **47. daturos,** 'soon to produce.'

ODE VII

'*Why weep, Asterie, for your absent lover? He is faithful, and though compelled by storms to winter at Oricum, will be back with spring's earliest Zephyr. It is for you he sighs all night, and, though his hostess sends to tell how she adores him and how dangerous it is to scorn such offers, he pays no more heed than a rock. Only, Asterie, be careful yourself, and do not grow too fond of that peerless cavalier Enipeus; when he sings his doleful ditties beneath your window don't look out, and when he calls you cruel, be so.*'

1. candidi, 'bright,' 'cloudless' (cf. 1. 7. 15) and also suggesting the joy they would bring her. **2. Favonii:** the harbingers of spring. Cf. Lucr. 1. 11 and 5. 737 *it ver et Venus et veris praenuntius ante | pennatus graditur Zephyrus.* **3. Thyna.** So 1. 35. 7 *Bithyna carina* of a merchant vessel trading to Bithynia. For the *Thyni* see Class. Dict. s.v. Bithyni. **beatum,** 'enriched.' **4. fide:** genitive, cf. Virg. G. 1. 208 *Libra die somnique . . . horas* and Aul. Gell. 9. 14, who quotes *facie quod honestae*, and *facieque tuae se* from Lucilius. MSS. give *fidei.*

5. Gygen? ille. By keeping the proper name till last and then beginning with the emphatic pronoun *ille* Horace passes with perfect ease and clearness from what Asterie is doing to what Gyges is doing. **Oricum:** a port of

Epirus at the entrance of the Adriatic. **6. Caprae.** The goat Amalthaea which suckled the infant Jove was placed as a constellation among the stars. After its rising at the end of September stormy weather was considered to have set in and navigation ceased for the winter; cf. 4. 5. 11 n. **insana**: because of the violent storms which accompanied it. Cf. 3. 29. 19 *vesani Leonis*, 'the Lion with its violent heat.' **9. atqui**, 'and yet,' strongly adversative; cf. 1. 23. 9 n. **sollicitae**, 'love-sick.' **10. suspirare . . .** 'saying that Chloe sighs, and, poor lady, is consumed with a flame like thine.' The *nuntius* does not, of course, use the word *tuis* to Gyges; he would use some intense adjective instead, *e.g.* 'warmest': but Horace *in reporting to Asterie* what the *nuntius* says, knowing that no adjective could so forcibly appeal to Asterie as a personal one, substitutes *tuis*—'Remember,' he says, 'Asterie, that Chloe's messenger declares that she has a passion for him—like yours.'

13. ut . . . inpulerit: dependent on *refert*, to which the nom. is *nuntius*. **perfida credulum**: for the same antithesis cf. 3. 5. 33 n.; for antithesis intensified by juxtaposition cf. 2. 4. 6 n. **14. nimis casto**, 'too chaste,' not in reality but as the messenger would persuade Gyges. For the story see Class. Dict. s. v. Bellerophon. **17. paene . . .** 'Peleus almost given over to death.' See Class. Dict. s. v. Peleus or Acastus. **Pelĕā** = Πηλέā. **18. Magnessam.** Μάγνης, fem. Μάγνησσα, a dweller at Magnesia in Thessaly. **dum fugit abstinens**, 'while he soberly shunned'; cf. 1. 10. 11 n. **19. et peccare . . .** 'and cunningly brings forward stories that guide to guilt.' **20. historias**: 2.12.10 n. **movet** is accurately used of 'stirring up' or 'bringing to light' anything which was forgotten or unknown, *e.g.* Virg. Aen. 1. 262 *fatorum arcana movebo*. *monet* = 'reminds him of' has more MS. authority.

21 **frustra.** See 3. 13. 6. **Icari**: gen. of Icaros, an uninhabited rocky island near Samos; see Kiessling and Orelli [4]. **22. adhuc**, 'to this hour,' not, as *hactenus* would, implying any doubt of his continuing so.—Wickham. **integer** expresses that he was 'untouched by' or 'proof against all blandishments'; cf. 2. 4. 22 n. **at tibi**: notice the emphasis. **23. Enipeus.** The Enipeus is a river in Thessaly, but here the word is connected with ἐνίπτω, ἐνιπή, and so = 'the reprover,' cf. *vocanti duram* below. **24. plus iusto placeat**, 'find more favour than is fair.'

26. conspicitur, 'attracts the gaze' (is the cynosure of every eye): *conspicio* is used when the gaze is concentrated on anything: it implies merit in the object. Hence *conspiciendus* frequently = 'beautiful,' 'distinguished.' See Dict. s. v. **gramine Martio**, *i.e.* the Campus Martius (*apricum campum* 1. 8. 3), the regular resort of all who desired exercise, which generally ended with 'a swim down the Tuscan stream.' See next line, and 3. 12. 7. **30. sub cantu**, 'soon as you hear the strain.' *sub* indicates close *succession*; she looks out directly after hearing. Cf. Caes. B. C. 1. 27 *ne sub ipsa profectione milites oppidum inrumperent*. Shakesp. Merch. of Ven. 2. 5. 29 'Lock up my doors; and when you hear the drum | And the vile squealing of the wry-necked fife, | Clamber not you up to the casements then, | Nor thrust your head into the public street.'

ODE VIII

'You ask me why I, a bachelor, keep festival on the kalends of March, for with all your lore, Maecenas, you are at a loss on this point. The fact is, I made a vow to keep to-day as an annual holiday, for it was on this day that I narrowly escaped being killed. And so, Maecenas, drink a cup in honour of

my safety and forget for a while the cares of government; well may you do so, for on all sides the political horizon is free from signs of danger and all our foes are vanquished.'

Horace represents himself as entertaining Maecenas. The date is fixed by the allusions in lines 18-21, as B.C. 30 or 29; see notes.

1. **quid agam . . . quid velint.** Oblique interrogation dependent on *miraris*, which is the main sentence. The Matronalia, a festival celebrated by married women in honour of Juno Lucina, took place on the first of March, which therefore seemed a singular day for a bachelor to be observing. 2. **velint,** sc. *sibi*='mean'; cf. Cic. 2 Verr. 2. 61. 150 *quid illae sibi statuae inauratae volunt?* 3. **in caespite vivo,** 'on living turf,' *i.e.* on an altar of fresh-cut turf, cf. 1. 19. 13 n.

5. **docte** . . . 'O Maecenas, learned in the lore of either tongue,' *i.e.* for all your knowledge of Greek and Roman folk-lore, you cannot find any tale or legend which accounts for my treating to-day as a festival. **sermones,** λόγους, 'old tales,' handed down by word of mouth, in connexion with popular customs and holidays. The word is clearly distinguished from **linguae,** and therefore the rendering 'learned in the speech of either tongue' must be wrong, apart from the fact that (1) it does not explain the plural *sermones* and (2) is an unmeaning compliment. **utriusque linguae:** so Cic. de Off. 1. 1. 1 *ut par sis in utriusque orationis facultate.* The Romans habitually read and used Greek, but ignored other languages: hence 'either tongue'=Greek and Latin. 6. **album Libero caprum.** The 'goat' was sacrificed to Bacchus because it does great damage to vineyards. Black victims were offered to the gods below, white ones to the gods above. For Bacchus as protector of poets, cf. 2. 19. 6 n. 7. **prope funeratus:** see 2. 13 Intr. —'made ready for a funeral' rather than a feast.

10. **corticem** . . . 'shall remove the cork fastened down with rosin from a jar (first) taught to drink the smoke in Tullus' consulship.' Wine intended for keeping was drawn off from the *dolium* or cask into the *amphora* (see Dict. Ant.), corked and sealed (*corticem adstrictum pice*, cf. *conditum levi*, 1. 20. 3; Theocr. 7. 147 τετράενες δὲ πίθων ἀπελύετο κρατὸς ἄλειφαρ), labelled with its name and that of the consuls of the year, and then, if early maturity was desired, placed in the *apotheca* (ἀποθήκη='bodega'), an *upper* room which received a good deal of warmth and smoke from the bath furnaces. Cf. 3. 21. 7, where Horace says to a jar *descende, i.e.* from the *apotheca.* 11. **bibere institutae,** 'taught to drink,' a half-comic expression, cf. *funeratus* above. 12. **Tullo.** L. Volcatius Tullus was consul B.C. 66, the year before Horace's birth, cf. 3. 21. 1 *o nata mecum consule Manlio . . . testa*, and 3. 14. 18, where he speaks of *cadum Marsi memorem duelli*, the Marsic war having taken place B.C. 88. Wine was kept for great and even incredible periods: Martial alludes to people in his day (flor. 90 A.D.) drinking *Opimianum*, Opimius having been consul B.C. 121.

13. **cyathos amici sospitis,** 'cups (in honour) of your friend's safety.' *cyathus* (see Dict. Ant.) is strictly a small ladle used in mixing; it is here used generally='a cup.' For construction of *amici sospitis* see 3. 19. 9 n. 14. **centum:** indefinite, cf. 2. 14. 26. **et vigiles** . . . 'carry on the sleepless lanterns to the dawn.' Cf. 3. 21. 23. 17. **mitte** . . . 'lay aside a statesman's anxieties for the city.' *civiles* is merely 'public,' 'political,' cf. Ep. 1. 1. 16 *mersor civilibus undis*, 'the sea of politics.' There is no special reference to the *civil* administration of Maecenas as opposed to

the *military* administration of Agrippa, but only to the general freedom from political anxiety which the prosperity of affairs abroad would give a man in the position of Maecenas. **18. Daci Cotisonis.** The Dacian prince Cotiso had promised assistance to Antony, and was defeated by M. Crassus B.C. 30. Notice how throughout no reference is made to the defeat of Antony at Actium: it is of his defeat that the poet is thinking when he bids Maecenas 'cease his anxiety,' but the laws of poetry and propriety forbid the mention of a victory which brought no triumph in its train. The same eloquent silence is preserved, 1. 37. **19. Medus,** 'our foe the Mede is engaged in civil strife calamitous (only) to himself.' For *Medus*='Parthian' see 1. 2. 51 n. The Parthian monarch Tiridates, who had been placed on the throne by Augustus, was being attacked by Prahates who had been deposed for his tyranny, cf. 1. 26 Intr. **sibi** goes both with *luctuosis* and *dissidet*; its proximity to *infestus*, with the sense of which it interferes, seems awkward.

21. servit Hispanae . . . Statilius Taurus defeated the Cantabri, B.C. 29. For the condition of Spain cf. 2. 6. 2 n. **vetus**: Livy 28. 12 remarks that Spain was the province which the Romans entered first and subdued last. **23. iam Scythae,** 'by now the Scythians with bow unstrung prepare to quit their plains.' **24. campis,** 'steppes': 2. 9. 23 n. **25. neclegens . . .** 'away with care, (for a few hours) a simple citizen cease to be too anxious lest in any way the nation suffer harm.' Orelli wrongly says *privatus*=*cum sis privatus*: it is indeed true that Maecenas, wisely preferring the reality of power to the distinctions of office, remained through life a simple knight and was therefore always technically *privatus*, an unofficial simple citizen; but on the other hand he was at this very time actually in charge of the government of Rome, and it would be more than absurd for Horace to say to him 'cease, since you hold no official rank, to perform your duty!' What Horace says is what any one might say asking a great statesman to dinner, 'Come and forget for a time the cares of state in the enjoyment of private society.'

ODE IX

A dialogue between two lovers, stanzas 1, 3, and 5 being spoken by the man, the others by the lady. The Ode is faultless in form and finish, and has found hosts of translators and imitators. It is called *carmen amoebaeum* from ἀμείβεσθαι, to converse in dialogue, cf. Theocr. 8. 31 ἀμοιβαία ἀοιδά: this is the only specimen in Horace, but see Virg. Ecl. 3 and Theocr. 8. The rule is that the second speaker should reply to the first in the same number of verses, and on the same or a similar subject, and also if possible show superior force and power of expression or, as we say, 'cap' what the first speaker had said. The Ode is best summarised by the line of Terence, And. 3. 3. 23 *amantium irae amoris integratio est.*

2. potior, 'a favoured rival.' **3. cervici dabat,** 'did fling around thy neck.' **4. Persarum rege.** The 'Persian king' is taken as an accepted type of wealth and well-being. Cf. 2. 12. 21 *quae tenuit dives Achaemenes*, 'the wealth of Achaemenes' (the legendary ancestor of the Persians).

5. non alia . . . arsisti: lit. 'thou didst burn with (love for) no other woman,' *i.e.* your warmest love was for me. *alia* is abl. of the instrument: in the conventional language of amatory poetry, the lover is said *ardere* 'to be on fire,' and the loved one is called *flamma*, *ignis*, 'his flame'; hence, just as you say *ardere igne* 'to be warm with fire,' so you say *ardere Lydia* 'to be fired with love for Lydia.' Cf. below line 13, and 3. 7. 11. So too 2. 4. 7

arsit virgine, 4. 11. 33 *non alia calebo femina.* **7. multi nominis**: gen. of quality; 'of high renown.' **Ilia** = Rhea Silvia, mother of Romulus.

9. Thressa: Θρᾷξ, fem. Θρᾷσσα or Θρῇσσα. **10. docta modos,** 'skilled in strains.' *doceo*, which in the active takes two accusatives, in the passive governs an accusative of the thing taught, cf. 3. 6. 21 *motus doceri.* **citharae sciens**: cf. 1. 15. 24 n. **12. animae superstiti.** The lover speaks of Chloe as 'his life' (*anima*) just as Lydia speaks of Calais as 'her darling' (*puer*), and he says 'I will not fear to die if the fates will spare my love and let her live.' For the use of *anima* cf. 1. 3. 8, where Horace calls Virgil *animae dimidium meae*; also 2. 17. 5; Plaut. Bacch. 2. 2. 16 *anima est amica amanti: si abest, nullus est.* 'My forfeit life I'll freely give, | So she, my better life, may live.'—Gladstone.

15. bis. For this intensification see Introduction to Ode. **18. diductosque** . . . 'and joins our severed loves with brazen yoke.' *cogo*, from *cum* and *ago*, 'I bring together,' is the exact opposite of *diduco*, from *dis* and *duco*, 'I lead apart.' **iugo aeneo**: cf. 1. 33. 11 and note. **19. flava,** 'golden,' 'golden-haired.' **excutitur,** 'is cast off.'

21. sidere pulchrior. Cf. 3. 19. 26; and in Hom. Il. 6. 401 the young Astyanax is ἀλίγκιος ἀστέρι καλῷ. **22. tu.** Notice how Latin by simply bringing contrasted words into prominence avoids the use of such words as *sed*, *tamen*, *contra*, see 3. 20. 9; 4. 7. 14. **inprobo**: this adj. in the Latin poets must be translated in accordance with the noun it goes with: it signifies generally 'that which exceeds ordinary and reasonable limits,' here therefore applied to the sea it = 'unruly,' 'violent,' but Virg. G. 1. 146 *labor inprobus* 'unwearied work,' G. 1. 119 *inprobus anser* 'the greedy goose'; cf. 3. 24. 62 *inprobae divitiae.* Observe that Lydia cannot forgive her lover without indulging in a little sarcasm; cf. Juno's language, 3. 3. 38.

ODE X

This Ode is the supposed utterance of a lover who finds the door firmly fastened in his face on a wintry night. For the sequel to it see 4. 13 Intr.

'*A barbarian, Lyce, would weep to expose me to a night like this. Listen how the wind howls again, and see how keen and sharp the frost is. Venus loves not such disdain as yours: beware lest things change with you soon: you were never born to play the part of Penelope, and, after all, though nothing can move you, neither your lover's wan cheeks nor your husband's infidelity, though you are as unbending as an oak, as unpitying as a serpent, remember that my patience is not eternal.*'

1. Tanain si biberes, *i.e.* if you were a dweller by the Tanais, a Scythian; cf. 2. 20. 20 n. **Lyce,** cf. λύκος, = 'the cruel one.' **2. saevo,** 'stern': the sternness of the Scythians with regard to immorality is dwelt on 3. 24. 9-24. **asperas,** 'cruel,' as being the instruments of Lyce's cruelty.

5. audis quo . . . 'hear you how the door rattles, how the grove . . . moans again with the winds?' **strepitu,** 'clashing,' 'banging'; cf. S. 2. 6. 112 *valvarum strepitus*, 'a banging of doors.' It is however a very vague word, and so may be equally well used of the 'noise' of the trees; cf. 4. 3. 18 n. **audis quo . . . remugiat, et . . . ut glaciet**: zeugma, *i.e.* a case where a verb is joined with two words, to only one of which it is strictly appropriate; cf. 1. 14. 3-6 *nonne vides ut nudum . . . latus, antemnaeque gemant.* **nemus . . . tecta**: usually explained of the shrubs

planted in the centre of the peristylium (see Dict. of Ant. s. v. *domus*), cf. Ep. 1. 10. 22 *nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas*; but (1) such luxury would only be possible in very large mansions, and (2) it is hard to imagine that such a 'grove' could be spoken of as 'moaning again with the wind' if indeed the wind got to it at all. On the other hand it is easy to imagine that there were trees among and around the houses where Lyce lived: the question *audis . . . ventis?* might be put with accuracy on windy nights to many Londoners who do not possess a peristyle. **7. et positas . . .** 'and (see you) how Jupiter with unclouded divinity freezes the fallen snow.' **puro**: frost is keenest on clear nights. For *Iuppiter*, 'the god of the sky,' cf. 1. 1. 25 n.

10. ne currente . . . 'lest the wheel run back and the rope go with it.' The metaphor is from a man hauling up a weight over a wheel or pulley: if he attempts to raise a weight beyond his strength, it soon overpowers him, the rope runs from his hands and the wheel revolves rapidly in a direction opposite to its former one. The point is that if Lyce makes the lover's task too heavy he will 'drop' it, cf. lines 19, 20. **currente retro rota**: note the sound. **11. Penelopen,** 'a Penelope' or 'to be a Penelope.' The lines convey a taunt; hinting that Lyce was of low birth and that fine airs are out of place in one not born to be a fine lady. Cf. 2. 4. 13-20.

14. tinctus viola pallor, 'paleness of the violet's hue.' *viola* is the pale yellow violet, λευκόιον: cf. Virg. Ecl. 2. 47 *pallentes violas.* **15. vir Pieria . . .** 'your husband smitten with a Pierian enchantress.' **paelex** (from *pellicio*) is always used with direct reference to the injured wife, cf. Epod. 3. 13; 5. 63. **Pieria** = Macedonian. **16. supplicibus tuis parcas.** This is the main sentence. The connexion of thought between *parcas* and what follows seems to be: 'Pity us, for at present you are as hard as oak and venomous as a viper, and that surely is not the character you would wish to have.' **19. hoc**: deictic = 'this of mine'; cf. ὅδε ὁ ἀνήρ = 'I.' **aquae caelestis,** 'the rain of heaven.' **20. latus**: because he had described himself as *lying* (*porrectum*) at the door.

ODE XI

'*I call upon thee, Mercury, and upon the lyre thou didst invent, by the aid of which Amphion was enabled to move even stones, to teach me a strain to which the stony-hearted Lyde may lend her ears—Lyde who is now as timid and shy as a young unbroken colt. With thy aid however, O lyre, I may move her, for thou canst work wonders, thou canst make the damned forget for a while their torments: Tityos and Ixion smile, the Danaids rest from their ceaseless task. For Lyde's benefit let me recount that famous story; let her hear of the punishment that has overtaken the guilty women who slew their husbands, and of the fame of Hypermnestra whose splendid falsehood saved her young husband's life at the risk of her own.*'

From line 25 Lyde, the nominal subject of the Ode, passes completely out of sight as the poet becomes absorbed in his brilliant recital of the story of the Danaids, for whom see Class. Dict. s. v. Aegyptus and Danaus.

1. Mercuri—nam . . .: 1. 10. 6, Mercury is called *curvae lyrae parens.* **nam,** 'for,' *i.e.* I call on thee, *for* thou didst teach Amphion to move stones and *a fortiori* canst teach me to move the stony Lyde: cf. line 30 *inpiae,—nam* 'wretches (as I call them rightly) for . . .' **te docilis magistro,** 'apt pupil of thy teaching.' **2. lapides.** The stones of the walls of Thebes

which came together at the sound of Amphion's lyre. **3. testudo.** So χέλυς in Greek: the shell formed the sounding-board. **resonare callida**: epexegetic inf., cf. 1. 3. 25 n. **5. loquax,** 'vocal.' **7. dic,** 'utter'; cf. 3. 4. 1. **8. applicet**: subj. because *quibus* = *tales ut eis.*

9. equa trima. So 3. 15. 12 *similis ludere capreae.* **10. exsultim,** 'with leaps and bounds,' 'frisking.' Cf. *cursim* = 'with running,' 'hurriedly,' *tolutim* = 'with lifting,' 'with high action' (of horses), *tractim* = 'with drawing or dragging,' 'slowly.' For **metuit tangi,** cf. 2. 2. 7 n. **11. nuptiarum . . .** 'ignorant of marriage and as yet too young for an eager husband.' **expers** (from *ex* and *pars*) = 'without part' or 'share in.' **12. cruda,** 'unripe,' is the opposite of *matura,* 3. 6. 22. **13. comites**: to be taken with *ducere* = 'to lead in thy train.' **tu** refers to *testudo,* here as played by Orpheus. **15. cessit inmanis . . .** 'before thy bewitching sounds the guardian of hell's portals retired.' Orpheus not only made nature obey him (cf. 1. 12. 7 *insecutae Orphea silvae*) but relying on the power of his music went down to Tartarus to recover Eurydice. **inmanis** might grammatically be taken with *ianitor,* but the sense demands that it should be taken with *aulae,* which must have a distinguishing adjective to show what hall it is. *inmanis* not only means 'immeasurable,' but also 'awful,' 'horrible,' and the description of hell as *inmanis aula* = 'the vast and dreadful hall' is clear, whereas *aula* by itself could refer to nothing.

18. eius. This pronoun is only found once elsewhere in the Odes (4. 8. 18, a very doubtful passage), and is extremely rare in other poets, doubtless as being weak and unemphatic. Here it is apparently meaningless and might be omitted. These facts and the consideration that lines 17-20 dwell tediously and unnecessarily on some rather unpoetical qualities of Cerberus induce many to consider the whole stanza an interpolation due to some one who considered that the words *inmanis . . . aulae* would not be clear without the addition of the name 'Cerberus,' and accordingly manufactured a stanza containing that name. However, though certainly not Horatian, it is impossible to assert that the stanza is not Horace's. For the power of music over Cerberus and the ghosts cf. 2. 13. 29-36.

21. quin et, 'nay even,' as 2. 13. 37. So too *quin etiam*: *quin* in these cases introduces a fresh and usually a more forcible or wonderful statement; see Plaut. Aul. 2. 4. 20, where every fresh story told by a romancing slave is introduced by *quin.* **vultu risit invito,** 'smiled against their will,' *i.e.* through their anguish. For *risit* in the singular cf. 2. 13. 38 n. **22. urna,** 'the pitcher,' *i.e.* of each of the Danaids with which they endeavoured to fill the *dolium* line 27. **23. dum . . . mulces,** 'while with the charm of song thou *didst* soothe'; cf. 1. 10. 11 n. **25. audiat . . .** 'let Lyde hear of.' **26. et inane . . . quae,** 'and the jar (ever) empty of water that runs to waste through the bottom, and the fate which (though) late awaits . . .' **inane lymphae**: adjectives which signify abundance or the opposite take a gen., cf. 3. 6. 17 n. **27. dolium** is a very large earthen jar, probably something like the jars in which olive oil is imported from Italy. **pereuntis**: used in the sense of 'perishing,' but also with reference to its derivation from *per* and *eo* = 'running through.' **28.** For the force of **sera** see 3. 2. 31, 32 and n.

29. sub Orco, 'beneath Orcus,' a slightly inaccurate phrase = 'in the world beneath.' Nauck says '= *sub Orco* (*rege*), Orcus being always personified in Horace.' **30. inpiae.** Notice the skill with which ordinary and prosaic

methods of commencing a narrative are avoided by this sudden exclamation of abhorrence. For **nam** see line 1 n. **potuere . . . potuere.** *potuere* in line 30 has its simple sense = 'had power,' but in line 31 a somewhat rarer one = 'had the heart to' (cf. Epod. 9. 14). Translate 'Impious—for what were they able more? yes impious they were able to slay.' **31. duro**: partly literal, 'hard,' partly metaphorical, 'unrelenting'; νηλέϊ χαλκῷ. Cf. line 45.

33. una de . . . 'one among them all worthy of the nuptial torch was to her forsworn sire nobly false and (shall be) a maiden renowned to every age.' **face nuptiali**: the bride was escorted from her old to her new home on the eve of the wedding-day by torchlight. **34. periurum**: because he had solemnly betrothed his daughters to the sons of Aegyptus. **35. splendide mendax.** Probably the best known instance in Latin of Oxymoron (ὀξύμωρον, 'pointedly-foolish'), the favourite rhetorical figure by which words of apparently opposite force are brought together. Cf. Soph. Ant. 74 ὅσια πανουργήσασα 'having wrought a holy crime' (said by Antigone of herself), and Tennyson (of Lancelot): 'His honour rooted in dishonour stood, | And *faith unfaithful* kept him *falsely true*.' So too Lucan 1. 95 *concordia discors*. Other instances in the Odes are 1. 27. 11 *beatus vulnere*, 1. 33. 2 *inmitis Glycerae*, 1. 34. 2 *insanientis sapientiae*, 2. 8. 1 *iuris pierati*, 3. 4. 5 *amabilis insania*, 3. 5. 48 *egregius exsul*, 3. 21. 13 *lene tormentum*.

37. iuveni. Note the pathos of this adj. The husband was Lynceus. **38. longus somnus**, 'a lasting (*i.e.* never-ending) sleep'; cf. 2. 16. 30 n. **40. falle**, 'cheat,' *i.e.* by escaping. **41. quae . . . lacerant**, 'who like she-lions that have pounced upon bullocks are, O horror, rending each her victim.' Note the inimitable brevity and clearness of the Latin. **42. ego illis**: antithetical juxtaposition. **44. claustra**, 'a prison' (from *claudo*).

45. me . . . me. Note the emphasis: 'you shall not be the victim: no, on *me*, even *me* let vengeance fall.' **47. me vel . . .** 'me let him banish with his fleet even to the farthest realms of the Numidians.' The Numidians are selected as typical savages. Under the empire *relegatio* was the technical term for the mildest form of banishment. **49. i, pedes . . . et aurae**, 'go whither your feet and the breezes hurry you,' *i.e.* hurry away either by land or sea. **50. i secundo omine**: as we should say 'go and good speed to you.' **51. et . . .** 'and on my tomb engrave a lament that shall recall my memory.' In Ovid, Her. 14. 128 (which is well worth comparing) Hypermnestra suggests the epitaph, *exsul Hypermnestra, pretium pietatis iniquum, | quam mortem fratri depulit, ipsa tulit.*

ODE XII

A soliloquy in which Neobule (Νεοβούλη 'one with new ideas'), a dissatisfied and love-sick maiden, laments her lot.

'Wretched are women who cannot make love as they like or even drown their sorrows in wine without being lectured till they are frightened to death. And here are you, Neobule, quite incapable of doing wool-work or anything else, so enamoured are you with Hebrus, that most accomplished cavalier.'

1. miserarum. The first word strikes the key-note. **amori dare ludum**, 'to give (free) play to love.' **2. mala vino lavere**, 'to wash away (= *eluere* 4. 12. 20) sorrow with wine.' From his power to 'free' from care Bacchus is constantly called *Liber* and *Lyaeus*, cf. 3. 21. 16. **aut**, 'or,' *i.e.* in case they violate the restrictions imposed on them; cf. 3. 24. 24.

exanimari (from *ex* and *anima*) 'to be reduced to a breathless' *i.e.* 'fainting condition'—the well-tried refuge of the weaker sex. **3. patruae verbera linguae,** 'the lashes of an uncle's tongue.' Uncles seem to have been proverbial for their power of administering lectures; cf. S. 2. 2. 97; 3. 88. **4. Cythereae:** 1. 4. 5 n.

5. operosae Minervae studium, 'the pursuits of industrious Minerva,' *e.g.* the wool-work and weaving just mentioned. Minerva Ἐργάνη was patroness of arts and trades. Cf. Sappho fr. 90 γλυκεῖα μᾶτερ, οὔ τοι δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἰστὸν | πόθῳ δαμεῖσα παιδὸς βραδινὰν δι' Ἀφροδίταν. **6. Liparaei nitor Hebri,** 'the radiant beauty of Liparean Hebrus.' For the names throughout cf. 3. 7. 23 n. Lipara was the largest of the Aeolian islands off Sicily: the adj. is chosen for its sonorous character, and also in connexion with λιπαρός. *nitor* is in apposition with *puer ales* line 4, 'the winged attendant of Venus' who fired Neobule's love being now identified not with Cupid but with Hebrus—a change which is somewhat harsh. **7. simul . . .** explains *nitor*; his beauty is most radiant when he comes fresh from the bath after exhibiting his skill in the games subsequently mentioned. Cf. throughout 3. 7. 25-28 and notes, and 1. 8. **simul lāvit,** 'as soon as he has bathed.' **unctos umeros.** From Ovid, Trist. 3. 12. 21 *nunc ubi perfusa est oleo labente iuventus, | defessos artus Virgine tinguit aqua,* we learn that the body was anointed after exercise before bathing. Oil was also used (cf. 1. 8. 8) before wrestling. **8. Bellerophonte:** who rode the winged horse Pegasus. The final *e* is long, cf. Gk. Βελλεροφόντης. **neque pugno . . .:** *segni* goes with *pugno* as well as *pede*; 'never vanquished through slowness of fist or foot, *i.e.* invincible as a boxer and a runner.

10. catus iaculari, celer excipere: see 1. 3. 25 n. **per apertum,** 'over the open country.' **11. alto . . .** 'to receive the boar (which has been) lurking in the heart of the thicket.' Good MSS. have *arto,* 'dense'; cf. Hom. Od. 19. 439 ἐν λόχμῃ πυκινῇ κατέκειτο μέγας σῦς. For *excipio* cf. 2. 15. 16 n.

ODE XIII

To the fountain Bandusia. According to authorities dating from the 12th century this fountain was six miles from Venusia, the birthplace of Horace, according to others it was near Horace's Sabine farm where a 'Fontagna degli Oratini' is still shown; cf. Ep. 1. 16. 12.

1. vitro, 'crystal.' **2. mero . . . floribus.** Varro says (L. L. 6. 22) that at the feast of the Fontanalia on Oct. 13 wreaths were thrown into brooks and placed round wells. Among all nations sequestered fountains have been held in reverence as the favourite haunts of some superhuman beings, and among the Greeks and Romans each stream or river was supposed to have a deity of its own. Cf. Plat. Phaedrus 230 B, where close to a πηγὴ χαριεστάτη is Νυμφῶν τέ τινων καὶ Ἀχελῴου ἱερόν, and 'every schoolboy' will remember Macaulay's lines: 'O Tiber, father Tiber, | To whom the Romans pray.' **4. cui frons . . .** 'for which its forehead just swelling with young horns marks out a career of love and combat.'

6. frustra: so too 3. 7. 21. The nom. to **inficiet** is *haedus* understood, and with this nom. **suboles** line 8 is in apposition. Between **gelidos** and **rubro** there is, as Wickham notes, a double antithesis. The *cold clear* water is opposed to the *warm red* blood. **9. te flagrantis . . .** 'thee the

fierce season of the raging dogstar has no power to touch.' **13. fies nobilium** . . . 'thou too shalt be reckoned among famous fountains when I tell of the oak that overhangs . . .' Such 'famous fountains' were Castalia, Dirce, Hippocrene. **15. loquaces**, 'babbling'; the opposite of *taciturnus amnis* 1. 31. 8.

ODE XIV

'*Caesar, whom but now we spoke of as engaged in a glorious but hazardous campaign, is returning from Spain in triumph. Let his wife go forth duly to meet him and his sister, and let all the wives and mothers of Rome accompany them. Meanwhile I will employ the peace and security Caesar has won for us by having a small festival of my own. Quick, slave, bring unguents, flowers and the oldest wine. Go too invite Neaera, but if the porter makes much ado about letting you in,—come back: I am getting old and not inclined to put myself out for anybody.*'

The Ode has been severely criticised, and certainly not only are the three first stanzas commonplace, but the contrast between their formal and official frigidity and the licentious vigour of the rest of the Ode is very harsh. For the war with Spain see 2. 6. 2 n.

1. Herculis. Hercules is one of Horace's stock types of virtue ultimately deified (cf. 3. 3. 9), but he was also specially connected with Spain as having brought away the oxen of Geryon, and the worship of him as *Hercules Victor* (cf. **victor**) at the *Ara Maxima* was popular with the lower orders, cf. **o plebs.** Moreover in B.C. 24 *plebs Romana* had received from the emperor a donative of 400 sesterces apiece; Mon. Anc. 3. 10. **2. morte**, 'to have sought the laurels death alone can buy.' He had been seriously ill at Tarraco and rumours (cf. **dictus**) of his death had probably reached Rome.

5. unico . . . 'let the wife whose pride is in her illustrious consort advance, having sacrificed with due rites.' **mulier** = Livia. Orelli explains *unico g. m.* as = *proprio gaudens marito* adding that 'this virtue was then rare.' But no poet could congratulate an empress on not being immoral, and *unicus maritus* should mean 'a single husband,' like *unicus filius*, etc. On the other hand the derived use of *unicus* = 'eminent' is common with *dux*, *imperator*, etc. **6. iustis operata sacris**: *operari* is used not only in a general sense = 'to perform,' but in a special sense 'to perform what is due to the gods,' *i.e.* to sacrifice = ῥέζειν. For *sacris* many MSS. give *divis*. **7. soror.** Octavia, the widow of Antony. The original name of Augustus was C. Octavius, then, after his adoption by Julius Caesar, C. Julius Caesar Octavianus. **8. supplice vitta.** The *vitta* (see Dict. Ant.) was ordinarily worn by freeborn maids and matrons. Here however the reference is to a special *vitta* of wool worn during religious rites, and the word in connexion with **supplice** suggests a *supplicatio* or 'public thanksgiving.'

9. nuper sospitum. These words supply the reason for the mothers' thanksgiving. **10. et puellae** . . . 'and young girls who have but lately had knowledge of wedlock, refrain from ill-omened words.' For *male ominatis parcite verbis* cf. 3. 1. 2 n. The hiatus between *male* and *ominatis* is very striking, but cf. the equally remarkable 3. 11. 50 *secundo | omine* and Pers. 3. 66 *discite o miseri.* Many MSS. have *male nominatis* 'ill-named words' which is meaningless, though some defend it as = δυσωνύμοις. *male inominatis* 'very ill-omened' (*male* intensive, cf. 1. 17. 25 n.) is a conjecture, but is too ugly. **puellae** can be used of married women *e.g.* 3. 22. 2, but

on the other hand *pueri et puellae* is regularly = 'lads and lasses' (*e.g.* S. 1. 1. 85) *i.e.* unmarried young people. All sorts of attempts have been made to get rid of the extremely harsh *iam virum expertae*; e.g. *expertes, spectate.*

17. **puer**: regular in addressing a slave, = παῖ. 18. **Marsi duelli.** The Marsian war 91-88 B.C. (otherwise called the Italian or Social war) was undertaken by the principal Italian nations to assert their right to the Roman franchise: it was called Marsian because the Marsians were the bravest (cf. 3. 5. 9) and most important of the confederates. For *duelli* cf. Ep. 1. 2. 7 n. 19. **Spartacum** . . . 'if by any means (*quā*) a jar has been able to escape the roaming Spartacus.' Spartacus was the leader in the Servile war, B.C. 73-71: this incidental allusion shows the extent of his ravages. 21. **dic et** . . . 'bid too the clear-voiced Neaera hasten.' Verbs of commanding, begging, wishing, take a subj., e.g. *fac eas, cura valeas, velim facias*, etc. For **argutae** cf. 4. 6. 25 n. 22. **murreum,** 'scented.' 25. **lenit** . . . 'whitening hairs tame the passions (once) eager for . . .' Horace was born B.C. 65. 27. **calidus iuventa,** 'in the heat of youth.' L. Munatius Plancus was consul B.C. 42.

ODE XV

To Chloris who retains the caprices without the charms of her youth.

1. **pauperis**: gives an additional reason for her being staid and sober. 2. **nequitiae**: see 3. 4. 78, 'profligacy.' 3. **famosis,** in a bad sense, 'notorious.' 4. **maturo** . . . 'cease, daily nearer to a ripe death, to sport amid young girls.' The comparative *propior* reminds her that death is not only already *near* but continually coming *nearer*. *maturum funus* is the opposite of a 'premature death.' 6. **et stellis** . . . This line illustrates the preceding one: an old woman among young girls mars the effect, as a mist veils the pure lustre (*candidis*) of the stars. 7. **non, si** . . . The construction is *si quid P. satis* (*decet*), *non et te, Chlori,* (*satis*) *decet.*

9. **expugnat,** 'storms.' 10. **pulso** . . . 'like a Thyiad maddened with clashing timbrel.' **Thyias**: cf. 2. 19. 9 n. 12. **capreae,** 'a young roe'; cf. 3. 11. 9. 13. **lanae.** The spinning and weaving of wool (*lanificium*) was held to be the fitting employment of decorous Roman matrons: Orelli on 3. 12. 5 quotes a charming inscription on a certain Murdia, where it is ranked side by side with the highest virtues; the list is curious; 'in goodness, modesty, obedience, wool-making (*probitate, pudicitia, obsequio, lanificio*), she was the equal of any of her sex.' Cf. the description of 'a virtuous woman,' Prov. xxxi. 13, 19. **nobilem,** 'famous' *i.e.* for its wool. Luceria is in Apulia. 15. **purpureus,** 'bright,' or possibly 'purple.' The ancient *purpura* had two characteristics: (1) its deep colour, the colour of clotted blood, (2) its peculiar sheen or brilliancy: the adj. *purpureus* is often used of anything of whatever colour which possessed a similar sheen to purple; cf. 4. 1. 10 *purpurei olores*, 'brightly gleaming swans'; Virg. Aen. 6. 641 *lumine purpureo.* 16. **nec poti** . . . 'nor jars drained to the dregs, old hag that you are.' **vetulam**: in apposition with **te.**

ODE XVI

In praise of contentment.

'*Gold is all-powerful: it baffled Acrisius, it makes its way everywhere, it caused the destruction of Amphiaraus, it opened the gates of cities for Philip*

of Macedon. And yet increase of wealth means increase of care. I am right, Maecenas, in following your example and not seeking to tower above my fellows. I join the ranks of the contented and am more proud in the ownership of my charming Sabine farm than if I owned the most valuable estates. For, though I am in humble, I am not in straitened circumstances; and to want little is the greatest wealth, the greatest boon Heaven can bestow.'

1. **Danae**: see Class. Dict. s.v. Acrisius. **aenea**: cf. Soph. Ant. 946 Δανάας . . . ἐν χαλκοδέτοις αὐλαῖς. The adj. marks the strength of the prison, but probably has its origin 'through a reminiscence of a tomb (like the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae) to the walls of which bronze plates had been nailed'—Jebb. 2. **robustae**: in connexion with *aenea*='oaken,' from *robur*='oak-wood,' cf. 1. 3. 9. 3. **munierant**, 'had protected,' *i.e.* 'would certainly have protected'; for the indicative cf. 2. 17. 28 n.

6. **pavidum**: because an oracle had declared that Danae's son should slay him. 7. **risissent**: **fore enim** . . . 'laughed at Acrisius, for (they said to themselves) that the way would be safe and open when the god was changed to gold.' The transition to *oratio obliqua* at *fore* marks clearly in the Latin that what follows represents the thoughts or words of Jupiter and Venus. **Iuppiter et Venus risissent**: contrary to Horace's rule (cf. 2. 13. 38 n.) the verb is plural, clearly because Jupiter and Venus are acting together—they are in a conspiracy.

8. **converso . . . deo.** Horace gives a half humorous, half rationalistic interpretation of the legend of Jupiter descending in a shower of gold. 9. **per medios** . . . *i.e.* it can penetrate a palace; so **perrumpere saxa** of breaking into a fortress. 10. **amat**: φιλεῖ, 'loves to,' 'is wont.' 11. **concidit** . . . Polynices bribed Eriphyle to induce her husband Amphiaraus to accompany the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, in which he perished. Notice in lines 9-16 how the connexion of thought is kept up by placing emphatic and guiding words in prominent positions, e.g. *aurum, concidit, lucrum, diffidit. subruit, muneribus, munera,* all of which refer either to 'gold' or the 'power of gold.'

13. **urbium**, *e.g.* Potidaea, Olynthus, Amphipolis. 14. **vir Macedo.** Philip II., father of Alexander the Great, reigned B.C. 359-336. He said that no fortress was impregnable up to which an ass laden with gold could be driven (Cic. ad Att. 1. 16), and his bribery of Greek statesmen is the constant theme of the warnings of Demosthenes. Juvenal 12. 47 calls him *callidus emptor Olynthi.* **subruit**, 'undermined.' 15. **reges**, *e.g.* Cersobleptes king of the Thracians. **muneribus**; **munera**: 1. 2. 4 n. 16. **saevos** . . . 'the bluff sea-captain' whom Horace has in mind is said to be Menas, who was admiral of Sex. Pompeius and twice deserted him.

18. **maiorumque fames**, 'and the hunger for more'; different from **cura** 'anxiety' about losing what we have. Cf. Virg. Aen. 3. 57 *auri sacra fames.* **iure** . . . 'rightly have I shrunk from exalting myself before the world's gaze.' 19. **tollere verticem** expresses ostentatious pride; cf. 1. 1. 36; 1. 18. 15. **conspicuum** is proleptic. 20. **equitum decus.** Very emphatic. Maecenas consistently preferred the reality of influence to the possession of splendid and empty titles, and remained through life a simple *eques.* Horace therefore by adding these two words skilfully suggests that he is only imitating the wise example of his benefactor; cf. 1. 20. 5.

22. **nil cupientium** . . . The contented (*nil cupientium*) and the avari-

cious (*divitum*) are divided into two 'camps' or 'factions' (*castra, partes*), and Horace says that he means to be 'a deserter' from the one and go 'empty-handed' to the other. The metaphor must not be pressed too closely: when Horace calls himself 'a deserter from the rich' he does not imply that he had ever been rich. **25. contemptae . . .** 'more proud in the ownership of a despised farm'; not 'despised' by him but by the arrogant and wealthy. **splendidior** exactly means the same as the slang phrase 'feeling myself a greater swell'; cf. *splendet*, 3. 3. 25. **26. quidquid arat,** 'whatever (the Apulian) ploughs' = the produce of his plough. For *arāt* cf. S. 1. 5. 90 n. **27. occultare dicerer:** not merely = *occultarem* 'hoarded,' but = 'had the reputation of hoarding': he is speaking not merely of a wealthy man but of one whose wealth is such as to be the subject of general rumour. There is also an antithesis between the reputation of the man and his true condition, 'a beggar in the midst of wealth.' **28. inter opes inops:** *opes* to be taken literally, *inops* metaphorically, 'a beggar' as regards the possession of that contentment which is alone true riches. For the oxymoron cf. 3. 11. 35.

30. et segetis . . . '(these) and a harvest that never fails its promise are a happier lot unknown to the brilliant lord of fertile Africa.' **sorte:** with a reference to the *sors provinciae* which has secured the *imperium Africae* for the great man. **fallit beatior** = λανθάνει οὖσα ὀλβιωτέρα, 'escapes his notice (being) happier'; the non-existence of a present part. of the verb 'to be' makes Latin somewhat less clear in such cases. For **segetis fides** cf. 3. 1. 30 n. Africa was one of the principal districts on which Rome relied for its supplies of corn. **33. Calabrae apes:** for the honey of Tarentum cf. 2. 6. 14. **34. Laestrygonia.** Lamus king of the Laestrygones is said to have founded Formiae. See next Ode. **35. languescit,** 'grows mellow.' **pinguia,** 'rich,' 'thick.'

37. inportuna pauperies: certainly not the οὐλομένη πενίη 'baneful poverty' of Hesiod, which Orelli compares: it is contrary to the whole spirit of the Ode to speak of 'baneful poverty.' *pauperies* (cf. 1. 12. 43 and note) is not 'poverty,' but 'humble circumstances'; when however circumstances get to be so humble that they are continually causing annoyances and vexations, then you have *inportuna pauperies* 'the worry of not having enough,' which is exactly what H. says he is free from. He would have called himself 'poor' *pauper*, but with him *pauperies* was not *inportuna*. **39. contracto . . . porrigam.** Notice the rhetorical effect of the apparent opposites: 'by contracting . . . I shall extend.' For the thought cf. the proverb *magnum vectigal est parsimonia*. **40. vectigalia,** 'revenues,' cf. S. 2. 2. 100; strictly taxes on things carried (*vecta*), 'import duties.' **41. quam si . . .** 'than if I made Mygdonian plains one unbroken estate with the kingdom of A.' *continuare* is 'to make continuous' or 'unbroken' (*continuus* = 'holding on to each other'); hence, when a person makes two adjacent estates into one, he is said *continuare* 'to extend the one with the other.' Cf. Livy 34. 4 *cupido agros continuandi* 'adding field to field.' Alyattes was father of Croesus. Horace forms the gen. as from Alyatteüs. Mygdonia was a district of Asia Minor W. of Bithynia. **43. bene est, cui** = *bene est ei, cui* 'well is it with him to whom Providence . . .' On the other hand *male* (*est*) 2. 10. 17. In Gk. καλῶς ἔχει.

ODE XVII

'Aelius, descendant of old Lamus (for your ancestors the Lamiae are said to have received their name from that old king who founded Formiae), to-morrow the raven predicts we shall have a storm, so get in some dry wood at once and make ready for enjoying the day in the house.'

L. Aelius Lamia was consul A.D. 3, *praefectus urbi* A.D. 32, and 1. 26 is also addressed to him; see also 1. 36. 7; Ep. 1. 14. 6. No doubt the Lamiae laid claim to a descent from the Lamus mentioned by Homer, Od. 10. 81 ἑβδομάτῃ δ' ἱκόμεσθα Λάμου αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον | Τηλέπυλον Λαιστρυγονίην, such claims to heroic ancestry being common (cf. the alleged descent of the *gens Iulia* from Iulus, and see Virg. Aen. 5. 117-123), and Juvenal 4. 154 (*hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti*) speaks of them as typical aristocrats. The long parenthesis therefore (lines 2-9) referring to the birth of Lamia seems perfectly natural, especially in an Ode which is purely complimentary, the rest of it merely supplying an imaginary reason for addressing Lamia at all.

2. **hinc**: *a Lamo*, 'from him'; so *unde* frequently = 'from whom'; cf. 1. 12. 17. **et priores . . . et nepotum**: *priores* refers to the pre-historic Lamiae whose existence would have to be inferred to fill up the gap between Lamus and the first of their descendants (*nepotum*) whose name was to be found in 'historic records' (*memores fastos*): *priores* therefore = 'the earlier.' *fasti* (4. 14. 4 n.) would apply either to public or private records such as genealogies and the like. 5. **ducis.** So all MSS. The emendation *ducit*, the stop after *fastos* being removed and *genus* becoming the nom. before *ducit*, would make the sentence smoother, the sudden change to direct personal address in *ducis* in the middle of the parenthesis being very harsh, and the sense, 'since your ancestors sprung from Lamus, you are descended from the founder of Formiae,' none of the best. Schütz strikes out lines 2-5. **ducis**, 'derive': the word is strictly used of drawing out a *thread*, here of drawing out his *line* of ancestry.

7. **et innantem** . . . 'and to have possessed the Liris where it floats amid the coasts of Marica, lords of a broad domain.' The Liris (Garigliano) flows into the sea through the marshes of Minturnae; it is to these marshes that Horace refers as *Maricae litora*, Marica being a local goddess, and the Liris being admirably described as 'floating amid them' because of its slow lazy movement through the level marshy district; cf. 1. 31. 7. 9. **late tyrannus.** An adverb may qualify a noun when the noun has, as here, a strong verbal force = 'widely ruling.' Cf. Ep. 2. 2. 167 *emptor quondam*; Virg. Aen. 1. 21 *populum late regem.* 10. **inutili.** Added to make clearer the contrast between the cheerlessness out of doors and the good cheer within. *vilior alga* was proverbial, cf. S. 2. 5. 8; Virg. Ecl. 7. 42. 12. **augur**: as giving an 'augury' of bad weather, cf. 3. 27. 10 n.

13. **annosa**: according to a fragment of Hesiod, ἐννέα τοι ζώει γενεὰς λακέρυζα κορώνη | ἀνδρῶν ἡβώντων; cf. 4. 13. 25 *cornicis vetulae.* 14. **Genium mero curabis**: 'you shall refresh (or 'cheer') your soul with wine.' Such phrases as *se, se ipsum, corpus, cutem* Ep. 1. 2. 29, *pelliculam curare* S. 2. 5. 38, are common, and imply 'taking considerable or special care of' the thing mentioned, especially in the way of procuring enjoyment: Horace invents the phrase *genium curare* on the analogy of these. *Genius* is a sort of spiritual *alter ego* which is born (cf. *gigno, genitus*) and perishes along with each of us, and shares all our joys and sorrows: cf. Ep. 1. 7. 94 n.; 2. 2. 187.

15. porco bimestri, 'a sucking-pig.' For the dish see Lamb, Essays of Elia. **16. operum solutis**, 'taking holiday from work.' *solutus* takes a gen. as implying 'freedom' or 'cessation from,' cf. 2. 9. 17 n.

ODE XVIII

An Ode to Faunus as the god of the country, praying that he will protect the poet who reverences him, and describing the celebration of his festival. The regular *Faunalia* were on Feb. 13 ; cf. 1. 4. 11 ; Ov. Fast. 2. 193.

4. alumnis, 'nurslings,' 'the young of the flocks.' *alumnus* is really the present part. pass. of *alo*, the termination being the Gk. -όμενος, cf. *Vertumnus, terminus, antemna* (1. 14. 6 n.). **5. si . . .** 'if at the year's fulfilment a tender kid is sacrificed (to thee) . . .' The use of *si* is common in supplication ; the favour is only asked *if* something has been done to deserve it, *si* however expressing no doubt, but it rather being assumed that something has been so done, cf. 1. 32. 1 n. **pleno anno**, 'at the year's fulfilment,' *i.e.* when the full time year by year comes round for thy festival ; cf. *per exactos annos* 3. 22. 6. Orelli explains *pleno*, 'coming to its end' *i.e.* on the Nones of December, cf. line 10. Kiessling 'a kid of a full year.' **6. si** must be repeated before **desunt** and **fumat.** **7. craterae**: dat. in agreement with *sodali*, the bowl being called 'Venus' mate.' *cratera, -ae*, fem. and *crater, -is*, masc. are both found, = Gk. κρητήρ, κρητῆρος (from κεράννυμι), 'a mixing-bowl.' **10. tibi**, 'in thine honour,' so too line 14.

13. inter audaces . . . Perhaps Horace is reproducing a belief or saying current among country people about the festival. Kiessling says that *Faunus* is the same as *Lupercus = qui lupos arcet.* **14. spargit . . .** For the leaves falling in December, cf. Epod. 11. 5 *December . . . silvis honorem decutit.* **15. gaudet . . .** 'the delver delights to have thrice stamped on his foe the earth.' Horace brings before us the picture of a rustic who has just brought down his foot after the execution (*pepulisse* perf., cf. 3. 4. 51 n.) of the dance, and stands exulting in his performance: **invisam** suggests that he has thrown extra vigour into the dance, because it gives him an opportunity of paying off his old grudge against the earth, which gives him so much trouble. **16. ter**: because there was a triple beat in the dance ; cf. 4. 1. 28, and *tripudiare.* Notice the assonance in **pepulisse pede, ter terram.**

ODE XIX

An Ode written on Murena (see 2. 10 Intr.) being elected an Augur. It is assumed that a feast is to be given, and that Telephus has been elected to be 'master of the feast' ; Horace begins by reproaching him with discussing curious antiquarian points and saying not a word about arrangements for the banquet (lines 1-8), and then by a dramatic change plunges into an account of the feast.

'*What ho! slave, fill up to the health of the new augur. There are various rules for drinking ; we may drink much or little.* (*To-night however we know what we will do, for*) *we mean to have a rouse: strike up the music, scatter roses, let the neighbours hear the riot, while Rhode is by your side, Telephus, Glycera by mine.*'

1. Inacho: first king of Argos. **2. Codrus**: the last king of Athens ; he sacrificed himself for his country. **3. narras . . . (8) taces.** For the two

contrasted clauses put side by side without any adversative particle cf. 1. 26. 17 n. **genus Aeaci**, 'the family of Aeacus'; Zeus, Aeacus, Peleus, Achilles, Neoptolemus is the list. **4. sacro Ilio**: Homer's Ἴλιος ἱρή.

5. Chium. Of the Gk. wines imported by the Romans the Chian and Lesbian were most celebrated; cf. Epod. 9. 34; S. 2. 8. 15. **6. mercemur**, 'we are to buy': the direct question may have been either *mercamur?* or *mercemur?* Either would be correct, but the latter more usual. The verb is plural because the feast is to be a δεῖπνον ἀπὸ συμβολῶν (see Lidd. and Scott s. v. συμβολή) where each contributes his portion, 'pays his shot'; one would pay for the wine, one would provide baths, another lend his house, and so on. **quis aquam . . .** 'who warms the bath': a hot bath was frequently taken before dinner. Others 'who prepares the hot water (*calda*) for the wine.' **7. quota**, sc. *hora*, 'at what hour': the usual hour for dinner was the ninth. **8. Paelignis frigoribus**, 'Pelignian cold,' *i.e.* such as was common in that mountainous country. **taces** (parallel to and contrasted with **narras**, line 3) is the main sentence to which the indirect questions which precede are subordinate. The single word in contrast to the seven preceding lines is very effective: its position heightens the effect. 'About all these things—not a word.'

9. lunae . . . puer, 'fill up, slave, to the new moon.' *lunae* is the possessive gen. and *vinum* is understood, 'pour out wine of the new moon' meaning 'pour out wine to be drunk in honour of the new moon.' Cf. 3. 8. 13 *sume . . . cyathos amici sospitis*, 'take cups (in honour) of your friend's safety'; Theoc. 14. 18 ἐπιχεῖσθαι ἄκρατον | ᾧτινος ἤθελ' ἕκαστος, 'to pour in wine (in honour) of whomsoever each wished.' **10. auguris**: for the *collegium* or 'guild' of augurs see Dict. of Ant. **11. tribus aut novem . . .** 'with three or nine ladles are the cups mingled appropriately'—appropriately that is to the number of the Graces or the Muses, as is explained in the next lines, the position of *commodis* carefully marking this. It was the duty of the 'master of the feast' (*magister* or *arbiter bibendi*, cf. 2. 7. 26) to settle everything about the drinking, the company being bound to obey the rules he laid down. For the benefit of this personage Horace here recites what is evidently a well-known adage. Now as 12 *cyathi* make a *sextarius* it has been assumed that the adage recommends mixing 3 *cyathi* of wine with 9 of water, or 9 of wine with 3 of water: at any rate such is the judgment of editors whose learning is superior to their taste, for how wine which was palatable with the addition of *three times* its own bulk of water could be drinkable when mixed with a *third* of its own bulk of water, is hard to conceive. But in the Gk. proverb which is always quoted with regard to drinking (Plaut. Stich. 5. 4. 24 *vide quot cyathos bibimus? . . . cantio est Graeca: ἢ πέντε πῖνε ἢ τρί' ἢ μὴ τέτταρα*) there is no mention of any *proportion*, but only of the *number* of ladles to be drunk apparently with each bumper (? *poculum*), and certainly were it not for the word **miscentur** the same explanation would be given here, viz. 'three or nine *cyathi* make a good bumper,' to drink that is to each of the toasts just mentioned, the *cyathi* being of course taken from the mixing-bowl (*crater*) which would be standing by with the wine ready mixed in it. Moreover such a rendering gives a good meaning to *cyathi*, for these small ladles (containing say a wine-glass) would be useful in filling a single goblet, useless in compounding the large common *crater*. The sense too suits admirably with the next lines, the 'big bumper' being for the *vates attonitus*, the small one for those who worshipped the Graces, whereas according to the common rendering the poor bard is condemned

to drink wine almost neat, a practice which the Romans and Greeks considered as barbarous as we should think it to drink dry brandy.

14. attonitus vates, 'a frenzied bard.' For Bacchus in connexion with poetic inspiration see 2. 19. 6 n. **16. rixarum metuens**: cf. 3. 24. 22 *metuens alterius viri*, 'fearful of'; S. 2. 2. 110. This gen. is very common with pres. participles used adjectively, e.g. *patiens* (1. 8. 4), *sciens* (1. 15. 24 n.), *amans, appetens.* **18. insanire iuvat,** 'it is our pleasure to hold mad revel'; for connexion of thought see Summary. **Berecyntiae tibiae**: Berecyntus was a mountain in Phrygia on which Cybele was worshipped; in her orgiastic rites, which were well known at Rome, the exciting music of the pipe was especially used, cf. 1. 18. 13 n. and 4. 1. 22. **20. pendet,** 'hangs,' *i.e.* idle, on its peg.

21. ego: emphatic in opposition to *invidus Lycus.* **22. rosas**: in winter, an extravagance. **audiat** . . . 'let the churl Lycus (λύκος) hear our mad uproar.' **24. et vicina** . . . 'and our fair neighbour ill-fitted for aged Lycus.' It would seem that Lycus had a wife or mistress who was young and pretty, and who, Horace suggests, will be as much amused to overhear them as Lycus will be annoyed. **25. spissa** . . . 'thee bright with clustering locks, thee Telephus beautiful as the pure star of evening.' Note the repetition of **Lycus** . . . **Lyco** to express contempt, and of **te** . . . **te** to express admiration. **27. tempestiva**: lit. 'seasonable,' *i.e.* suited to you by her youth and charms. **28. lentus,** 'slow-consuming,' cf. 1. 13. 8.

ODE XX

To Pyrrhus who had carried off the beautiful Nearchus from his love.

'*Pyrrhus, you are carrying off her cubs from a lioness. Soon will she come in pursuit and the combat over the prey be fierce. Meantime he, for whose sake you both make ready to battle, stands carelessly by indifferent to everything but his own beauty.*'

3. post paulo: commonly *paulo post,* 'after by a little,' 'very soon.' **5. cum** . . . **Nearchum.** Notice the simplicity and strength of these two lines, expressive of the ease and power with which she advances. **7. grande certamen**: accusative in apposition to the sentence, 'she comes to recover Nearchus, (a coming which involves or is identical with) a mighty combat.' Cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 223 *pars ingenti subiere feretro, triste ministerium* 'some supported the bier—sad office'; and often in Greek, *e.g.* Ἑλένην κτάνωμεν, Μενελέῳ λύπην πικράν, 'let us kill Helen, (a killing which will be) a bitter grief to Menelaus.' **grande** . . . 'a mighty contest whether the prize fall to thee rather or to her.' *utrum* is to be supplied before *tibi. cedere* with dat. has very commonly the sense of 'coming into a person's possession,' 'falling to his share.' **maior** is used somewhat loosely, but perfectly clearly; the literal rendering 'whether more of the prize pass to thee or her' is of course impossible. Peerlkamp's *maior an illa* = 'or she be superior,' though generally accepted, makes the stanza end with a very weak and awkward clause while giving a very unusual sense to *maior.*

9. interim, dum tu . . . **haec**: *dum* goes with both the contrasted clauses *tu promis* and *haec acuit, fertur* being the main verb. In Latin (cf. 1. 25. 19 n.) contrasted clauses being simply put side by side often cause difficulty to beginners, though here the contrast is made comparatively clear by the addition of the pronouns *tu, haec*; in Gk. it would be still clearer

σὺ μέν, ἐκείνη δέ: in English we must insert a word; 'meantime, while you take out . . . (and) she whets her dreadful fangs, the judge of the combat is said . . .' Note the skill in word-painting with which Horace almost brings before our eyes this group of three figures, the combatants on either side in the foreground, Nearchus behind in the centre. **11. nudo**: pictorial. **12. palmam**, *i.e.* the prize of victory, cf. 1. 1. 5 n. **15. qualis**, 'such as,' *i.e.* 'beautiful as.' Cf. Il. 2. 673 Νιρεύς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε | τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλείωνα. **aquosa**: the Homeric πολυπῖδαξ, Tennyson's 'many-fountained Ida.' **16. raptus**, 'the youth carried off,' *i.e.* Ganymedes.

ODE XXI

Addressed to an amphora on the occasion of the poet's entertaining Corvinus. M. Valerius Messala Corvinus fought with Brutus and Cassius at Philippi, B.C. 42, and subsequently joined Antony, but about B.C. 36 went over to Augustus, and as consul B.C. 31 commanded the centre of the fleet at Actium. He was distinguished as an orator and author and was, like Maecenas and Pollio, a great patron of literature. Cf. S. 1. 10. 29; A. P. 371.

'*Come down, thou flagon, that art of the same age with myself; to-day Corvinus bids us produce our mellower vintages. Philosopher though he is, he will not despise thee: even ancient Cato's sternness warmed with wine. Thou dost arouse the wits and bring to light hidden wisdom, thou dost give hope to the anxious and strength to the weak: with thy aid the feast shall last till dawn.*

1. o nata . . . For the method of marking the age of wine see 3. 8. 10-12 notes. **Manlio**: L. Manlius Torquatus, consul B.C. 65; cf. Epod. 13. 6. **2. seu . . . sive . . . seu . . . seu.** Before he produces the amphora, Horace muses half philosophically, half humorously, over the undefined potency for good or evil that lurks within it. **4. pia testa.** For *pius* see 3. 11. 30 n. Observe carefully the position of the two words between **facilem** and **somnum**, and the subtle humour of the epithet at once appears: then and then only does the wine-jar fulfil the natural duty or law of its being (this being the exact meaning of *pius*), when it brings easy and peaceful slumber.

5. quocumque . . . 'on whatever account thou guardest the choice Massic.' These words sum up the various possibilities of lines 2-4, preparatory to the introduction of the main verb. **quocumque nomine** cannot refer to the name of the consul stamped on the jar, as that has been mentioned, nor to the name of the wine, as it is specially called 'Massic': it must therefore = 'on whatever account,' 'for whatever purpose.' As in a ledger the name of the person whose 'account' follows is placed at the head of each page, *nomen* is frequently 'an account'; then it is used more generally of the 'account' in which anything is held, the 'purpose' it is considered to serve, especially in the phrase *eo nomine*, *e.g.* Cic. ad Div. 14. 3 *eo nomine sum Dyrrhachii . . . ut audiam* 'on purpose that I may hear'; and see Dict. **lectum**, 'choice'; it was a *cuvée de réserve*. **7. descende.** From the *apotheca*, see 3. 8. 10 n.; but also partly mock-heroic, cf. 3. 4. 1 *descende caelo.* **languidiora**, 'mellower'; cf. *languescit*, 3. 16. 35.

9. quamquam . . . 'steeped though he be in Socratic lore.' **madet** is used intentionally, *madere* and *madidus* being constantly used of drunkenness. *Socratici sermones* specially refer to the dialogues of Plato, but also generally to 'philosophic arguments' of the sort to which Socrates gave the first impetus, cf. 1. 29. 14 n. **10. horridus**, 'like a boor' or 'churl':

the word also recalls the 'ragged,' 'unkempt' appearance ostentatiously affected by many philosophers then as now (Mayor, Juv. 14. 12 n.). **11. prisci,** 'ancient,' not so much because of his actual antiquity (he died B.C. 149) as because of his life-long battle on behalf of ancient manners, ancient customs, and the ancient Roman 'manliness' (see *virtus*, line 12). *priscus* nearly always has the double meaning 'ancient and venerable': the person or thing to which it is applied must belong to the '*good old* times,' cf. 4. 2. 40; Epod. 2. 2.

13. lene tormentum: oxymoron, 'thou dost gently apply the rack to dull wits.' Cf. Bacchylides fr. 27 *γλυκεῖ' ἀνάγκα σευομένα κυλίκων θάλπῃσι θυμόν*. **tormentum** (from *torqueo*), 'the twisting thing,' 'the rack,' that which makes the unwilling speak: cf. Ep. 1. 18. 38; A. P. 435 *torquere mero. ingenium durum* is the opposite of *ingenium facile et copiosum* (Quint. 10. 1. 128). **15. curas et . . .** Wickham rightly notes that Lyaeus (*Λύαιος, λύω, solvo*) is 'the god who gives freedom,' and that so the whole sentence = *arcana consilia retegendo curas solvis*, because 'as cares seem heavy when brooded over so they seem subjects for mirth when discussed over wine.' **18. viresque et addis . . .:** *que* joins the two clauses, *et* the two nouns *vires* and *cornua*. For horns as a symbol of strength cf. 2. 19. 29 n. **19. neque iratos . . .** 'trembling neither at the angry diadems of kings.' Note the hypallage, cf. 3. 1. 42 n. For *apex* = *tiara* or *diadema* see 1. 34. 14 n. **21. te . . .** 'thee Liber and, if she lend a propitious presence, Venus, and the Graces loath to undo their bond, and living lanterns shall lead on until . . .' **22. solvere:** epexegetic inf. after *segnes*; 1. 3. 25 n. The Graces are represented as sisters who never separate. For **vivae** cf. *vigiles lucernae*, 3. 8. 14.

ODE XXII

A poetical inscription to be placed on a pine overhanging his Sabine homestead which he dedicates to Diana with the promise of a yearly sacrifice.

2. quae . . . 'thou that thrice summoned dost hearken to young wives (*puellas*) in their travail and save from death.' Horace here copies Catull. 34. 9, where Diana is invoked as *montium domina . . . silvarumque virentium . . . tu Lucina dolentibus | Iuno dicta puerperis.* For her as goddess of groves, cf. 1. 21. 5. Like the Gk. Ἄρτεμις she was also sometimes regarded as the goddess of childbirth, and identified with *Iuno Lucina*; cf. Ellis on Catull. l. c. **4. diva triformis.** In heaven Luna, on earth Diana, in hell Hecate. Her image had three faces (Ov. Fast. 1. 141) and was placed where three ways met (*dea trivia*), and so she is the counterpart of the two-faced Janus (= *Dianus*). **5. tua:** predicative; 'let the pine be thine.' **6. quam . . . donem,** 'so that I may present it,' in connexion with *tua esto*. **per exactos annos,** 'at each year's end'; cf. 3. 18. 5 n. **7. obliquum meditantis ictum,** 'practising its sidelong blow': the boar is a young one just trying its powers. *meditor* = *μελετάω*. Boars strike with their tusks from the side. Cf. Hom. δοχμὼ ἀίσσοντε, 'rushing sideways,' of two boars.

ODE XXIII

'*Pray on the new moon, Phidyle, and offer your simple sacrifices to the Lares, and then all shall be well with your farm. Costly and numerous victims are for priestly rites: they have nothing to do with you and your humble worship of the gods.*'

Phidyle (cf. φείδεσθαι) is the type of a 'thrifty' country housewife, and for the sense cf. Eur. Danae fr. 329 εἰσορῶ . . . θεοῖσι μικρὰ χερσὶ θύοντας τέλη | τῶν βουθυτούντων ὄντας εὐσεβεστέρους.

1. **caelo** . . . 'if you shall have raised towards heaven upturned hands.' For *caelo*, 'heavenwards,' cf. 1. 28. 10 *Orco demissum*; Virg. Aen. 5. 451 *it clamor caelo.* The most ancient, and perhaps most natural, attitude of prayer was standing with hands uplifted and upturned to heaven. Cf. Il. 7. 177 λαοὶ δ' ἠρήσαντο, θεοῖσι δὲ χεῖρας ἀνέσχον, Virg. Aen. 4. 205 *Iovem manibus supplex orasse supinis*, 1 Tim. ii. 8 'I will therefore that men pray every where, *lifting up holy hands.*' 2. **nascente luna.** The day of the new moon (νουμηνία, cf. 1 Sam. xx. 5, etc.) was a natural day for bringing the monthly offering to the Lares (*menstrua tura Lari* Tib. 1. 3. 34). 3. **horna fruge**, 'with this year's corn'; *hornus*=*horinus*, cf. ὥρα: an offering of the firstfruits of the harvest is meant.

5. **pestilentem Africum**, 'the deadly African wind,' the Sirocco, cf. 2. 14. 15 n. **sentiet**, 'feel to its cost'; 3. 5. 36 n. 6. **sterilem rubiginem**, 'the blighting mildew': some MSS. spell *robigo*, but the word= 'rust,' from *rubeo.* 7. **alumni**: see 3. 18. 4 n. 8. **pomifero** . . . 'the sickly season when autumn yields her fruits,' see line 5 n. *pomifer annus*, 'autumn,' as Epod. 2. 29 *a. hibernus*=winter, Virg. Aen. 6. 311 *frigidus a.*=the cold part of the year. 9. **Algido**: a Mt. in Latium. **devota**, 'doomed,' 'destined for sacrifice.' 13. **cervice**, 'with blood from its neck.' 14. **temptare**, 'to besiege,' 'attack,' as though the favour of the gods were only to be won with effort and expense. Translate: 'You have no need to besiege with sacrifice of many sheep the tiny gods you crown with rosemary.' 15. **parvos deos**=*parva deorum simulacra.*

17. **inmunis** . . . 'if giftless your hand has touched the altar not made more persuasive by (sacrifice of) a costly victim, then it has appeased the angry Penates with duteous meal and crackling salt,' *i.e.* the act of supplication is enough without any vain oblations. *inmunis* is emphatic and, as Od. 4. 12. 23 and Ep. 1. 14. 33, ='without a gift,' the hand which only offers the *mola salsa* being spoken of as 'giftless' in comparison with the one which brings a costly victim. The comparative *blandior* has its full force; the suppliant does not seek to *add* to her powers of persuasion by a costly sacrifice, and *blandus* is scornful (cf. *blandiri*), Horace despising such endeavours to 'coax' or 'wheedle' the gods (cf. *votis pacisci* 3. 29. 59 n.). The apodosis begins with *mollivit* and the perfect expresses that the act of supplication at once effects its aim. The stanza probably represents a well-known γνώμη, cf. Pliny *Praef.* N. H. *mola tantum salsa litant qui non habent tura.* Most put the comma after *manus:* 'though thy hand . . . held no gift, it appeased the Penates with meal . . . and could please no more (*non blandior*=*n. b. futura*) with a costly victim'; but *non blandior mollivit* could only mean '*was* not more pleasing when it appeased.' Orelli explains *inmunis* 'guiltless' (cf. Ps. 50. 13) but that would need *inmunis sceleris*, and the two other passages where Horace uses the word are clear. 20. **farre pio et saliente mica**, *i.e.* the *mola salsa*, a mixture of meal and salt sprinkled on the head of the victim or offered, as here, by itself on the altar. *mica* is a 'grain' or 'crumb' of anything, here of salt, as every Roman who had seen the *mola salsa* would at once understand; *saliente*, 'sputtering' or 'crackling,' *i.e.* when thrown on the fire.

ODE XXIV

'Wealth and palaces avail not; when once inevitable Fate dooms thee, thou canst not escape death. Far better (than our luxury and license) the life of the wild nomads, simple it is true, but virtuous and pure. Whoever would save Rome must have courage to curb the license of the day and so win fame for after ages, since in his own age alas! he will not, for we hate merit. Nor will words avail; stern and strong repression is needed now, when men scour the world for wealth, when poverty is great disgrace, to be avoided by any means, even by guilt. O let us dedicate to heaven or fling into the sea our gems and jewels and gold; let us root out the evil, and begin by training the rising generation more roughly than we do now, when the noble youth is more at home with the dice-box than on horseback, and fathers cheat even a partner or a guest in haste to make a fortune for their heir. So wealth ever grows but never satisfies.

In its general purpose the Ode may be compared with Odes 1-6 of this Book.

1. **intactis** . . . 'unrifled,' *i.e.* by the Romans. 2. **divitis Indiae.** Cf. 1. 31. 6, and for the wealth of Arabia and the East 1. 29. 1 n. 3. **caementis** . . . 'although with building material you seize on . . .' Cf. 3. 1. 33-38 and notes. 4. **terrenum** . . . **mare publicum.** So Orelli[4] rightly for *Tyrrhenum* . . . *Apulicum*. *Tyrrhenum* is in all MSS.; *publicum* has strong, *Ponticum* moderate, and *Apulicum* slight authority; Porphyrion's comment 'luxuriam . . . non *terram* tantum verum etiam maria occupantem' shows that he did not read *Tyrrhenum*. *Ponticum* and *Apulicum* cannot stand, for no Roman would build villas on those seas; therefore *publicum* must be right and joined with Porphyrion's comment involves the acceptance of Lachmann's *terrenum*. The rich man is not satisfied with 'all the land' but seizes also on 'the general sea'—the sea in which, it might have seemed, no one could claim property.

5. **si figit,** 'yet if dread Necessity drives her adamantine nails into the topmost roof, (then) thou shalt neither free thy soul from fear nor thy life from the snares of death.' For a picture of *Necessitas* see 1. 35. 17-20, where *clavos trabales*=*adamantinos clavos* here, the 'nail' being symbolical of that which is fixed and immutable. When the rich man has laid his foundations, and reared his palace, Necessity alights on the roof and there plants a nail as a sign and symbol that he and his riches are not exempt from her universal sway (cf. St. Luke xii. 16-21). For *figĭt*, cf. S. 1. 5. 90 n. 8. **mortis laqueis.** Cf. Ps. xviii. 5 'the snares of death prevented me'; Prov. xiv. 27. **expedire,** 'to get the foot free,' 'to get free')(*inpedire*.

9. **campestres.** See 3. 8. 24 n. 10. **quorum.** They lived in caravans like gipsies; cf. Aesch. Prom. 709 Σκύθας δ' ἀφίξει νομάδας, οἳ πλεκτὰς στέγας | πεδάρσιοι ναίουσ' ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις ὄχοις. **rite,** 'after their custom.' 11. **rigidi,** 'stern,' opposed to 'loose,' 'licentious.' 12. **inmetata iugera,** 'unmeasured acres': as with them there was no private property there would be no need of boundary stones (*termini*) or land measurements of any kind; the Romans on the other hand paid great attention to these things. See Dict. Ant. s.v. *Agrimensores*. **liberas,** 'free,' because, as the produce belonged to the whole tribe in common, none needed to purchase food. Caesar B. G. 4. 1 says that the Suevi, and Tacitus Ger. 26 that the Germans, still retained this primitive mode of cultivation. Caesar's words are: *quotannis singula milia armatorum bellandi causa . . educunt. reliqui qui domi manserunt se*

atque illos alunt. hi rursus in vicem anno post in armis sunt, illi domi remanent . . . neque longius anno remanere uno in loco incolendi causa licet.

14. **nec cultura** . . . Partly referring to the fact that, being a nomadic people, they never stayed beyond a year in one spot, partly to the practice of relieving (*recreat*) those who had done the work one year (*defunctos laboribus*) by substitutes (*vicarii*) who had meanwhile acted as combatants but who now had to take their fair turn (*sors aequalis*) of work. See Caesar l. c. 16. **vicarius** (from *vices*), 'one who comes in turn,' 'a substitute': a 'vicar' was originally a minister appointed to do the work of a rectory of which the monks enjoyed the main revenues. 18. **privignis**, 'the guiltless wife spares (*i.e.* treats with kindness) her motherless stepchildren.' Cic. frequently uses *temperare* in this sense, e.g. *sociis, superatis hostibus, amicis temperare.* The cruelty of stepmothers was proverbial; see Dict. s.v. *noverca*, *μητρυιά*. 19. **dotata regit virum.** The Roman poets frequently complain that rich wives often proved truly 'better halves'; Plaut. Aul. 3. 5. 60; Mart. 8. 12 *uxorem quare locupletem ducere nolo, | quaeritis? uxori nubere nolo meae.*

21. **dos,** with *magna*. For **metuens viri** cf. 3. 19. 16 n.:—'chastity that shrinks from another's love, the marriage-tie being sure.' 24. **peccare,** 'to sin,' *i.e.* against chastity; cf. 3. 7. 19. **aut,** 'or,' that is, if she do sin, 'the wages is death.' Cf. the use of *aut* 3. 12. 2. 25. **inpias,** 'unhallowed,' because domestic and so violating the law of nature. 26. **tollere,** 'to do away with.' For the 'civil madness' see 3. 6. 13 n. 27. **si quaeret,** 'if he shall desire to have "Father of the cities" inscribed beneath his statues.' The title of 'Father' (*pater* or *parens*) seems to have been not unfrequently bestowed on benefactors by states and cities; so Cic. bids his brother deserve the title of *parens Asiae*, and an actual inscription is extant referring to Augustus as *parens coloniae*. See too 1. 2. 50 n.

30. **quatenus,** 'in as far as,' 'since,' explaining **postgenitis,** 'he must trust to posterity for fame since . . .' 31. **virtutem** . . . 'since we jealously hate living worth (and) regret it when removed from our gaze.' 32. **invidi,** as its position shows, goes with both the contrasted clauses. The thought is from Menander (?) δεινοὶ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ πάντες ἐσμὲν εὐκλεεῖ | ζῶντι φθονῆσαι, κατθανόντα δ' αἰνέσαι Stob. 125. 3; cf. Ep. 2. 1. 12. 34. **reciditur,** 'is cut back,' 'pruned,' like a fruit tree which has put out rank useless growth. 35. **leges.** See 3. 6 Intr. 37. **pars,** 'the portion of the globe fenced in with fiery heat'; cf. 3. 3. 55 n. **inclusa,** 'as if the heat were intended to bar it from human intrusion.'—Wickham. 38. **latus.** So 1. 22. 19 *latus mundi.* 40. **horrida.** Supply *si* from line 36, and also before *magnum* line 42. Horace elsewhere (1. 3. 21) speaks of the commercial enterprise of sailors and shipowners as a flying in the face of Providence, who meant the sea for a means of separation not communication.

42. **magnum** . . . '(if) poverty (considered) a great disgrace urges men to do and endure anything, and quits the steep path of virtue.' 43. **quidvis,** *i.e.* any act of *guilt*, cf. πανοῦργος, 'one who does anything,' 'a villain.' 44. **arduae,** 'dwelling on high,' because difficult of attainment; cf. Hes. W. and D. 290. 45. **in Capitolium**: as a votive offering; supply *feramus* from *mittamus* below. 46. **quo clamor** . . . *i.e.* as in a triumphal procession. 48. **inutile**: not merely 'useless,' but 'deadly': litotes.

49. **summi** . . . 'the cause of crowning guilt.' *materies* is the original stuff from which anything is fashioned (the Gk. ὕλη, cf. 'materials,' 'matter'), then the 'source,' 'cause,' of anything. 50. **si bene paenitet,** 'if we are

heartily sorry.' **51. eradenda . . .** Two processes are mentioned, first a cleansing process, a getting rid of the old effeminate vices, secondly the substitution of vigorous virtues in their place. **eradenda,** 'rooted up'; used of removing weeds with the *rastrum,* and so here with *elementa* (root *ol* 'to grow') of destroying the first beginnings, the earliest growth of evil desire. **52.** Note the antithesis of **tenerae** and **asperioribus**; both adjectives are illustrated by the antithetical pursuits in the next lines.

54. nescit . . . 'untaught the high-born youth cannot sit a horse . . . more learned in playing with a Greek hoop, if you bid him, or . . .' **57. Graeco trocho.** Both words are used scornfully: the Greeks in Rome are constantly reproached as the purveyors of all that is luxurious, vicious and un-Roman. **trocho** = τροχῷ is designedly used, a Greek word for a Greek thing, cf. Juv. 3. 67 *rusticus ille tuus sumit* trechedipna, *Quirine,* | *et* ceromatico *fert* niceteria *collo.* **58. legibus.** The particular laws are unknown. **59. cum,** 'since,' *i.e.* nor is it wonderful, 'since.' **60. consortem socium,** 'his partner in business.' *sors,* 'capital'; *consors* one who joins capital with another. **61. pecuniam properet,** 'eagerly amasses'; cf. 2. 13. 26 n. **62. scilicet . . .** Summing up the whole purport of the Ode: 'Yes truly, insatiate wealth ever grows; and yet something is ever wanting to the defective fortune,' *i.e.* the wealthiest men are never quite satisfied, are never content, but always consider their fortune 'maimed,' and 'defective,' for want of a something or other, they know not what. **inprobae**: 3. 9. 22 n. **scilicet**: 2. 14. 9 n.

ODE XXV

An imitation of a Greek dithyramb. The poet represents himself as inspired by Bacchus, but also suggests that his state of poetic exaltation is due to dwelling on Caesar's exploits, which, he says, he shall shortly celebrate with no mere mortal utterance as he follows in the train of the god.

1. tui plenum, *i.e.* inspired; cf. 2. 19. 6 n. **3. velox mente nova,** 'hurried on with new thoughts'; ἐνθουσιάζων. **quibus antris**: either local abl. = 'in what caves?' or, which is more poetical, the dat., = 'by what caves shall I be heard?' **5. aeternum . . .** 'planning to set the glory of Caesar for ever amid the stars and the council of Jupiter.' In mythology glorified beings are represented as rewarded with a place among the stars. **meditans** = μελετῶν is used of poets 'conning over,' 'rehearsing,' 'practising,' their compositions: hence *meditans inserere . . .* 'rehearsing the placing . . . ,' *i.e.* rehearsing a poem on the deification of Caesar. Cf. Virg. Ecl. 1. 2 *tenui Musam meditaris avena,* imitated by Milton, Lyc. 66 'and strictly *meditate* the thankless Muse.' **7. dicam . . .** 'sublime, new, unsung as yet by other lips shall be my theme.' Notice the vigorous asyndeton (α-συν-δέω) by which the three adjectives are left without any connexion.

8. non secus . . . libet. He compares his feelings as he is hurried along by stream and grove to those of a Bacchanal who stands on a hill-top gazing over the valley of the Hebrus and snow-clad Thrace right away to Rhodope in the distance: the effect of the scene with both is to excite poetic feeling. The construction is *non secus . . . ut,* though *non secus* is usually followed by *ac*; but cf. 1. 16. 7 *aeque . . . ut.* **9. Euhias**: fem. adj. = 'a Bacchanal,' cf. 2. 11. 17 n. **exsomnis**: because these Bacchic revels were held at night and the Bacchanals were constantly νυκτιπόλοι, ἄυπνοι, etc. Kiessling reads *ex somnis,* of a Bacchanal who has followed Bacchus into

Thrace and *wakes* to marvel at the strange land. 11. **pede barbaro lustratam**, 'traversed by barbarous feet,' *i.e.* by the feet of Thracian Bacchanals. In Gk. *βάρβαρος* (an imitative word = 'a jabberer') is simply one who does not speak Greek, a non-Greek, and the Roman poets imitated this use, employing the word frequently, as here, with no tinge of contempt, *e.g.* when Plautus wishes to say he has translated a Greek play *into Latin* he says *Plautus vortit barbare.*

14. **o Naiadum potens**, 'O Lord of the River-Nymphs.' *Naïades* = Ναιάδες (νάω 'to flow,' νᾶμα a stream). 16. **vertere**, 'to upturn,' 'uproot.' See Eur. Bach. 1109 for this and other feats of the Bacchanals. 17. **humili modo**, 'in lowly fashion.' 18. **dulce** . . . 'a joyous hazard is it, O King of the Wine-press, to follow the god who garlands . . .' For **periculum** cf. Il. 20. 131 *χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐναργεῖς* and Judges xiii. 22 'And Manoah said unto his wife, We shall surely die, because we have seen God.' 19. **Lenaeus** = Ληναῖος from ληνός, 'a wine-press.'

ODE XXVI

'*But lately I was a successful combatant in the lists of love: now in token that my warfare is finished I here dedicated my arms to Venus, with just one final prayer—that the goddess will make Chloe pay for her conceit.*'

It was customary on leaving off any occupation to dedicate some of the instruments connected with it to an appropriate divinity, *e.g.* a gladiator dedicates his arms (Ep. 1. 1. 4), a fading beauty her mirror (cf. 4. 10. 6 n.), a slave his chains (S. 1. 5. 65), and so here Horace dedicates his lyre and other imaginary paraphernalia of love-making. To such dedicated objects a short poetical inscription was frequently appended (cf. the many ἀναθηματικά in the Gk. Anthology), and this Ode is supposed to be written for that object. Notice the humorous inconsistency between the declaration at the beginning and the prayer at the conclusion.

1. **vixi** with *nuper*, **idoneus** with *puellis.* 2. **militavi.** Cf. *bella moves* 4. 1. 2, *militiae* 4. 1. 16, Ov. Am. 1. 9. 1 *militat omnis amans.* 3. **defunctumque** . . . 'and my lyre whose wars are ended.' 4. **barbiton** = *βάρβιτον*, cf. 1. 32. 4 n. **hic paries** . . . Because the lyre would be hung upon the wall (cf. ἀνάθημα). 5. **marinae**, 'sea-born.' Ἀφροδίτη was born from the foam (ἀφρός) of the sea. **Veneris**, '(of the temple) of Venus.'

6. **lucida funalia**: torches made from ropes dipped in tar. He still keeps up the simile from war in his description of these instruments for a 'night assault.' What would be the use of 'bows' to 'threaten opposing doors' it is difficult to see, nor is it any explanation to say that they were for 'threatening the doorkeepers.' Perhaps by *arcus* Horace intends some military engine (such as the *arcuballista* of later times) which was used in sieges and discharged missiles by means of a huge 'bow': the whole description is designedly exaggerated. 9. **beatam**, 'blessed,' perhaps 'as being thy favourite seat.' 10. **Memphin** . . . Herod. 2. 112 mentions a temple of Ξείνη Ἀφροδίτη at Memphis. **carentem Sithonia nive**, *i.e.* enjoying a warm climate. Sithonia was the central peninsula in Chalcidice, and cf. Virg. Ecl. 10. 66 *Sithonias nives*, but here the adj. is quite out of place. 11. **sublimi**: pictorial, 'with uplifted lash.' 12. **tange semel**: 'touch' and 'once' by their studied moderation suggest more than is expressed.

ODE XXVII

'May guilty travellers start with evil omens or be stopped by them: for those I am anxious about I shall carefully search out happy auguries. And may you especially, Galatea, have good luck, and yet I dread from experience that stormy channel passage. You must be as bold as Europa was, when she trusted herself to the bull: what a difference she found between flowery meadows and mid ocean! And when she reached Crete how she regretted her boldness, and prayed for death! Venus however at last consoled her.'

Horace uses the occasion of Galatea's journey as a pretext for introducing the story of Europa, which was a favourite with the Gk. lyrists and had been dealt with by Stesichorus, Simonides, and Bacchylides; see Kiessling.

1. **inpios . . . (7) ego.** Note the antithetical words at the beginning of each sentence. **parrae recinentis,** 'of the hooting owl's refrain'; *recino* seems to refer to the repetition of the cry. 2. **ducat,** 'conduct,' *i.e.* on their journey. 3. **rava**: see Epod. 16. 33 n. Lanuvium was on a hill (cf. *decurrens*) near the Appian Way, along which travellers for Brundisium and Greece would pass. 5. **rumpat** . . . 'and let a snake break their journey when begun, if darting like an arrow across the road it has scared the horses.' Editors find difficulty in these simple lines. Orelli says *rumpat*=*interrumpat* and adds '*scilicet ita ut huic omini scelerati non pareant . . . ideoque pereant*,' thus making *rumpat* really mean 'let it warn them in vain to break,' which it can hardly do. Bentley reads *rumpit*, which has little authority, and makes the lines merely contain a statement as to what is an evil omen on a journey, a thing which every one knew. The sense simply is 'Let evil omens accompany the guilty when they start on journeys and (*i.e.* in other instances; in English we use 'or') let them have their journeys interrupted by them.' 7. **mannos.** Cf. Ep. 1. 7. 77 n. **cui**=*ei cui*, *ei* going with *suscitabo*, *cui* with *timebo*. 8. **auspex**: from *avis* and *spicio*, one who 'watches birds,' deduces omens from their flight.

9. **stantes,** 'stagnant.' 10. **imbrium** . . . 'the bird prophetic of impending storms,' cf. 3. 17. 12 where the raven is called *aquae augur*, and the same bird is probably meant here, cf. Virg. G. 1. 388 *tum cornix plena pluviam vocat inproba voce*. For **imbrium divina** cf. *divina futuri* A. P. 218; Virg. Aen. 6. 66 *praescia venturi*, and 1. 15. 24 n. 11. **oscinem**: *oscines aves quae ore canentes faciant auspicium*, Festus; but Kiessling from *ob*(*s*) and *cano*, cf. *ostendere*=*obstendere*. 12. **solis ab ortu,** *i.e.* from the region of light and happy omens. 13. **sis licet** . . . 'mayest thou be happy, yes happy, where'er thy choice, and live . . .' **licet**=*per me licet*, 'as far as I am concerned you may,' *i.e.* though regretting your departure, still I do not wish you ill but well. Most take *sis* as dependent on *licet*, but it seems better to make it parallel to *vivas*, *licet* being purely parenthetical. 15. **laevus**: clearly='ill-omened,' *σκαιός*. The Roman augurs faced the S., the Greek the N., when taking observations, and, as the Roman poets are sometimes imitating a Greek phrase, sometimes using a native one, when they speak of an omen 'on the left hand,' the context is the only guide whether they mean from the E. or from the W., of good or evil omen.

17. **sed vides** . . . 'but you see with what uproar Orion hastens to his setting.' Orion sets early in November when the storms of winter begin. 18. **ego** . . . Emphatic; Horace speaks from sad personal experience. 'I know what the dark gulf of Hadria is, and the crimes of the clear South

wind.' *albus* is added to form a pictorial contrast with *ater*: the sea is 'dark,' tempestuous'; the sky is 'clear' and 'cloudless.' It is one of those bright days with a stiff breeze which landsmen do not love. **20. Iapyx**: 1. 3. 4 n. **21. caecos . . .**, 'sudden,' 'unexpected.' **22. sentiant**: 2. 7. 10 n. Note the stormy *r*-sounds in *orientis . . . ripas*.

25. sic, 'so to,' *i.e.* with equal hardihood. For *Europe* (Εὐρώπη) see Class. Dict., and for **doloso credidit** cf. 3. 5. 33 and 2. 4. 6 n. **26. latus**: strictly; she reclines on its back. **et scatentem . . .** 'at sight of the sea teeming with monsters and of dangers all around grew pale for all her boldness,' or 'at her own boldness.' **scatentem beluis**: 4. 14. 47 n. **27. medias fraudes**, lit. 'midmost dangers': she was in the very centre of them. **28. palluit audax**: antithetical juxtaposition. **palluit**, 'grew pale,' governs an acc. from the secondary sense of 'fearing' contained in it, cf. 2. 13. 26 n. **29. nuper . . . nocte.** Mark the contrasted words put first as guides. **31. nocte sublustri**, 'by night's dim radiance': *sublustris* (cf. *subluceo, subirasci*, etc., *sub*='slightly,' 'partially') describes a condition which is half obscurity, half light: in the present case the stars (line 31) are shining, and there is just sufficient light to make all mysterious and terrible. **studiosa florum**, 'busied with flowers.' Adjectives expressing desire and dislike take a gen., e.g. *avidus, cupidus, fastidiosus* (3. 1. 37).

33. simul=*simul ac*, 'as soon as.' **centum**: cf. Hom. Il. 2. 649 Κρήτην ἑκατόμπολιν. **34. pater . . .** 'O father, she cried, O name of daughter abandoned, and duty vanquished by passion.' Others make *filiae* dat. after *relictum*, 'O father, O name by thy daughter abandoned.' **37. unde quo**, whence (and) whither.' So too the Greeks use a double interrogation without any connecting word, *e.g.* τίς πόθεν ἥκεις; **levis**: predicative. **una**: as always, emphatic. **38. virginum**: the plural, because others have sinned as she has: the thought that others have yielded to temptation makes her sin seem more pardonable. **vigilansne . . .** 'am I awake bewailing a foul crime, or am I guiltless, and does a vision mock me, a vision that idly flying from the ivory gate brings (only) a dream?' Orelli puts a comma after *vana* instead of after *imago*: the stanza is thus left with a very weak ending (a rare thing in Sapphics), an unnatural importance is attached to *vana*, and the sense is scarcely so good, for what Europa says is, 'Am I awake, or is this a vision (*imago*), and if a vision, is it one of those idle ones that come from the ivory gate and bring only dreams, not foreshadowings of the future?' Homer, Od. 19. 562, describes dreams as coming through two gates, the one of horn, the other of ivory, the one sort being accomplished, the other not, and assigns a fanciful etymological reason for the distinction (ἐλέφας 'ivory,' ἐλεφαίρω 'make light'; κέρας 'horn,' κραίνω 'accomplish').

45. si quis . . . dedat. Horace makes the bull vanish as soon as he has conveyed her to Crete. **47. modo**, 'lately,' 'but late.' **49. inpudens . . .** 'shameless am I to delay Death,' *i.e.* to keep Death waiting. **50. o deorum . . .** 'O thou of all the gods whoever hearest this, may I . . .' Notice **inter**, separated from **leones**. **52. nuda** suggests a pictorial contrast between her beauty and their savageness. There is no reason for taking it metaphorically='defenceless.'

53. antequam . . . 'ere yet hideous decay seize on these comely cheeks, ere the young blood ebbs from the tender victim, in my beauty I long to feed the beasts.' The force of this stanza is clear: her beauty that was her pride

has become her loathing, hence the cynical scorn with which she speaks of it, and the use of such terms as *tenera* and *sucus* (juice) with reference to it, terms which are applicable to butcher's meat. Cf. *pascere*. **57. pater urguet absens,** 'so my father far away assails me.' **58. potes.** Emphatic: you have the power, use it. **59. bene:** ironically='happily,' cf. *delectant*. **60. laedere,** 'break.'

61. rupes et acuta leto saxa, 'precipices and rocks sharp for death.' The *saxa* are rocks and boulders lying at the foot of the precipices, rough and jagged, and therefore sure to cause death. **62. age te . . .** 'quick, trust thyself to the rushing wind.' **63. erile pensum,** 'a task done for a mistress,' 'a bondmaid's task.' *pensum*, from *pendo* to weigh, is the portion of wool *weighed out* as the work for a certain period. **64. carpere**='pluck' or draw out the wool into long threads, which were then wound round the spindle ready for weaving, see Dict. Ant. s.v. *Fusus*. **65. regius sanguis,** 'the daughter of kings,' in strong opposition to *erile pensum* and *dominae*. **sanguis:** 2. 20. 5 n. **tradi,** *i.e.* to be abandoned by her paramour and handed over to the mercy of his injured and incensed wife. **paelex:** 3. 10. 15 n.

66. aderat . . . The abrupt transition from Europa's speech to narrative, and the marked prominence of the verb, express the *suddenness* of the appearance of the goddess, who at the critical moment intervenes with dramatic effect. 'Lo! at her side thus wailing stood Venus with a mocking smile.' **67. perfidum:** neut. adj. used adverbially, cf. 1. 22. 23 n. **remisso:** symbolical of his peaceful purpose.

69. lusit, *i. e.* amused herself with laughing at her. **abstineto irarum:** 2. 9. 17 n. **71. cum tibi . . .** 'when the hateful bull shall bring you back his horns to tear.' Venus mockingly repeats the very word (*lacerare*, line 46) used by Europa. **73. uxor . . . esse nescis,** 'thou knowest not how to be the bride,' *i.e.* what befits the bride; this rendering harmonises with *disce* below, 'you are as yet ignorant how to play your part, learn to do so.' Others take *uxor* as=*uxorem* in imitation of Gk. idiom (cf. Ep. 1. 7. 22 n.), 'Thou knowest not that thou art the bride.' **75. tua . . .** 'half the globe shall take thy name.'

ODE XXVIII

An invitation to Lyde to join him in celebrating the Neptunalia, a festival held on July 23rd.

1. festo . . . The question is a retort to a supposed objection: 'What better could I do? Produce the wine.' **2. reconditum,** 'stored far *back*,' old; cf. 2. 3. 8 *interior nota*; Epod. 9. 1 *repostum Caecubum*. **3. strenua** with **prome,** 'produce and briskly.' Horace humorously makes Lyde act as butler. Kiessling, however, supposes the scene in Lyde's house, into which, as he is strolling about, Horace turns with the words *festo . . . die*. **4. munitaeque . . .** 'and assault the fortress of philosophy.' Philosophy is represented as possessing a fortress inaccessible and impregnable to temptation: cf. Lucr. 2. 7 *bene quam munita tenere | edita doctrina sapientum templa serena*; Arist. Nub. 1024 ὦ καλλίπυργον σοφίαν . . . ἐπασκῶν and Tennyson's Palace of Art, stanzas 1-4.

5. inclinare meridiem, 'that noon declines,' *i.e.* that the sun has passed the zenith. Cf. Livy 9. 32 *sol meridie se inclinavit. meridies*=*medidies* (midday), altered for the sake of euphony. **6. stet,** 'stood still,' halted in

its course: in strong contrast with **volucris.** **7. parcis deripere,** 'you hesitate to hurry down.' For *deripere* cf. 3. 21. 7 *descende,* and 3. 8. 10 n. **horreo** = *apotheca,* 'the store,' cf. 4. 12. 18 *Sulpiciis horreis.* **8. cessantem.** The *amphora* is personified and described as 'fondly lingering' in its old corner. M. Calpurnius Bibulus was consul with C. Julius Caesar in the famous year B.C. 59, but the name is obviously selected in joke.

9. nos cantabimus . . . 'we will sing in turn, (I) of Neptune . . ., you shall in reply tell of Latona . . .' Horace begins the sentence as if he were going to say 'we will sing in turn of Neptune . . . and Latona' (*i.e.* I of Neptune, you of Latona), but in the second half of the sentence in order to make it more clear who is to undertake the reply (*recines*) and sing of Latona, he inserts the words *tu recines,* which make the sense clear but somewhat interfere with the strict grammar. Some take *nos invicem* 'I in my turn,' but though *nos* is often = 'I,' it cannot be so here where it *naturally* must mean 'I and you' and where the use of it = 'I' must produce confusion. **10. virides,** 'sea-green,' as befitted sea-nymphs; cf. 1. 17. 20; Epod. 13. 16. **12. Cynthiae.** Cynthus was a mountain in Delos: *Cynthius* = Apollo, *Cynthia* = his sister, Diana. **13. summo carmine,** sc. *cantabimus.* Horace starts by singing of Neptune, Lyde replies with the praise of Latona and Diana, they both unite in honouring Venus and night. **summo** = *supremo,* cf. Ep. 1. 1. 1. **quae tenet** = *eam quae tenet,* 'the queen of Cnidos.' Cnidos is in Caria. **14. Cycladas:** cf. 1. 14. 19, 20 n. **16. merita**: *quia amantibus favet.* **nenia**: used of any plaintive, not necessarily melancholy, harmony. Note how the concluding words of the Ode suggest the ideas of rest and repose.

ODE XXIX

'*A warm welcome awaits you, Maecenas, at my house: come then at once. Cease merely to gaze longingly on the country, and leave Rome for a while and all its magnificence and cares. Rich men sometimes find the change to a humble household a relief. The dog-days moreover are coming on, and yet you linger in town and worry yourself about political contingencies. What is the good? Providence has sealed the future and mocks our efforts to read it. Calmly to deal with the present is wisdom; for life is like a river and moves along uncontrolled by us sometimes peacefully sometimes a raging torrent. He lives best who enjoys to-day; to-morrow Jupiter may send trouble but he cannot undo the past. Fortune is ever fickle: I accept her favour and put up with her frowns. In stormy weather I am not like a merchant fearful lest his rich cargo be lost: it is enough for me if I weather the tempest myself.*'

1. Tyrrhena . . . 'scion of Etruscan kings': cf. 1. 1. 1 *Maecenas atavis edite regibus.* Horace ends (see next Ode) his Odes as he began them, with the praise of his patron. **2. non ante verso cado,** 'in a cask as yet unbroached,' lit. 'untilted.' The *cadus* or *amphora* would have to be tipped up to get at the wine. **lene** = mellow, cf. 3. 21. 8 *languidiora vina.* **3. flore rosarum,** 'choicest roses.' ῥόδων ἄωτοις, Simonides. **4. balanus** = *myrobalanum,* the fruit of a sort of palm from which a balsam was extracted (*pressa*). *balanus* = βάλανος, the Latin form of which is *glans.*

5. iam dudum est, 'has long been,' lit. 'is now a considerable time.' This use of *iam dudum* with a present is very frequent. **6. udum**: cf. 1. 7. 13 n. **Aefula** (not *Aesula,* the old reading) is a Roman colony on the hillside between Tibur and Praeneste, cf. Livy 26. 9. 9; 32. 9. 2.

ne semper contempleris, 'be not ever gazing wistfully at,' *i.e.* from Rome. With *ne* in prohibitions addressed to a particular person the perf. subj. is usual, but would be impossible here where the act spoken of is continuous. Some put only a comma after *morae,* and render 'come quickly so as not to be . . . ,' but this is less simple. **Tibur,** 16 miles N.E. of Rome, and Tusculum (**Telegoni iuga,** cf. Epod. 1. 29 n.), 10 miles S.E., both on the sides of hills, were (see Mart. 4. 64) visible from Rome, and especially from Maecenas' lofty house, see lines 9, 10.

9. fastidiosam . . . 'quit the plenty that but palls'; see 3. 1. 36 n. **10. molem** . . . 'the palace that towers to the clouds.' Cf. Shak. The Tempest IV. i. 152 'The *cloud-capt towers,* the gorgeous palaces.' The reference is to the so-called *turris Maecenatis* on the Esquiline, from which Nero afterwards watched the burning of Rome, and which had a commanding view over Rome (see lines 11, 12) and the neighbourhood. **11. mirari** . . . This terse description of a great capital as observed from some point of vantage is inimitable. The wealth, the smoke, the riches, the roar of London, as seen say from St. Paul's, might well in their combined effect make the beholder 'marvel' (*mirari*). **14. mundae.** The adjective indicates the presence of taste but the absence of extravagance. Horace defines *mundus* (S. 2. 2. 65), as applied to a host, as a just mean between luxurious excess and sordid neglect. The word thus meaning not only 'simple' but 'elegant' is difficult to translate: perhaps here 'simple' will suffice, though it only expresses half the word. **sub Lare,** 'beneath the roof.' **15. aulaeis:** see S. 2. 8. 54 n. **ostro** refers to the purple covering of the couches. **16. sollicitam** . . . 'have smoothed the wrinkles from the brow of care'; cf. S. 2. 2. 125. **explicuere** with *plerumque,* 'have often,' *i.e.* before now.

17. clarus occultum. The antithesis is somewhat forced. *clarus,* 'glowing'; *occultum,* 'hidden,' *i.e.* previously. **Andromedae pater** = Cepheus. All the stars mentioned rise in July. **18. Procyon:** Προκύων (in Latin *Antecanis*), the constellation which rises *before* the *Dogstar.* For *y* in words borrowed from Gk. cf. 1. 16. 5 n. **furit** and **vesani** both refer to the fierce heat of the dog-days, cf. 3. 7. 6 *insana,* of 'wild' weather. **20. dies referente siccos,** 'bringing round the days of drought.' **siccos:** in an emphatic position because of the double meaning assigned to it, (1) = when rain is rare, (2) = when drink is acceptable.

22. horridi, 'shaggy.' A country covered with wood (*silvae*) and thickets (*dumeta*) is *horridus* (cf. 4. 5. 26 *Germania horrida*), and therefore the same epithet is applied to 'the woodland god,' *Silvanus.* **23. caretque** . . . 'and the slumbering bank (*i.e.* of the river mentioned line 22) is untroubled by the wandering winds.' **25. tu** . . . *σὺ δέ.* The position of the pronoun marks the antithesis between Maecenas' activity and the repose which the season suggests (lines 17-24). **26. et urbi** . . . 'and anxious for the city dread the plots (*quid parent*) of the Seres . . .' The *Seres* (cf. 1. 12. 56) stand for any remote Eastern people. **27. regnata Cyro Bactra,** 'Bactria where Cyrus ruled,' lit. 'reigned over by Cyrus.' For construction cf. 2. 6. 11 n.; and for the kingdom of Cyrus 1. 2. 22 n. **28. Tanaisque discors.** The river is put for the dwellers by the river, *i.e.* the Scythae, see 3. 8. 23 n. **discors,** 'rebellious.'

29. prudens = *providens,* 'in his providence.' **30. caliginosa:** the size of the word expresses the utterly impenetrable character of the darkness which 'shuts in' (*premit*) the future from human gaze; *caligo* is 'a darkness that

may be felt.' **31. mortalis** . . . 'if mortal man struggles beyond (*i.e.* to see beyond) what heaven allows.' *mortalis* is emphatic; cf. the indignant *nil mortalibus ardui est* 1. 3. 37. Energy, vigour, push are all, according to the philosophy of Horace, only folly in those whose life is but a span long; the question he ceaselessly repeats is *quid brevi fortes iaculamur aevo multa?* (2. 16. 17); he breathes the spirit of Ecclesiastes, but with him the 'conclusion of the whole matter' is not 'Fear God' but 'Rejoice in thy youth.' **32. trepidat**, which is used (2. 3. 12) of the movement of water down a steep and stony bed, expresses restless, nervous eagerness, cf. 2. 11. 4 n.

33. componere, 'arrange,' 'make the best of'; τὸ παρὸν εὖ θέσθαι. **cetera**: opposed to *quod adest*: both phrases are purposely wide and indefinite, there is a contrast not only between the 'present' and the 'future,' but between things over which we have some control, and things which are wholly beyond our control. **34. feruntur**, 'are swept along.' **nunc . . . nunc**, 'at one time . . . at another.' **medio aequore** seems to refer to the level surface (*aequor*, cf. *aequus*) of the stream as it is seen flowing between (*medium*) its banks. Most MSS. give *alveo* (the opposite of *vagus labitur ripa* 1. 2. 18) but this reading hardly accounts for the existence of the difficult *aequore*. **35. Etruscum**: the final syllable cuts off before *in* in the next line, see Notes on Metres, p. xviii. § 2. The license here is however exceptional, the line, by its slow movement and unusual length, being intended to express the slow monotonous movement of the stream. **38. volventis**: parallel to *delabentis*, 'rolling down along with it (*una*).' Orelli takes *una = inter se permixta*. **39. clamore**, 'echo.' **diluvies** (*dis-luo*, 'to wash away'), 'a deluge.'

41. potens sui . . . 'lord of himself,' αὐτάρκης, not the slave of circumstance. Byron gives a different force to the same phrase when he says 'Lord of himself—that heritage of woe.' For the gen. cf. 1. 6. 10 n. **42. deget**, sc. *tempus*, 'will pass his time.' **cui licet** . . . 'who can at each day's close say "I have lived" (*i.e.* to-day): to-morrow let . . . ' *vivere* is frequently used of *enjoying* or *using* life, and not merely existing; cf. Fr. *viveurs* and Mart. 1. 15. 11 *non est, crede mihi, sapientis dicere 'vivam': | sera nimis vita est crastina: vive hodie.* **45. non tamen** . . . 'yet he shall not render void whatever is behind us, nor re-shape and make undone that which the hurrying hour has once carried away.' The same curious reflection on the limits even of Omnipotence is found elsewhere, *e.g.* Agathon (quoted Ar. Eth. 6. 2, 6) μόνου γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θεὸς στερίσκεται, | ἀγένητα ποιεῖν ἅσσ' ἂν ᾖ πεπραγμένα.

49. Fortuna . . . : admirably paraphrased by Dryden:—

'Fortune that with malicious joy
  Does man, her slave, oppress,
Proud of her office to destroy,
  Is seldom pleased to bless;
Still various and unconstant still,
But with an inclination to be ill,
Promotes, degrades, delights in strife,
And makes a lottery of life.
I can enjoy her while she's kind;
But when she dances in the wind,
And shakes her wings and will not stay,
I puff the fickle jade away:
  The little or the much she gave is quietly resign'd,
Content with poverty my soul I arm,
And virtue, though in rags, will keep me warm.'

54. resigno, 'I unseal,' 'cancel.' Fortune has given her sealed bond, Horace breaks the seal and gives back the bond. **55. virtute me involvo**: Plat. Rep. 5. 457 A ἀρετὴν ἀντὶ ἱματίων ἀμφιέσονται. **56. sine dote.** Poverty will be the *honesta uxor* instead of the jade Fortune. **57. mugiat,**

'creaks,' 'groans.' **58. miseras**, 'craven.' **59. decurrere**, 'to betake myself,' usually, as here, of resorting to something contemptible. **et votis** . . . 'and with vows to bargain that my wares add not (fresh) wealth . . .' A vow is made when a person promises that, in case he receives a certain favour from the god, he will pay the god some definite honour in return (cf. 2. 17. 30 n.): this procedure Horace scornfully, but justly, calls 'bargaining.' For the gods in the stern cf. 1. 14. 10 n. **61. divitias**: cf. Richard III., I. iv. 26 'Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl, | Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels, | All scattered in the bottom of the sea.' **62. tunc**, *i.e.* when the rich merchant is all anxiety for his treasures. **biremis scaphae**, 'a two-oared skiff.' *scapha* from σκάπτω, 'dig,' 'hollow out.' **64. geminusque Pollux**, 'the twin Pollux'; the addition of the epithet suggests the presence of Castor too. For the Dioscuri cf. 1. 3. 2 n.

ODE XXX

'I have finished an imperishable monument: I shall not wholly die, but as long as Rome stands my fame shall live and grow, and the tale shall still be told how beside the banks of Aufidus there rose from the ranks of the people the poet who first introduced to Italy the lays of Greece. Be proud, my Muse, for thou art worthy, and deck my brows with laurel.'

The Ode concludes the first three books of the Odes; Horace clearly states that his task as a lyric poet is completed. See Book IV. Intr.

1. exegi, 'I have finished.' The first word strikes the keynote of the Ode. **aere**: not only because the metal is lasting, but because *brazen* tablets were used as memorials, and statues of *brass* were erected in memory of great men. **2. regalique** . . . 'loftier than the pyramids reared by kings'; lit. 'the royal placing of pyramids.' The use of *situs* is peculiar, but *situs urbis, oppidi* = 'position' is common, and *situs*, part. of *sino*, is used = 'placed,' 'built,' 'founded.' The explanation 'decay' is not justified by Mart. 8. 35 *et cum rupta situ Messallae saxa iacebunt . . . me tamen ora legent*, for there the meaning is clear, whereas 'royal decay of pyramids' is impossible. **3. quod non . . . possit**, 'such as neither . . . can.' **edax**, 'corroding.' **inpotens** = *inpotens sui* (cf. 1. 37. 10 n.), 'uncontrolled.' **4. aut** . . . 'or countless succession of years and flight of ages.' *series*, from *sero* (whence also *sertum*), 'join together.'

6. non omnis moriar. Explained by the words which follow, 'a great part of me (*i.e.* my thoughts) shall escape the goddess of the grave.' Cf. Milton's Areopagitica: 'Many a man lives a burden to the earth, but a good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit imbalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life.' **7. usque** with *crescam*: 'ever shall I grow still fresh in the praise of posterity,' *i.e.* my fame shall flourish rather than fade. **8. dum** . . . *i.e.* while Rome shall last; while her most venerable temple and her most venerable institutions remain. For **Capitolium** cf. 3. 3. 42, and for **virgine** 1. 2. 27 n. **9. tacita** refers to the solemn silence observed by them when taking part in processions.

10. dicar, qua . . . Not 'I shall be told of where the Aufidus . . . ,' for Horace does not limit his fame to his native district, but 'I shall be told of (as one who) where Aufidus roars in fury . . . rising from low estate was the first to have conducted Aeolian song to Italian measures' (cf. 4. 9. 2). **11. pauper aquae.** Daunus is called 'poor in water,' because Apulia, the

country he ruled over, was so. For gen. cf. 3. 6. 17 n. **12. regnavit populorum.** A Greek construction: ἄρχειν, κρατεῖν, τυραννεύειν, all take a genitive. **ex humili potens.** Horace, far from the folly of attempting to conceal his origin, always dwells on it with pride as making the glory of his success greater (cf. 2. 20. 6). **ex**: cf. Soph. O. T. 454 τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος: Virg. Aen. 10. 221 *Nymphas e navibus*; Juv. 5. 134 *quantus ex nihilo.*

13. Aeolium carmen. Lyrics such as those of Sappho and Alcaeus, who used the Aeolic dialect, cf. 2. 13. 24, 4. 3. 12. **ad Italos modos**: the words must not be pressed too closely: the 'measures' or 'metres' that Horace uses are not 'Italian' but Greek, *e.g.* the Alcaic and Sapphic; what he means is that he has introduced a new variety of Italian poetry, copied from Greek models. **14. deduxisse**: as in the phrase *deducere coloniam.* Kiessling gives 'to have composed (Ep. 2. 1. 225) an Aeolic song in I. measures,' but surely they were Italian songs in Aeolic measures. **15. quaesitam meritis,** 'won by thy deserts.' **Delphica,** because the laurel was sacred to Apollo (4. 2. 9 *laurea Apollinari*), who is the god of poets and himself plays on the lyre. **16. volens,** 'of thy grace.'

BOOK IV

THE Fourth Book of the Odes is separated from the preceding three by a considerable period of time. In the concluding Ode of the Third Book Horace distinctly speaks of his labours as a lyric poet as concluded, and the first word of the present book calls marked attention to the interval which has elapsed. The reason for its composition is definitely assigned by Suetonius to the direct command of Augustus (see Intr. p. xiii.), and indeed it is clear that the rest of the book is only published to afford a plausible pretext for the publication of Odes 4, 5, 14 and 15: the other Odes, which are of a purely lyric character, serve to mask the distinctly political purpose of these four, which bear throughout the stamp of the official utterance of a Poet-Laureate. Orelli (ed. 4) notes the number of almost entirely new words used in this book—*Faustitas* 5. 18; *beluosus* 14. 47; *tauriformis* 14. 25; *domabilis* 14. 41; *inlacrimabilis* (=unwept for) 9. 26; *inimicare* 15. 20; *adprecari* 15. 28; *obarmare* 4. 21; *remiscere* 15. 30; *aeternare* 14. 5. There is also a marked alteration in his treatment of the caesura in Sapphics, see Notes on Metres p. xix. § 2.

ODE I

'Why summon me, Venus, to enter again the lists of love? I am verging on fifty and not the man I once was. It would be more seasonable for thee to lead thy revels to the house of Paulus Maximus: he has a hundred qualities which will make him thy worthy champion, and in return for thy favours will dedicate to thee a temple. To me love and gaiety have lost their charms. And yet, even as I write, I find the old emotions retain their sway, I betray every sign of passion.'

Horace professes that he resumes his pen merely to celebrate again the power of love, and thus endeavours to veil his real purpose.

1. **intermissa.** See Introduction p. xiii. 2. **bella moves,** 'thou stirrest up war.' For the comparison of love to warfare see line 16 and 3. 26. 2 n. 3. **bonae . . .** 'in the days of kindly Cinara's sway.' 4. **regno**: cf. 3. 9. 9 *me nunc Thressa Chloe regit.* **dulcium saeva**: antithesis; cf. **mollibus . . . durum** immediately afterwards. 6. **flectere.** Dependent on *desine*: 'Cease to guide one who (being) close upon the fifties is by now too hard for thy gentle government.' The metaphors are perhaps from driving: an old hard-mouthed horse is unfit for the light hand of a lady. **circa lustra decem.** Latin often suffers from the want of a pres. part. of the verb 'to be' and a def. article; the Greeks would write here ὄντα περὶ ἔτη ἤδη πεντήκοντα or τὸν πεντηκονταετῆ. **lustra**: cf. 2. 4. 23 n. 8. **revocant,** 'call thee back': Venus has left the young men to attack Horace.

10. **Pauli**: Paulus Fabius Maximus cons. B.C. 11, a friend of Augustus (Tac. Ann. 1. 5) and Ovid (ex Ponto 1. 2). He might still be called *puer* as the consulate was at this time given to young nobles at the earliest age viz. 33. **purpureis ales oloribus,** 'winged with thy gleaming swans,' *i.e.* borne through the air in a chariot drawn by them: cf. 3. 28. 15. **purpureis**: 3. 15. 15 n. 11. **comissabere.** This word = κωμάζειν in Latin letters. Before the Romans added *x*, *y*, and *z* to the end of their alphabet to = ξ, υ, ζ, they represented ζ by *ss*, *e.g.* in *badisso*, *tarpessita*; hence words borrowed at an early period, *e.g.* by Plautus, have *ss*; those borrowed later have *z*, *e.g.* *zona*. The word from κῶμος 'a procession of revellers' takes the construction of a verb of motion, as here **in domum.** 12. **si torrere . . .** 'if thou dost seek to fire a congenial heart.' The 'fire of love' is a commonplace with all poets, and the ancients placed the seat of the affections in the liver. Ben Jonson's rendering 'If a fit liver thou dost seek to toast' is a curious bit of 'classical English.' 13-17. Notice *et* emphatically five times as he heaps up his praises, and contrast *nec* five times 29-32. So contrast *illic . . . illic . . . me* at the beginning of stanzas 6, 7, 8. 14. **non tacitus,** 'not silent,' *i.e.* very eloquent; 1. 18. 9 n. 15. **centum puer artium**: the gen. is descriptive. **puer,** 'a youth.' 16. **feret,** 'will advance.'

17. **et quandoque . . .** 'And when he shall with smiles behold | His native charms eclipse his rival's gold.'—Martin. **quandoque** = *quandocumque* seems peculiar to Horace, cf. 4. 2. 34. 19. **te ponet marmoream,** 'he shall place thy statue in marble,' *i.e.* in return for the victory gained by thy favour he shall dedicate a temple in thy honour. The practice was common, *e.g.* Postumius dedicated a temple to Castor and Pollux after the victory of Lake Regillus. For **ponet marmoream** cf. 4. 8. 8; S. 2. 3. 183 *aeneus ut stes*; Virg. Ecl. 7. 31 *de marmore tota . . . stabis.* **Albanos prope lacus**: perhaps Paulus had a villa in this pleasant district. 20. **trabe,** 'a beam,' *i.e.* 'a roof'; cf. 3. 2. 28. **citrea** (some MSS. **Cyprea**), *i.e.* of *citrus* (= κέδρος) the African cedar, *Thuja vermiculata*, the wood of which was scented and very durable; see L. and S. s.v. θυία.

21. **naribus duces,** 'thou shalt inhale.' 22. **lyraeque . . .** 'thou shalt be delighted with the mingled strains of the lyre and Berecyntian (3. 19. 18 n.) pipe.' Orelli[4] reads *lyrâ* and *Berecyntiâ tibiâ* with *vet. Bland.*, but the confusion of ablatives is intolerable, and the sound of the lines spoilt. 24. **fistula** = σῦριγξ, 'Pan's pipe.' 27. **pede candido . . .** 'with gleaming feet shall thrice shake the ground after the fashion of the Salii.' *candido* marks (1) the whiteness of the feet, and (2) the way in which they gleam in the dance. For the Salii see Dict. Ant. and 1. 36. 12 n.: dancing accom-

panied by music is among the earliest forms of worship, cf. 2 Sam. vi. 14 'David danced before the Lord'; Ps. cl. 4 'Praise him with the timbrel and dance.' **28. ter**: because there was a triple beat in the dance, cf. 3. 18. 16, and *tripudium, tripudiare* in connexion with religious dances.

30. spes animi . . . 'the fond hope of a heart to answer mine.'—Wickham. *mutuus*, 'interchanged'; *animus mutuus*, a heart that communicates its every feeling to me and to which I in return communicate mine; cf. Catull. 45. 20 *mutuis animis amant amantur.* **31. certare mero**, 'to join the drinking-bout.' **34. rara.** He tries to conceal his feelings but still every now and then 'the rare tear trickles down his cheek' (cf. 1. 13. 6 *umor et in genas furtim labitur*). So below he represents himself as trying to talk, but 'even as he talks his (usually) ready tongue halts in unseemly silence.' **35. decoro.** The verse is hypermetric, Horace wishing to express the effect of a lover breaking off in the middle of a word. For this sign of emotion, cf. the conduct of Dido, Virg. Aen. 4. 76 *incipit effari, mediaque in voce resistit.* **38. captum**, sc. *te, Ligurine.* **40. aquas.** The afternoon's exercise in the Campus was regularly followed by a bathe in the Tiber, cf. 3. 7. 26; 12. 7.

ODE II

'*To attempt to rival Pindar is as vain as the attempt of Icarus to fly. He is like a mountain-torrent swollen by the rain, rushing and roaring along with deep-mouthed thunder. He is the prince of poets whether he composes dithyrambs, paeans, hymns of victory or dirges which make the fame of the dead undying. He like a swan soars into the sky, I am but like a bee laboriously gathering a little honey. You, Iulus, are more fitted in statelier strains to sing of the return of Caesar from his triumphs over the Sygambri—Caesar the greatest blessing that heaven has ever conferred on earth. You shall sing of the festivities that celebrate his return, and then perhaps my voice shall join in the chorus that swells his triumph, and, while you offer your noble offering I shall perhaps dare to present my humble gift.*'

C. Julius Antonius was son of M. Antonius the triumvir and Fulvia, and was brought up by his step-mother Octavia the sister of Augustus, through whose influence he obtained the favour of the Emperor and was made praetor B.C. 13 and consul B.C. 10. He is said to have written an epic poem called the Diomedeia. The Ode is a lyric apology for attempting the task to which Horace devotes himself in Odes 4, 5, 14 and 15, and at the same time affords him opportunities of paying a compliment to Antonius and indirectly celebrating the exploits of Augustus.

1. Pindarum aemulari: *aemulari* with the acc. is used of an honest and noble rivalry, with the dative of mean and ignoble envy. **2. Iule.** If this word is correct the name must have been given him to mark his connexion with the great Julius (*Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo*, Virg. Aen. 1. 288), the mother of M. Antonius having been Julia, sister of L. Caesar, cons. B.C. 64, but considering (1) that Horace addresses him in line 26 as *Antoni*, (2) the difficulty of either eliding the initial *i* or treating the word as a dissyllable, (3) the fact that the word seems elsewhere applied only to the son of Aeneas, there seems great probability in favour of Peerlkamp's conjecture *ille.* **ceratis** . . . 'rests on wings joined with wax by the skill of Daedalus, doomed to give a name to the glassy sea,' *i.e.*, apart from metaphor, he who seeks to rival Pindar is attempting what nature has forbidden and will fail disastrously. For Daedalus see Class. Dict. and 1. 3. 34 n.

6. **notas**, 'accustomed,' **aluere**, 'swollen.' *Vet. Bland.* reads *cum super notas saliere* 'when the rain-waters have leapt over,' which is not so 'absurd' as Orelli asserts. 7. **fervet** . . . 'so Pindar boils and rushes measureless with deep utterance.' **inmensus** and **ruit** go together; cf. the Gk. idiom πολὺς ῥεῖ and S. 1. 4. 11 *cum flueret lutulentus*. *inmensus* is used in reference (1) to Pindar's copiousness of diction, (2) to the unconstrained liberty of his metres and movement, in both of which respects he resembles a swollen torrent. **inmensus | que**: p. xix. § 2.

9. **laurea** . . .: the construction is, *donandus*, (1) *seu* . . . *devolvit*, (2) *seu* . . . *canit*, (3) *sive* . . . *dicit* . . . *et donat*, (4) *iuvenemve* . . . *plorat*; Pindar is worthy of Apollo's bay in any of the four kinds of lyric poetry mentioned. 10. **per audaces dithyrambos**: *per* denotes the channel through which the words flow, and keeps up the metaphor of stanza 2, cf. also *devolvit* and *fertur*. For διθύραμβος see Liddell and Scott: as being sung at the altar of Dionysus it was often very elevated and indeed bombastic in style, and allowed the introduction of unusual or extraordinary words (*nova verba*). 11. **numerisque** . . . 'and sweeps along in numbers freed from law.' As we do not possess any dithyrambic Odes of Pindar we cannot say how far this criticism is just: his Epinician Odes exhibit a most careful system of strophe, antistrophe, and epode, though of course as compared with any metres used by Horace they might seem 'lawless,' much as Byron can speak of Scott's 'immeasurable measures.'

13. **seu deos** . . .: the reference is to Paeans, Παιᾶνες, hymns in honour of gods and heroes, such as Theseus who slew the Centaurs, and Bellerophon who slew the Chimaera. 14. **cecidere** . . . **cecidit**: for this method of joining clauses see 1. 2. 4 n. Notice also below *concines* line 33, and *concines* line 41. 16. **flamma Chimaerae**, *i.e.* 'the fire-breathing Chimaera' (1. 27. 23 and note); cf. Juv. 4. 107 *Montani quoque venter adest*, and such Gk. phrases as Πολυνείκους βία, 'the mighty Polynices.' 17. **sive quos** . . .: the reference is to the ἐπινίκια or triumphal Odes, the only portion of Pindar's writings still extant, see Class. Dict. **Elea palma**, *i.e.* an Olympic victory, Olympia being in Elis. **palma**: see 1. 1. 5 n. 18. **caelestes**, 'godlike,' 'feeling themselves gods,' ἰσοθέους, cf. 1. 1. 6. The victor was conducted home in a triumphal procession, during which the ἐπινίκιον was sung. **pugilemve equumve**: for a list of the contests see Dict. of Ant. s.v. Olympia. Pindar twice mentions Φερένικος, a horse of Hiero's, but of course 'tells of a horse' means rather 'tells of its owner.' 19. **et donat** further explain *dicit*: 'and (so) presents with a gift preferable to a hundred statues.' The statues of victors were set up in the sacred grove Altis at Olympia, and also in their native towns.

21. **flebili** . . . 'or bewails the youth snatched from his weeping bride,' *i.e.* in a θρῆνος or dirge. Notice *flebilis*, 'weeping,' as A. P. 123: on the other hand, 1. 24. 9 *flebilis occidit*, 'he died much wept for'; see 1. 3. 22 n. 22, 23. **moresque, nigroque.** Notice the two hypermetric verses: Horace clearly aims at giving variety to the monotony of the Sapphic rhythm. 23. **aureos**, 'golden,' *i.e.* 'noble'; cf. 1. 5. 9 n.; 2. 10. 5; 4. 3. 17 *testudinis aureae*. **educit in astra** . . . 'exalts to the stars and grudges the gloomy grave (its prey).' Odes 8 and 9 dwell at length on the immortality which the poet alone can bestow. The accusatives, *vires*, *animum*, *mores*, are governed not only by *educit*, but by *invidet*: *invideo* takes acc. of the thing begrudged, and dat. of the person to whom, e.g. *hoc tibi invideo*.

25. multa . . . 'strong is the breeze that lifts . . .' Dirce was a fountain near Thebes, and the epithet is more poetical than 'Theban' because swans in fact and the Muses in fiction love fountains. For the swan's song see 2. 20. 15 n. **27. Matinae**: Mons Matinus is in Apulia. For **apis** cf. Ep. 1. 3. 21 n. **28. more modoque**: merely an alliterative phrase: 'after the manner and method of': so Cicero, Tim. 1, has *Carneadeo more et modo disputata.* Some take *mos* of *natural, modus* of *customary* habits, but the distinction is dubious. **29. carpentis**, *carpo*, 'to pluck,' 'graze on,' e.g. *carpere herbam,* used of animals, here = 'to feed on.' **per laborem**: adverbially, = 'laboriously,' cf. *per vim, per iram, per iocum,* etc. Many join *per laborem plurimum* but the phrase seems very prosaic, and the pause after *plurimum* violates the natural movement of the verse. Bentley, Nauck, and Orelli[4] join *plurimum nemus,* but translate *plurimum* 'densest,' which is at once unjustifiable and meaningless. It is best to take *plurimum nemus,* as the ear suggests, together, and to give *plurimum* its common sense of 'very many,' translating, 'like a bee laboriously culling its sweets from thyme around full many a grove and . . .' **30. uvidi.** So called because of the falls of the Anio there, cf. 1. 7. 13 n., but also in opposition to the *altos nubium tractus* where Pindar soars. **31. operosa** . . . : notice the perfection of the comparison: the tiny bee laboriously fashions its honey-cell; the humble poet frames his verse with equal toil.

33. concines, 'you (Antonius just mentioned in line 26), a poet of nobler touch, shall celebrate Caesar when . . .' **maiore plectro** (cf. 2. 1. 40 n.) is purposely placed so that it can go either with *concines* or *poeta.* **35. per sacrum clivum.** The *Via Sacra* was the principal street in Rome (S. 1. 9. 1): it ran from between the Caelian and Esquiline hills, along the N. slope of the Palatine, under the Arch of Titus, past the Forum Romanum, up to the Capitol. The term *sacer clivus* (only found here and Mart. 1. 71. 5) seems to be applied to the part of it which slopes downwards (cf. Epod. 7. 7 *Britannus ut descenderet Sacra catenatus via*) from the Arch of Titus to the Forum. Along the *Via Sacra* all triumphal processions passed. **36. Sygambros**: this German tribe inhabited a district on the river Sieg, near Bonn: with other tribes they had inflicted a serious defeat on M. Lollius, B.C. 16. Augustus proceeded to Gaul in that year and they immediately made peace, but his stay continued to July B.C. 13.

37. nihil . . . 'naught greater or more glorious.' **38. boni**: emphatic, 'in their goodness.' **39. quamvis** . . . 'though the ages run backward to their ancient gold,' *i.e.* though the golden age should return. **40. priscum**: 3. 21. 11 n. **42. super** . . . 'in honour of the return of brave Augustus vouchsafed (to our prayers).' Coins are extant with the inscription S.P.Q.R.V.S. (*vota suscepta*) PRO S. (*salute*) ET RED. AUG. **43. forumque**: governed by *concines.* The law-courts were in the Forum and were closed on occasions of public rejoicing; cf. Ov. Fasti 4. 187 *scena sonat, ludique vocant. spectate, Quirites,* | *et fora Marte suo litigiosa vacent.*

45. tum meae . . . 'then too I, so but I speak aught worth hearing, shall join in with the best portion of my utterance.' **meae**: emphatic by position: you shall take the chief part, and then even I shall venture to join in. **49. tuque dum procedis** . . . 'and while thou dost take the lead, "Ho Triumph!" yea not once only will we cry "Ho Triumph!" even all the citizens, and offer incense to the bounteous gods.' The objections to this rendering are two: (1) *tuque* is a conjecture, (2) it is urged that *dum procedis*

can only apply to the *triumphator* or the triumphal procession. But Horace has been referring to Antonius all through as taking the *lead* in the praise of Augustus: you, he says, shall sing Caesar's fame, I will join in (*accedet*). Surely then he can speak of him as 'taking the lead' (*procedo* expressing his 'going in front' of Horace and the train of citizens in the procession, and suggesting his 'taking the lead' in singing the triumphal hymn) when Horace and the rest of the state join in celebrating Caesar's triumph. MSS. give *teque, dum procedis*, where *te* is referred to *Triumphe*, *Triumphus* being personified (cf. Epod. 9. 21 *io Triumphe, tu moraris aureos currus*), and *procedis* referring to the advance of the procession. 'Thee will we proclaim as thy procession passes by, Ho Triumph! again and again Ho Triumph!' The objection to this rendering is the difficulty of referring *te* to any one but Antonius. Antonius has been addressed in the second person in lines 2, 26, 33, and 41: the *te* at the beginning of this stanza is followed by *te* in an exactly parallel position at the commencement of the next stanza, and as Horace is specially fond of making his meaning clear by placing guiding words, especially pronouns, in emphatic positions, *te* in line 53 points back to *te* in line 49 as positively as *concines* in line 41 does to *concines* in line 33. Moreover, the whole of the latter part of the Ode is an elaborate antithesis between Antonius and Horace: 'Thou hast an important part,' Horace keeps repeating, 'I a humble one'; and the whole symmetry and balance of this is marred by the introduction of an emphatic 'Thou, O Triumph!' into the middle of it.

54. solvet, 'shall set free,' *i.e.* from my vow. Horace *vitulum voverat pro reditu Augusti*; Augustus having returned, he becomes *voti reus*, 'responsible for his vow'; the offering of the calf would 'set him free from his vow'; cf. 2. 17. 30 n. **56. in mea vota**, 'to pay my vow.' **57. fronte**, 'with its forehead,' which with the young horns growing on it is said to imitate 'the moon's crescent fire as she brings round her third rising,' *i.e.* the third after the new moon. **59. qua notam duxit**, 'where it has got (or acquired) a mark.' **niveus videri**: λευκὸς ἰδεῖν, cf. 1. 3. 25 n. It has been urged that there is considerable bathos in this Ode, which began with Pindar and ends with the description of a calf, but the penultimate stanza carries on in an exceedingly natural manner the comparison between Antonius' greatness and the humbleness of Horace, while the repose and simplicity of the last stanza are quite in accordance with the poet's practice of allowing a nervous and brilliant Ode to sink into quiet and calm at its conclusion.

ODE III

'He, on whose cradle the Muse has once smiled, shall win glory neither in the games nor in the sterner contests of war. Streams and groves shall leave their impress on his soul. This is the source whence I draw the charm that makes me rank among the loveable band of poets, this and thy favour, O Muse, for my inspiration and my fame are thy gift.'

1. Melpomene: the Muse of Tragedy, but here of Poetry generally; cf. 1. 24. 3; 3. 30. 16. **semel** = ἅπαξ, 'once,' 'once for all.' For the sense cf. Hes. The. 81 ὅντινα τιμήσουσι Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο | γεινόμενόν τ' ἐσίδωσι . . . | τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ γλυκερὴν χείουσιν ἀοιδήν. **3. labor Isthmius**: see Dict. Ant. s.v. Isthmia. **5. Achaico**, 'Grecian'; the adj. contrasts the Grecian racing chariot with the Roman triumphal car referred to in the next lines. **6. neque res . . .** 'nor shall warlike exploits display him to the Capitol a leader decked with Delian bay for having crushed the swelling threats of

princes.' **Deliis**: because the laurel was sacred to Apollo, who was born at Delos. 8. **quod . . . contuderit.** The subj. is very difficult. In most cases where *quod* takes the subj. it is virtually in oblique construction, e.g. *falso queritur de natura genus humanum . . . quod regatur*, 'because, *as they say*, they are ruled': here however this will not apply. Perhaps the principle is the same which makes *non quod* take a subj. 'when the reason denied is conceptive, not real' (Kennedy): you deny that the man will ever go in a triumphal procession, and therefore the reason why he should go in one is purely conceptive and unreal.

10. **aquae.** See 1. 7. 13 n. Horace selects Tibur because it was his own favourite spot, and also because he always prefers the *special* to the *general*. 12. **fingent**, 'shall shape' or 'mould': his surroundings will leave their impression on his mind. **nobilem**: proleptic, 'so that he becomes renowned.' **Aeolio**, *i.e.* lyric, cf. 2. 13. 24 n. 14. **dignatur**, 'is not ashamed,' 'deigns.' **suboles**, from *subolesco* 'to grow up' or 'into the room of'='youth'—'the rising generation.' 16. **et iam dente . . .** 'and by now I am less gnawed by the tooth of envy'; on the other hand, when he wrote 2. 20. 4 he was still the mark of envy, still sneered at as *pauperum sanguis parentum*; cf. S. 1. 6. 45. The metaphor in *dens invidus* is from a snapping, snarling cur.

17. **aureae.** See 4. 2. 23 n. and Pind. Pyth. 1. 1 χρυσέα φόρμιγξ. 18. **dulcem quae . . .**: *strepitus* being usually 'din,' 'noise,' e.g. *fori, Romae, valvarum, ianuae strepitus*, there is a tendency to take *dulcem* proleptically here, 'that dost modulate into sweetness the lyre's sound'; but, as in Ep. 1. 2. 31 *ad strepitum citharae curam*, the word clearly='music,' it is simpler to render 'that dost rule the sweet music.' **Pieri.** Pieria is a part of Macedonia, the inhabitants of which seem to have been celebrated for their love of poetry. *Pieris*, 'a female inhabitant of Pieria,' *i.e.* the Muse. 19. **mutis.** So fish are called ἔλλοπες Hes. Sc. 212, ἄναυδοι Aesch. Pers. 577, ἐλλοί Soph. Aj. 1297. 20. **donatura . . .** 'thou that wouldest give, were it thy pleasure, a swan's note.' For the 'swan's note' cf. 2. 20. 15 n. 21. **totum . . .** 'this is wholly of thy bounty that I am pointed out . . .'

22. **monstror digito**: imitated by Pers. 1. 28 *at pulchrum est digito monstrari et dicier hic est*; δακτυλοδεικτεῖν (Dem. 790) has a bad sense, and so δακτυλόδεικτος Aesch. Ag. 1332. *digitus* from the root of δείκνυμι= 'the pointing thing.' 23. **Romanae fidicen lyrae**: as having been the first to introduce lyric poetry, cf. 3. 30. 13.

ODE IV

'Like an eagle that in his native strength quits the nest, tries his powers of flight, then swoops down upon the sheepfolds and even joins battle with a serpent, or like a young lion as he appears to the doomed hind—such has Drusus appeared in battle to the Vindelici. Defeated by his youthful skill they have learned to their cost what hereditary power happily developed can effect, what an Augustus can make out of a Nero. Brave sires make brave sons: all nature witnesses to this truth, only at the same time innate powers need training to prevent their decline. Of the bravery of the Neros let Metaurus' stream bear witness and that glorious day of Hasdrubal's defeat, the day which at last restored the fortunes of Rome and made Hannibal prophetically exclaim in his despair: "We are deer attacking wolves. The great

race, that undefeated by disaster came from Troy to Italy, still, like its native oak, the more it is lopped the more vigorously it grows: Hydra-like it only becomes more formidable after each defeat. Never again shall I send home the proud messages of victory. Fallen, fallen all my hopes now Hasdrubal is dead. The Claudian race shall ever be indomitable: heaven protects them, and wisdom watches over them."'

Drusus was the son of Livia, the wife of Augustus, by her former husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero, and the younger brother of Tiberius (afterwards Emperor), along with whom he defeated the Rhaeti and Vindelici B.C. 15. He died when on an expedition to Germany B.C. 9, being then consul. He was much more popular than Tiberius; cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 33 *Drusi magna apud populum Romanum memoria, credebaturque, si rerum potitus foret, libertatem redditurus.* See also 4. 14 Int. The Ode is a perfect model of a Prize Ode, and has long served as such. It exhibits little real poetic power but great skill in composition, and is the work of invention rather than inspiration: the elaborate comparison for instance in the first four stanzas can only have been worked out with immense pains.

1. **qualem . . .** The construction is: *qualem alitem* (then follow four clauses of all of which this is the object) . . . *qualemve caprea* . . . *leonem* . . . *vidit* (*talem*) *videre Drusum Vindelici.* The *qualem* in line 1 is governed by four verbs *propulit*, *docuere*, *demisit*, and *egit*, the four stages in the growth of the eagle being marked by the words *olim*, *iam*, *mox* and *nunc.* In translating follow some such outline as these. 'Like as the bird that guards the thunderbolt (to which . . .) of old his youth . . ., and presently . . ., then on the sheepfolds . . ., now at last . . .; or like the lion which a hind . . . has seen: so saw the Vindelici Drusus waging war.' **ministrum fulminis**: cf. Virg. Aen. 5. 255 *Iovis armiger.* An eagle grasping a thunderbolt is especially frequent on the coins of the Ptolemies. **3. expertus fidelem in . . .** 'having proved his faith in (the carrying off of) golden-haired Ganymede,' whom the eagle carried off from Ida; cf. Virg. Aen. 5. 254 *quem praepes ab Ida | sublimem pedibus rapuit Iovis armiger uncis.* Notice the careful juxtaposition of *rex regnum, Iuppiter Ganymede.*

5. **olim**: from *ille olle*, 'at that time,' 'not at this particular time,' bears very various senses according to the connexion in which it is used, =(1) at some past time, 4. 9. 9; (2) at some future time, 2. 10. 17; (3) some time or other. Here in connexion with *iam*, *mox*, *nunc* it throws the mind back to that time *past* when the eagle's career commenced. **patrius vigor**, 'native force,' cf. line 30 *patrum virtus.* The words anticipate the remarks on hereditary valour which come later. **7. vernique . . .** 'and soon vernal breezes when the clouds are banished have taught him timorous (at first) unwonted efforts.' Scaliger objected that eaglets being only hatched late in spring cannot fly till autumn, and proposed to write *vernis*, thus making the line intolerable. Horace clearly knows nothing about the hatching of young eagles: he considers that like young lambs and young birds generally they are among the phenomena of spring. **10. vividus inpetus**, 'his eager swoop.' **11. reluctantes.** The word is untranslateable. The snake carried off in the eagle's talons wrestles (*luctatur*) with its captor and coils itself up or back (*re*) in its endeavours to sting him. Such a scene is fully described, Virg. Aen. 11. 751 seq. **12. amor dapis atque pugnae**, 'love of feast and fray': the eagle at first satisfied with preying on a lamb is now not content without the additional excitement of a contest.

13. laetis, 'luxuriant.' **caprea**, 'a roebuck,' but *capra* 'a she-goat.' **14. fulvae . . . leonem**, 'a lion just weaned from his tawny mother's udder.' So most editors, but *matris ab ubere lacte depulsus* is extremely harsh, and the harshness is not got rid of by saying that *lacte depulsus* is virtually one word = ἀπογαλακτισθέντα, 'weaned.' Nauck and Kiessling seem rightly to join *caprea pascuis intenta matris ab ubere*: the young roebuck, that has just turned from its mother's udder to seek the pasture, suddenly finds itself face to face with the newly-weaned lion, as it seeks its prey: the comparison is certainly very complete. *fulvae* then refers to the colour of 'red deer.' **16. dente**, 'soon to perish beneath its (as yet) unfleshed teeth.'

17. Raetis, 'Raetian'; for proper nouns used as adjectives cf. 1. 15. 10 n. and below *Metaurum flumen*. For *Raetia* or *Rhaetia* (the modern Tyrol) see Class. Dict. *Raeti* has nearly all MSS. authority, but the expression *Raeti Vindelici* is intolerable. **18. Vindelici**: inhabited a district S. of the Danube and to the N. of the Raeti. **quibus mos . . .** 'to whom whence the custom is derived which through all time arms their right hands with an Amazonian axe, I have deferred inquiring, nor indeed is it permissible to know all things.' This remarkable parenthesis seems intended to give local colouring and an appearance of reality. The artifice produces an effect almost as natural as the introduction of an elaborately painted insect into the foreground of a boldly treated landscape, while the bathos of the conclusion *nec scire fas est omnia* transcends criticism. Many critics cut out all from *quibus* to *sed*, and sense and metre are thus left intact. Such lines, with their recondite allusion to a small point of antiquarian lore and their parody of Horatian philosophy in line 22, are just such as a copyist might have interpolated.

22. sed, 'but,' *i.e.* to resume, 'however': so in Greek, δ' οὖν. **23. victrices . . .** 'conquering hordes conquered in their turn by the plans (*i.e.* strategy) of a youth.' **24. iuvenis.** He was 23 years old. **25. sensere**, 'felt to their cost,' cf. 2. 7. 10 n. **mens**, 'mens *ad virtutes intelligentiae, sagacitatem, prudentiam*, indoles *ad animi virtutes, fortitudinem, clementiam, fidem pertinet.*'—Orelli. **rite**, sc. *nutrita*, 'what a mind (duly nurtured), what a disposition duly nurtured beneath an auspicious roof could effect.' *rite, faustis*, and *penetralibus* are all religious words designedly used to suggest the almost godlike qualities of Augustus. **27. quid Augusti . . .**: these words *specialise* and so explain the *general* language of the preceding lines: 'yea, what Augustus could do for the Neros.'

29. fortes . . .: the mention of Augustus' care and the great name of the *Nerones* leads Horace to develop the two chief ideas of the Ode, (1) in lines 29-32 the necessity of hereditary qualities, (2) in lines 33-36 the necessity of good education to develop them: he then illustrates the former at length in lines 37-72, and briefly alludes to the second in lines 73-76. This disproportion in the length of treatment is natural: the advantages of education afford little scope for a lyric rhapsody; while the mention of great ancestors gives opportunity for introducing a brilliant historical fiction. Suet. (Tib. 1) says that by 'Nero' *significatur lingua Sabina fortis ac strenuus*, so that the connexion **Nerones fortes** may be designed. **fortibus**: abl. of origin. **31. inbellem feroces, aquilae columbam**: notice the juxtaposition of the contrasted adjectives and nouns. Cf. 2. 4. 6 n. **33. vim insitam**, 'native force.' **35. mores.** Usually = 'character,' 'behaviour,' but here obviously some *active* principle of the same sort as *doctrina* ('educa-

tion'), 'laws of conduct,' 'precepts'; cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 264 *moresque viris et moenia ponet.* **36. indecorant** . . . 'faults mar what is by nature noble.'

38. testis, sc. *est.* For the adj. *Metaurum* see 1. 15. 10 n. The Metaurus is a river in Umbria near which the Consul C. Claudius Nero defeated Hasdrubal B.C. 207 and cut off the reinforcements he was bringing to his brother Hannibal. **39. pulcher.** Cf. 4. 2. 47, 'brilliant.' **40. dies** is to be taken literally of the day when Hasdrubal was defeated; **tenebris** metaphorically of the gloom which had hung over Italy since the disasters of Trebia, Trasimene, and Cannae. See too 4. 5. 5 n. on *lucem.*

41. qui primus . . . 'which first smiled with cheering victory since the day when (*ut*) the dread African careered . . .' **adorea** is an archaic word used to add dignity; cf. 1. 34. 5 n. It is said to be derived from *ador*, 'grain,' because a largess of corn was distributed to troops after a victory. **alma** = *quae alit*, 'fostering,' 'cheering.' **42. dirus Afer.** *dirus* is the standard epithet of Hannibal, cf. 2. 12. 2 n. For **ut**, with perf. ind., = 'since the time when,' cf. Epod. 7. 19; S. 2. 2. 128; Ep. 1. 19. 3; Cic. ad Att. 1. 15. 2 *ut Brundisio profectus es nullae mihi abs te sunt redditae litterae.* **43. ceu flamma per taedas,** 'like fire through pines.' **44. equitavit,** 'careered,' combining the ideas of speed and unchecked power; cf. 1. 2. 51 n. **45. secundis** . . . 'with ever prosperous endeavours the youth of Rome waxed strong.' **47. tumultu**: a strong word, applied only to a rising in Italy, or of the Gauls immediately on its borders (see Cic. Phil. 8. 1): it was a war which threw society into confusion. **48. rectos,** 'restored,' 'set upright,' *i.e.* after being overturned by the 'impiety' of the Carthaginians.

49. perfidus. See 3. 5. 33 n. **50. luporum.** The Romans are the true 'wolf's litter.' **51. ultro**: this word, connected with *ultra*, is used of actions which go *beyond* anything which might reasonably have been expected, which are needless, uncalled-for, and the like. It here indicates that for stags to attack wolves was not only folly but needless, gratuitous folly. Cf. S. 2. 7. 40 *ultro insectere* of one who goes so far as to lecture another when he is worse himself. **opimus triumphus,** 'rarest triumph.' The phrase is invented on the analogy of *spolia opima*, spoils taken by a general in personal combat with the general of the enemy, and said to have been only thrice won—(1) by Romulus, (2) by A. Cornelius Cossus, B.C. 426, (3) by M. Claudius Marcellus, B.C. 222. **52. fallere,** 'to elude.'

53. cremato fortis ab Ilio: *fortis* in strict grammar goes with *pertulit* but in sense with the words between which it is placed: disaster, as the next three stanzas repeat at length, but increases the courage of the Roman race:—'bravely quitting the ashes of Ilium storm-tossed on Tuscan seas it safely carried its sacred treasures.' **54. sacra,** *i.e.* the Penates. **57. tonsa,** 'lopped.' **58. nigrae,** 'on Algidus prolific in dark (or 'shadowy') foliage.' Algidus is a Mt. in Latium, near Tusculum. **feraci frondis**: for gen. cf. 3. 6. 17 n. **59. per damna** . . . 'Its loss its glory makes, | And from the very steel fresh strength and spirit takes.'—Martin. **caedes** = (1) 'a cutting to pieces of troops,' 'a military disaster,' *e.g.* such as Cannae, or (2) 'the cutting off' of a bough: no English word will bear this double sense. The stanza is perhaps unrivalled as a specimen of Horace's unique power of terse and graphic expression. **60. ducit,** 'draws,' 'derives,' goes grammatically with *gens*, as do the whole two lines, but the skill of the comparison is shown in the fact that if *ilex* be taken as the nom. to *ducit* each word is equally applicable.

61. firmior: both with *secto corpore* and *crevit*: 'not more strongly did

the hydra (stronger) after every stroke grow to resist Hercules who chafed to be defeated.' See Class. Dict. s. v. Hercules. **63. monstrum,** 'prodigy.' **submisere:** lit. 'sent up from below,' *i.e.* 'produced,' is used accurately, as they grew up from the ground, cf. *tellus summittit flores,* Lucr. 1. 7. See Class. Dict. s.v. Argonautae and Cadmus. **65. merses . . .** 'sink it in the deep, it comes forth more noble; wrestle with it, amid great applause it will o'erthrow the unscathed victor and wage . . .' *merses* = *si merses, si* being often omitted in poetry for the sake of terseness, cf. Ter. Ph. 2. 1. 35 *unum cognoris omnes noris.* **evenit,** present, refers to what happened after Cannae; **proruet** and **geret,** future, because he foresees Zama (so Kiessling). **66. integrum,** *i.e.* who had come unscathed from the victories of Trebia, Trasimene and Cannae. **68. coniugibus loquenda,** 'for their wives to tell of,' cf. 4. 9. 21 *dicenda Musis proelia.*

69. nuntios superbos: Livy 23. 12 relates how Mago when reporting the victory of Cannae poured out, as a token of victory, three bushels of gold rings each taken from a Roman knight. **70. occidit, occidit:** repetition to express sadness; see 2. 14. 1 n. and cf. Dryden, Alexander's Feast 'He sung Darius great and good, | By too severe a fate, | Fallen, fallen, fallen, fallen, | Fallen from his high estate.'

73. nil . . . non: οὐδὲν οὐκ = a very strong 'everything.' **75. curae sagaces:** *i.e.* the care of Augustus. **76. expediunt . . .** 'lead safely through the dangers of war': *expedio,* the opposite of *inpedio* (from *in* and *pes*) 'to get the foot into a snare,' = 'to get safely through or out of snares,' cf. Virg. Aen. 2. 632 *flammam inter et hostes* | *expedior.* **acuta belli:** cf. Hom. Il. 4. 352 ὀξὺν Ἄρηα. This concluding stanza is clearly a part of Hannibal's prophetic speech, and the strongly supported **perficient** is therefore better than *perficiunt* of *vet. Bland.* Wickham urges that Horace 'would hardly put into Hannibal's mouth a dull prophecy of the glories of the house of Nero.' But why should we put into the poet's mouth this 'dull prophecy' which Horace did not think good enough for Hannibal? As a matter of fact the change from Hannibal to Horace at the end of a long speech, and that only for a single stanza, is extremely harsh; it lowers the last four lines to the level of the moral usually tacked on at the end of a versified fable.

ODE V

'*Return, great guardian of Rome, for thou hast been absent too long: return, for thy presence is as sunshine, and thy country longs for thee as anxiously as a mother for her sailor lad's return. Thy presence brings prosperity* (17-20), *purity* (21-24) *and peace* (25-28); *every man lives under his own vine, and after his evening meal honours thee with prayers and libations, ranking thee among his household gods. "Long mayest thou preserve such joyous holiday time for Italy"—such is our morning and evening cry.*'

Augustus after the defeat of Lollius by the Sygambri B.C. 16 (see 4. 2. 36 n.) went himself to Gaul and remained there until B.C. 13. This Ode is written just before his return. Orelli remarks with justice on the wonderful tranquillity and sense of assured peace and repose which characterise it.

1. divis orte bonis, 'born by heaven's favour,' *divis bonis* being abl. abs., cf. S. 2. 3. 8 *iratis natus paries dis.* Others render 'sprung *from* benignant gods.' Perhaps Horace purposely uses a phrase which suggests both ideas: Augustus is at once a proof of heaven's favour and himself of heavenly race.

Romulae: 1. 15. 10 n. **3. maturum** . . . 'having promised thy speedy return to the august assembly of the fathers, return.' **5. lucem**: explained by the next lines, but cf. also Aesch. Pers. 300 where Atossa, alluding to the return of Xerxes, says ἐμοῖς μὲν εἶπας δώμασιν φάος μέγα | καὶ λευκὸν ἦμαρ νυκτὸς ἐκ μελαγχίμου: Virg. Aen. 2. 281 *o lux Dardaniae;* St. Luke i. 78 'the *dayspring* from on high hath visited us, to give light to them that sit in darkness'; St. John i. 7, 8, 9. **6. instar veris**, 'like spring.' *instar* is a n. indecl. noun = 'an image' but does duty almost for a preposition: strictly here it is in loose apposition to *vultus*. See Dict. s. v. **7. gratior** . . . 'more gladly passes the day and the sun has a pleasanter light.' **8. soles**: for plur. cf. 4. 7. 13 n.

9. mater iuvenem: antithetical juxtaposition, cf. 2. 4. 6 n. Note too how these first two words in the sentence balance the last two **patria Caesarem**,—'as a mother, when her lad is detained by the S. wind with jealous breath . . . , calls him home (*vocat* line 13) . . . , so . . . his country cries for Caesar.' **10. Carpathii m.**: E. of Crete. **11. cunctantem** . . . Navigation ceased during the winter months: any one therefore who towards the end of the year encountered unfavourable winds might be unable to complete his voyage within the *spatium annuum*, 'the space yearly available for navigation,' and so have to winter abroad. Cf. Od. 3. 7. 1-8; Thuc. 6. 34, 6 ἐξωσθῆναι τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐς χειμῶνα: and Acts xxvii. 12, when St. Paul encountered stormy weather, the crew advise to 'attain to Phenice and there to winter.' **13. votis**: see 2. 17. 30 n. **ominibus**, *i.e.* by consulting omens. **15. desideriis** . . . 'smitten with loyal yearnings,' cf. Lucr. 2. 360 *desiderio perfixa*, Aesch. Ag. 544 ἱμέρῳ πεπληγμένοι. *desiderium* is not = 'desire' but 'regret for a thing the absence of which we feel,' πόθος, cf. 1. 24. 1.

17. rura perambulat, nutrit rura. Notice the arrangement of the words, which is a favourite one in Latin: it is called Chiasmus 'a making of Chi' because if the two first words are written over the second two, and the parallel words are joined, the lines joining them cross one another and form X. Cf. Cic. de Fin. 3. 3 *ratio consentit, repugnat oratio*. The device is purely rhetorical, as is also the repetition of *rura*. **perambulat**: graphic and suggesting the slow satisfied movement of a well-fed cow. **18. alma**: 4. 4. 41 n. **Faustitas**: only found here, 'Prosperity.' **19. pacatum**: with reference to the absence of pirates, who, though crushed by Pompeius B.C. 67, had resumed their operations during the civil wars and especially during the struggle with Sex. Pompeius. *mare pacavi a praedonibus* says Augustus, Mon. Anc. 5. 1. **volitant**, 'wing their way'; strictly of ships rather than sailors. Cf. Virg. Aen. 3. 124 *pelago volamus*. **20. culpari metuit**, 'shrinks from (cf. 2. 2. 7 n.) being blamed,' *i.e.* takes care to give no occasion for blame.

21. nullis . . . The reference is to the *lex Iulia de adulteriis* which had been passed B.C. 17: cf. also 3. 6 Intr. **22. mos et lex**: unwritten custom and written law; cf. 3. 24. 35 *quid leges sine moribus | vanae proficiunt?* **edomuit**, 'have conquered and driven out'; cf. 2. 15. 5. For the singular cf. 2. 13. 38 n. **maculosum nefas**, 'guilty pollution.' **23. laudantur** . . . 'matrons are praised for offspring who resemble their sires: punishment dogs the heels of guilt.' Cf. Hes. W. and D. 235 τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖκες ἐοικότα τέκνα τοκεῦσιν (*i.e.* in the golden age). **25. gelidum Scythen**, 'the frozen Scythian': the Scythians were a nomad race living near the Tanais (Don) and their horsemen made frequent raids into Roman territory, cf. 3. 8. 23; C. S. 55.

quis . . . 'who (would fear) the broods that shaggy Germany brings forth, if Caesar be but safe?' **26. horrida**: refers chiefly to the forests which covered great portions of Germany: Tac. Germ. 5 calls it *silvis horrida*. So Ovid, Met. 4. 778 *silvis horrentia saxa*, Virg. Aen. 9. 382 *silva horrida*. **parturit**: cf. Milton, P. L. 1. 351 'A multitude, like which the populous north | Poured never from her frozen loins, to pass | Rhene or the Danaw.' **27. ferae Hiberiae**: see 2. 6. 2 n.

29. condit diem, 'lays the day to rest,' 'sees the day sink to rest,' cf. Virg. Ecl. 9. 52 *cantando condere soles;* Callim. Ep. 2 ἥλιον ἐν λέσχῃ κατεδύσαμεν. For a similar picture of security, cf. 1 Kings iv. 25 'And Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree'; Zech. iii. 10. **collibus**: the hills on which the vines were planted, cf. 1. 20. 12. **30. et vitem** . . . 'and weds the vine to the unmarried trees.' Certain trees were cultivated for growing vines upon, especially elms: others which were not so used are spoken of as 'bachelors,' cf. 2. 15. 4 *platanusque caelebs | evincet ulmos*. Here *viduae* is used of the elms which are waiting till they are grown up to be 'wedded' to the vine. Cf. Epod. 2. 10 and Shakespeare, Com. of Errors II. ii. 175 'Come, I will fasten on this sleeve of thine: | Thou art an elm, my husband, I a vine, | Whose weakness married to thy stronger state | Makes me with thy strength to communicate.' **31. hinc**, *i.e.* from his labour. **alteris mensis**, 'his second course' (Virg. G. 2. 101 *mensis secundis*). It was with the second course that drinking began and the household gods were 'summoned' (**adhibet**: cf. Virg. Aen. 5. 62 *adhibete Penates . . . epulis*) and honoured with libations, cf. line 33.

33. prosequitur: lit. 'to accompany,' 'attend on,' προπέμπειν, then, as here, 'to honour.' So in prose *benevolentia, officiis, clamore, laudibus prosequi*. **34. Laribus** . . . 'joins thy deity to (that of) the Lares.' See Merivale c. 33: 'This worship of Augustus, or rather perhaps of the Lar of Augustus, as a demigod or genius, is to be distinguished from the later cult of the Caesars as deities, which Augustus himself interdicted at least in Rome.' It was not unnatural, considering the peace which was enjoyed under his sway, for the Romans to honour Augustus as one of the divinities who guarded their hearths and homes. **35. Castoris, Herculis**: cf. 3. 3. 9 n. **38. Hesperiae**: 'The Land of the West,' in contrast with Greece just mentioned, cf. 2. 1. 32 n. **integro die**, 'when the day is still before us,' lit. 'untouched,' 'untrespassed on.' **39. sicci, uvidi**, 'dry-lipped,' 'flushed with wine,' Martin. For *uvidi*, cf. *uda* 1. 7. 22, and in Greek βεβρεγμένος. **40. cum sol** . . . Note the calm and repose of this concluding line.

ODE VI

'O thou whose wrath the children of Niobe have felt, and Tityos and even great Achilles—Achilles who but for thee would have utterly destroyed the race from whence the Romans were to spring—great Phoebus, be thou my protector. To thee, O Phoebus, is due all my inspiration and my skill. Therefore, O youths and maidens, under my guidance chant the praises of Phoebus and his glorious sister. The day will come when you will look back on it as a great event in your life that on the occasion of the Secular games you were one of the chorus that chanted the verses of the poet Horace.'

It was the constant endeavour of Augustus to revive the old Roman spirit. Among other methods of accomplishing this he re-instituted in B.C.

17 the *ludi saeculares* (see Class. Dict.), a solemn festival celebrating the preservation of the state and supposed to be held only once in a *saeculum* or period of 100, or 110 years, the herald summoning the people to behold games '*quos nec spectasset quisquam nec spectaturus esset.*' On the third day an Ode was sung in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine by three times nine boys and maidens whose parents were still alive (*patrimi ac matrimi*). Horace had been called upon to write this Ode, the *Carmen Saeculare*, to which the present Ode is a prelude invoking the assistance of the god in the composition of his work and the training of the chorus. Apollo and his sister, the male and female representatives of the same power, appear in Latin under many synonyms, *e.g.* Phoebus, Phoebe, Janus (Dianus), Diana, Apollo, Artemis, Sol, Luna, etc.

1. **quem proles . . .** 'whose power as the avenger of a boastful tongue the offspring of Niobe felt.' For the boast of Niobe, see Class. Dict. s.v. **magnae linguae**: cf. *μέγα λέγειν* = 'to boast.' The ancients believed that boastful words did in a special manner arouse divine vengeance, cf. Soph. Aj. 127, 766, 775. 2. **Tityos**: 2. 14. 8 n. 3. **sensit**: 2. 7. 10 n. **Troiae altae**: the Ἰλίου αἰπεινῆς of Homer. 4. **Phthius**: the Myrmidones, whom Achilles led, came from Phthia in Thessaly. By slaying Hector he had 'almost conquered' Troy, but the dying chief had warned him *φράζεο νῦν μή τοί τι θεῶν μήνιμα γένωμαι | ἤματι τῷ ὅτε κέν σε Πάρις καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων | ἐσθλὸν ἐόντ' ὀλέσωσιν ἐνὶ Σκαιῇσι πύλῃσιν* Il. 22. 358.

5. **inpar**, 'unequally matched with.' 6. **Thetidis marinae**, 'of the sea-goddess Thetis': as her son he was partly divine. 7. **Dardanas**: 1. 15. 10 n. **quateret**, 'shook,' *i.e.* metaphorically with fear. For his 'terrible spear' cf. Il. 19. 387 *πατρώϊον ἐσπάσατ' ἔγχος | βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν· τὸ μὲν οὐ δύνατ' ἄλλος Ἀχαιῶν | πάλλειν.* 9. **ille . . . (13) ille.** These two words, as Wickham points out, suggest a contrast between two pictures, one 'of what *was* and the other of what *might have* been if Apollo had not interfered.' He fell (9-12); but had he lived, he would not have taken Troy by treachery (13-16) but in open warfare have destroyed man, woman, child, and the infant yet unborn (17-20), thus cutting off all the Trojan race had not Jove listened to thy prayers (21-24). 10. Sound accommodated to sense. 11. **procidit late**: 'fell forward (stretching) far and wide,' 'fell prostrate with huge frame'; Hom. Od. 24. 40 *κεῖσο μέγας μεγαλωστί.*

13. **ille non . . .** 'he would not, caged in a horse that feigned an offering to Minerva, deceive the Trojans amid their ill-timed revelry.' **non falleret** would in prose be *non fefellisset* but is more graphic: Kiessling explains it from the point of view of the gods deliberating what *would* happen if Achilles lived. **equo**: the famous 'wooden horse,' *ἵππου | δουρατέου τὸν Ἐπειὸς ἐποίησεν σὺν Ἀθήνῃ, | ὅν ποτ' ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλῳ ἤγαγε δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς, | ἀνδρῶν ἐμπλήσας οἵ Ἴλιον ἐξαλάπαξαν* Hom. Od. 8. 492. 14. **sacra mentito**: cf. Virg. Ecl. 4. 42 *varios discet mentiri lana colores*, 'to counterfeit various colours.' 15. **Troas** = *Τρῶας.* 17. **palam captis**, 'captives taken in fair fight.' Housman suggests *cautis.* **gravis**, 'cruel,' 'remorseless.' 18. **nescios fari** = *infantes.* 19. **etiam . . .** 'yea even the babe yet unborn'; cf. Hom. Il. 6. 57 *μή τις ὑπεκφύγοι αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον | χεῖράς θ' ἡμετέρας· μηδ' ὅν τινα γαστέρι μήτηρ | κοῦρον ἐόντα φέροι, μηδ' ὃς φύγοι.*

22. **adnuisset.** Zeus in Homer signifies his will by his nod (*numen*, cf. 3. 1. 8), hence *adnuo* = 'to grant by his nod.' 23. **rebus . . .** 'to the fortunes of Aeneas walls traced with happier auguries.' *ducere muros* is to mark out the line of the future walls with the plough; 'happy auguries'

would naturally be watched for in connexion with this solemn ceremony. **24. alite**: 1. 15. 5 n.

25. doctor . . . 'thou who didst teach clear-voiced Thalia to play upon the lute.' Kennedy, Virg. Ecl. 6. 1, has an excellent note on *argutus*. 'Originally the part. pass. of *arguo*, to prove, make clear or distinct; as an adj. it is largely used in Latin of things which convey a clear, distinct, sharp perception to the eye, the ear, the smell or the mind; and thus it assumes many shades of meaning ("fine," "clear," "minute," "sharp," "shrewd," "melodious," "noisy"), and is found as an attribute to *caput, oculus, forum, nemus, ilex, fistula, servus*, etc.' **26. qui Xantho** . . . The line calls attention to the personal characteristics of the god of poetry; cf. 3. 4. 61. His long locks mark the bard, the beardless chin (*levis*) his undying youth. Xanthus is in Lycia. **27. Dauniae decus Camenae**, *i.e.* me, Horace. For *Dauniae*, 'Italian,' cf. 2. 1. 34 n. **Camenae**: note that Horace here uses the native Italian word, not the foreign and borrowed *Musa* (Μοῦσα), cf. 1. 12. 39 n. **28. levis**, 'beardless,' as 2. 11. 6: for derivation see 1. 2. 38 n. **Agyieu**: a Gk. name for Apollo as god of streets, ἀγυιαί: Horace seems to select the word merely to convey a vague feeling of awe and mystery. **29. spiritum**, 'inspiration' (cf. 2. 16. 38 n.), opposed to **artem**, 'technical skill.' **31. virginum primae**, 'ye flower (lit. 'first') of maidens'; see Intr.

33. tutela: usually 'a taking charge of,' but here = 'those taken charge of,' in apposition with *virginum primae puerique* 'ye who are under the protection.' **34. cohibentis arcu**, 'who arrests with her bow the swift-footed . . .' **35. Lesbium pedem**, 'mark the Lesbian measure,' *i.e.* the Sapphic metre, cf. 1. 1. 34 n. **36. ictum**, 'beat,' *i.e.* as he marks the time.

38. crescentem face: lit. 'growing with her torch,' *i.e.* 'with her growing light.' **Noctilucam**, 'the night-shining one,' is only found here and in a passage of Varro. It is probably an old ceremonial word, and introduced to give archaic solemnity (see 1. 34. 5 n.). Such descriptive words are natural and commonly found only in very early writers, *e.g.* Hesiod has φερέοικος 'a snail,' ἀνόστεος 'a cuttle-fish,' πέντοζος 'the hand,' etc. **39. prosperam frugum**, 'prolific in crops,' cf. 3. 6. 17 n. **celeremque** . . . 'and swift to roll the quickly-moving months.' For the inf. cf. 1. 3. 25 n. **41. nupta iam** . . . 'soon when a bride you will say.' **dis amicum** with **carmen**. **42. saeculo**: see Intr. **referente**, 'bringing round.' **43. reddidi**, 'performed'; you are said *reddere* when you at the proper time duly reproduce that which has been taught you. **docilis modorum**, 'trained in the measures'; for gen. cf. 1. 15. 24 n. **44. Horati**: 1. 6. 12 n.

ODE VII

'The snow has melted and spring is returning. The seasons in their rapid succession continually remind us of the shortness of life. Only whereas they *return again, whereas the waning moon soon recovers her fulness,* we *when once we join the ranks of the departed are but dust and a shadow. Who knows whether he will be alive to-morrow? Enjoy yourself therefore; when once dead neither birth nor merit nor piety can bring you back to life. Diana has not the power to set Hippolytus free from death, nor Theseus Pirithous.'*

The Ode is similar to 1. 4 but more serious. Ep. 1. 5 is also dedicated to Torquatus, and Porphyrion (Ep. 1. 5. 9) states that in his time a speech of his in defence of Moschus (cf. *facundia* line 23) was still studied.

2. **comae**, 'foliage,' cf. 1. 21. 5. 3. **mutat** . . . 'earth changes her seasons,' *i.e.* passes through the seasons one after another in succession: **vices**, 'successions,' here in connexion with the passing of winter into spring, implies 'succession of *seasons*,' cf. 1. 4. 1 *solvitur acris hiemps grata vice veris.* 4. **praetereunt**, 'pass by,' *i.e.* cease to overflow.

5. **Gratia**: only here in sing. as a proper name, for the Graces are always represented as inseparable, cf. 3. 21. 22; here *Gratia cum geminis sororibus* = 'the three Graces,'—Aglaia, Euphrosyne and Thalia. 7. **inmortalia** . . . 'The changing year's successive plan | Proclaims mortality to man,' Johnson. **et almum** . . . 'and each hour which hurries on the genial day': note how skilfully the various periods of time are introduced; not merely the changing year but each day, each hurrying hour reminds us of the shortness of life. **almum diem**: cf. C. S. 9 *alme Sol* (also 4. 4. 41 n.); the adj. describes what is cheering and invigorating, light as opposed to darkness, life to death; see Gray's Elegy 87 'left the warm precincts of *the cheerful day.*'

9. **ver proterit** . . . 'summer tramples upon spring to perish (in its turn) as soon as . . . ': *proterit*, used of mounted soldiers pursuing, overturning and trampling on an enemy (cf. Virg. Aen. 12. 329 *agmina curru proterit*), here expresses the victorious speed with which summer follows on spring, and suggests a fine contrast with *interitura.* 11. **effuderit**, 'poured forth' as from a Cornucopia or 'horn of plenty.' 12. **iners**, 'lifeless,' because in winter nothing grows and no work can be done. The epithet draws marked attention to the similarity between the end of the year and the end of man's little round of being. 13. **damna** . . . 'yet the moons speedily repair their losses in the sky,' *i.e.* the moon wanes but soon becomes full again. **lunae**, 'moons,'='the moon in the various months,' cf. 2. 18. 16: so *soles* 4. 5. 8 'the sun on a number of days.' 14. **nos**, '*but* we'; cf. 3. 9. 22 n. For the thought cf. Catullus 5. 5 quoted 1. 24. 5 n. 15. **quo** . . . **quo**, sc. *deciderunt* 'have fallen,' cf. Ep. 1. 6. 27 *ire tamen restat, Numa quo devenit et Ancus.* For **pater** (Virg. Aen. 1. 699 *pater Aeneas*) many MSS. give *pius*, but the rarer phrase is more likely to be original. For *dives* cf. Livy 1. 31 *in magna gloria magnisque opibus regnum Tulli;* Juv. 5. 57 *Tulli census pugnacis et Anci.* 16. **pulvis**, in the urn; **umbra**, in the under world; cf. Soph. El. 1159 *σποδόν τε καὶ σκιὰν ἀνωφελῆ.*

17. **quis scit** . . . 'who knows whether the gods above add to-morrow's space to the total of to-day?' *i.e.* the total which to-day makes up. For **summae** cf. 1. 4. 15 *vitae summa brevis.* **adiciant**, 'add' not 'will add'; the gods are already deciding our future: we shall learn their decision by the event. 19. **amico** . . . 'which you shall have bestowed on your own dear soul': *animo amico dare* is used somewhat colloquially to express the satisfaction of personal gratification, cf. *Genio indulgere, Genium curare, animo morem gerere* and the like; see too Simon. 85 *ψυχῇ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τλῆθι χαριζόμενος.* By the 'greedy heir' Horace is probably thinking of one of those fortune-hunters (*captatores*), who were always in pursuit of rich old bachelors (*orbi*) and whom it was a pleasure to 'cheat': see Sat. 2. 5 Intr.

21. **semel**, ἅπαξ, 'once for all.' **splendida**: 'stately,' in reference to the 'state' in which the judge sits. Minos, Aeacus and Rhadamanthus were the three judges of the dead. 25. **neque enim**, 'for neither.' Horace, as frequently, concludes by adducing mythological instances to prove the general statement just made: Diana cannot set Hippolytus free, though he

was chaste, nor T. break the bonds of Pirithous, though he was so dear. Note the parallel and emphatic positions of **pudicum** and **caro**. Hippolytus being devoted to celibacy and the chase was under the protection of the virgin huntress Diana, but his step-mother Phaedra compassed his death on his refusal to gratify her guilty passion. For Pirithous cf. 3. 4. 79 n. 27. **Lethaea vincula**, 'the fetters of the tomb.' Lethe (λήθη, forgetfulness) was 'the river of oblivion' in Hell.

ODE VIII

'*I would gladly present my friends with goblets and bronzes, Censorinus, and you should not have the poorest gift, that is, of course, if I were the rich possessor of such works of art. But neither do I possess, nor do you care for such rarities. You love song and song I can give, yes, and I know the value of the gift. The Scipios owe more to Ennius than to their monuments and their exploits. Where would be the fame of Romulus and Aeacus if it were not celebrated in verse? The Muse alone confers immortality: it is through her that Hercules, the Dioscuri, and Bacchus are enthroned among the immortals.*'

In this and the next Ode, though Horace addresses Censorinus and Lollius, his words seem meant for Augustus. The Poet-Laureate hints pretty broadly to the Emperor that he is well aware of the value of the favour he is bestowing in writing this Book at his request. Censorinus was consul B.C. 8, and Vell. 2. 102 speaks of him as *demerendis hominibus natum*, 'born to win men.'

1. **donarem.** It was customary for rich people to send presents (*strenae, étrennes*) to their friends at certain seasons, *e.g.* on the Kalends of March and at the Saturnalia. *commodus* with *donarem* 'courteously,' 'obligingly': 'I should be glad to gratify them by giving.' 2. **aera**, bronzes, especially Corinthian bronzes, were much valued as ornaments. 3. **tripodas** . . . . See Lidd. and Scott s. v. τρίπους, and cf. Virg. Aen. 5. 110 *in medio sacri tripodes viridesque coronae | et palmae pretium victoribus.*

5. **ferres**, 'would get,' *i.e.* from me. **divite** . . . 'that is, if I were rich in works of art.' *divite me*, = *si dives essem*, forms the protasis to which *donarem* and *neque tu ferres* are the apodosis. Notice *ars* = 'art,' 'skill,' *artes* = the objects produced by such skill, 'works of art.' 6. **Parrhasius** of Ephesus (*flor.* 400 B.C.) was celebrated for his painting of divine and heroic figures. Scopas (395-350 B.C.) was a sculptor of Paros who helped to decorate the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus with the bas-reliefs some of which are now in the British Museum. 7. **liquidis**, added to suggest a contrast with the hard marble of the statuary. 8. **sollers ponere**, 'skilled to portray,' *i.e.* in portraying; see 1. 3. 25 n. For *ponere* cf. 4. 1. 20 *ponet marmoream*, of a statue; Ov. A. A. 3. 401 *si Venerem Cous numquam posuisset Apelles*, of a painting; Juv. 1. 155 *pone Tigellinum*, of a portrait in writing.

9. **haec vis**, *i.e.* abundance of these things; cf. 4. 11. 4 *hederae vis.* 10. **res**, 'fortunes.' Censorinus was too well off to need presents. **animus**, 'tastes.' 12. **pretium** . . . 'to assign a value to the gift.' See Intr. 13. **incisa** . . . 'marbles graven with public records.' 14. **per quae** . . . *i.e.* which keep the memory of dead heroes still living. 15. **celeres fugae.** The plural is rhetorical: Hannibal was only once defeated, at the battle of Zama B.C. 202, after maintaining his position in Italy for 16 years. 16. **reiectaeque** . . . Notice the rhetorical repetition of *re* and *retrorsum*: the words indicate that Hannibal's threats were flung back *upon his own head.*

17. **non incendia** . . . 'nor does the burning of unholy Carthage more brightly point out the renown of him who returned having won a name from conquered Africa than do the Muses of Calabria . . .' The sense is clear: the public memorials and the unrivalled exploits of Africanus have not done more for his fame than the verses of Ennius. On the other hand the objections to the text are many. (1) The burning of Carthage took place B.C. 146, 37 years after the death of the elder Scipio, 23 after the death of Ennius, and therefore had nothing to do with either of them. Wickham makes a suggestion which is just possible, that Horace is thinking not so much of the elder Scipio personally as of the fame of the *name* 'Africanus,' *eius* . . . *rediit* being merely a periphrasis for that name. Horace then asks 'What throws most glory on the name of Africanus, Zama and Carthage, or Ennius' poetry?' (2) The gen. *Karthaginis inpiae* followed immediately by the gen. *eius*, which has no connexion with it but goes with *laudes*, is very awkward. (3) The pronoun *is*, doubtless as being weak and unemphatic, is almost absolutely ignored by the Roman poets: Virgil very rarely uses it: in the Odes it is only found here and in the dubious passage 3. 11. 18, nor can it bear the strong emphasis here placed upon it. (4) All the Odes admit of division into stanzas. As at present constituted this Ode consists of 34 lines and cannot be so divided—a formal but fatal objection to the text. Some editors mark a lacuna of two lines after line 17; Kiessling omits lines 17 and 33 as spurious. Some alteration is certainly needed. 18. **qui domita** . . . *i.e.* P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major. Cf. S. 2. 1. 66 *duxit ab oppressa meritum Karthagine nomen.* Livy says that he was the first Roman *imperator* who received a name from the people he had conquered: the practice subsequently became frequent, e.g. *Asiaticus*, *Germanicus*, *Macedonicus*, and cf. our use of such titles as Napier of Magdala, Wolseley of Cairo. 20. **Calabrae Pierides.** Although *Pierides* ('dwellers in Pieria' 4. 3. 18 n.) had become merely = 'Muses,' yet the combination of the word with *Calabrae* is hardly happy. Q. Ennius, the father of Roman poetry, was born at Rudiae in Calabria B.C. 239: his most important work was an epic poem called Annales, the principal portion of which was a description of the second Punic war. **neque** . . . 'nor, if no poet's page tell of thy great deeds, shalt thou reap thy reward.' **sileant**, 'pass over in silence'; cf. 2. 13. 26 n.

23. **taciturnitas invida**, 'grudging silence,' cf. 4. 9. 33 *lividas obliviones.* 26. **virtus et favor et lingua.** All with *vatum*: it is to the 'mighty poets' wit and favour and eloquence' that Aeacus owes his salvation from the Stygian waves. 27. **divitibus** . . . 'places a hallowed dweller in the islands of the blest.' *divites insulae* are the μακάρων νῆσοι, *fortunatae insulae*, 'the Happy Isles' situated somewhere 'beyond the sunset,' wherein dwelt the good and glorious heroes of the past. 29. **caelo** . . . 'the Muse dowers with a dwelling in the sky.' **sic**: emphatic, 'so' and only so, *i.e.* by the favour of the Muse; the word must be mentally supplied before each of the two succeeding clauses. 31. **clarum** . . . 'so do the sons of Tyndarus (*i.e.* Castor and Pollux, see 1. 3. 2 n.), a brilliant constellation, snatch the storm-tossed bark from the abyss.'

ODE IX

'*Lest you deem that these songs of mine will not live long, remember that, though Homer has the foremost place, yet the poetry of Pindar, Simonides and others is not forgotten.* (*Poetry too it is which alone confers immortality;*)

Helen was not the first of her sex who has burned with a guilty passion, full many an Ilium has been besieged, many a brave man has lived before Agamemnon, but all lie now forgotten in the grave, 'unwept and unhonoured' because 'unsung.' I, Lollius, will see that no such fate is yours: your good deeds shall never be the prey of jealous forgetfulness. Yours is a soul foreseeing and firm, bold to punish greed and guilt because itself superior to greed, ever fit for the highest position in the state. Such is the ideal man, not wealthy but knowing how to use the gifts the gods provide, fearing dishonour more than death, ready to sacrifice his life for his friends or his country.'

M. Lollius, consul B.C. 21, had been defeated by the Sygambri B.C. 16 (see 4. 2. 36 n.), but stood high in the favour of Augustus, who sent him B.C. 2 as tutor with his grandson C. Caesar into the East, where he died, according to Vell. 2. 102 by his own hand in consequence of the roguery and rapacity he had long practised being discovered. He was certainly very wealthy, and his granddaughter Lollia Paulina the wife of Caligula sometimes wore jewelry worth over £300,000 (cf. Pliny N. H. 9. 118 *hic est rapinarum exitus, hoc fuit, quare M. Lollius infamatus regum muneribus in toto oriente interdicta amicitia a Caio Caesare Augusti filio venenum biberet, ut neptis eius quadringentiens HS. operta spectaretur*). But what his real character was, and whether Horace was deceived in him (as Lucretius was in Memmius) or no, is unimportant, for the concluding lines of the Ode, though professing to describe Lollius, are really the description of an ideal. Lollius was the friend of Augustus, and Horace having to send him an Ode and praise his virtues, naturally finds it easier to pen a sketch of perfect virtue instead. Odes, Dedications, Testimonials, and the like more often present the writer's idea of what a man should be, than a description of what a particular man is.

1. **ne . . .** The construction is *ne . . . credas . . . non* (*si . . . sedes*) *Pindaricae latent . . . Camenae*, see Summary. 2. **longe sonantem . . .** 'born beside far-echoing Aufidus'; cf. 3. 30. 10-13 and notes. 3. **non ante . . .** Horace was practically the first to use Gk. lyric metres (*e.g.* Alcaics and Sapphics) in Latin, cf. 3. 30. 13. 4. **verba . . .** 'I utter words to be wedded to the lyre.' 5. **Maeonius.** Maeonia is an old name of Lydia, the supposed native country of Homer. 7. **Ceae,** *i.e.* of Simonides; 2. 1. 38 n. **minaces,** *i.e.* warlike (στασιωτικά), because written to rouse the nobles to take vengeance on the popular party by whom he and they had been driven into exile. Cf. 2. 13. 30, and 1. 32. 5 n. 8. **graves,** 'stately,' 'dignified.' Cf. Quint. 10. 1. 62 *maxima bella et clarissimos cecinit* (*Alcaeus*) *duces et epici carminis onera lyra sustinuit.*

9. **nec . . .** 'nor has time blotted out whatever Anacreon's sportive Muse composed of old.' The charming poems attributed to Anacreon and known to English readers through Moore's versions are classed by Bergk as *Anacreontea.* For **ludere** with acc. = 'to write sportively,' cf. 2. 13. 26 n. and Virg. G. 4. 564 *carmina qui lusi.* So too *ardere* line 13 'to be hotly in love with,' and *sileri* line 31. 11. **vivuntque . . .** 'still lives the passion entrusted to the strings of the Aeolian maiden,' *i.e.* of Sappho, who wrote in the Aeolic dialect; 2. 13. 24 n. **commissi,** *i.e.* she made her lyre the confidante of her secrets; cf. S. 2. 1. 30. 13. **non sola . . .** For connexion see Summary. **ardere,** 'to be in love with,' in Horace usually takes an abl. (cf. 2. 9. 5 n.) but can equally take acc. (*e.g.* Virg. Ecl. 2. 1 *ardebat Alexim*) and clearly governs the accusatives near it, though they are also partially governed by *mirata.* 'Not alone has Laconian Helen been fired

with love for the ordered locks of an adulterer and his gold-bespangled robes, marvelling at them and his regal pomp and retinue.' Others make *arsit* quite intransitive here. **comptos**, from *co-mo* = 'put together,' cf. *de-mo* 'put off,' *su-mo* 'put apart.' **14. aurum vestibus inlitum.** Gold thread was worked in patterns into the tissue of costly robes, cf. Virg. Aen. 3. 483 *picturatas auri subtegmine vestes.* **16. Lacaena** = Λάκαινα fem. adj. from Λάκων.

17. primusve . . . The *non* of line 13 is still carried on ; 'nor was Teucer the first . . .' Homer Il. 13. 313 speaks of Teucer as ἄριστος Ἀχαιῶν τοξοσύνῃ. Cydon was a city in Crete, and the Cretans were celebrated archers ; Virg. Ecl. 10. 59 has *Cydonia spicula.* **18. non semel . . .** 'not once only has an Ilium (*i.e.* a city such as Ilium) been harassed in war.' **20. Idomeneus** : a Cretan leader. **Sthenelus** : charioteer of Diomedes. **21. dicenda . . .** governed by *pugnavit* : 'nor has . . . Sthenelus alone waged combats worthy to be sung by the Muses.' Cf. 4. 4. 68. **22. Deiphobus,** brother of Hector. **excepit** is used strictly here of receiving something you were looking out for, or which was meant for you ; cf. 2. 15. 16. **24.** Notice the emphatic position of **primus** : in translating the whole of lines 13-28 special care must be taken to bring out the force of the emphatic words, viz. *sola, primus, semel, solus, primus, multi ;* the persons mentioned were not the *only* or the *first* persons who have deserved renown.

26. inlacrimabiles . . . 'unwept and unknown lie buried in endless night.' *inlacrimabilis* is here used passively, but 2. 14. 6 'who never weeps.' **27. urguentur** suggests the idea of night lying on them 'like a tomb' (Wickham), cf. 1. 24. 5 *Quintilium perpetuus sopor* | *urguet* ; 1. 4. 16. **27. longa** : 2. 16. 30 n. **28. sacro.** Partly as being under the special protection of heaven, but chiefly as bestowing the divine gift of immortality, cf. 1. 26. 11 n. **29. sepultae** strictly agrees with **inertiae**, but really qualifies the whole sentence : we get the effect by rendering 'but little in the grave is the difference between baseness and unrecorded bravery,' *i.e.* in the grave both are equally forgotten. For *inertia* = 'lack of spirit,' 'cowardice,' cf. *iners* 3. 5. 36. **31. chartis,** 'pages' ; cf. 4. 8. 21. **32. totve . . .** 'nor will I permit jealous forgetfulness to prey at pleasure on all your exploits.' *lividus*, 'bluish-green,' the colour of a bilious or jealous man (cf. 2. 5. 10 n.), then = 'jealous' ; so we speak of 'a jaundiced view of things,' and of 'green-eyed jealousy.'

35. rerumque prudens, 'both sagacious' or 'foreseeing (*prudens* = *providens*) in affairs' ; *rerum prudentia* expresses practical sagacity in the affairs of life, and is often contrasted with *sapientia*, which expresses a higher, philosophic, and sometimes theoretic, wisdom. Cf. φρόνησις)(σοφία. For the gen. see 1. 15. 24 n. **que . . . et** = τε . . . καί. **36. rectus,** 'upright' in two senses, (1) unmoved and firm, (2) acting rightly. **37. abstinens . . .** 'spurning all-engrossing gold.' Horace is fond of placing a gen. after words which indicate 'ceasing from,' 'keeping from,' 'being free from,' cf. 2. 9. 17 *desine querellarum*, 3. 17. 16 *operum solutis*, 3. 27. 69 *abstineto irarum.* **39. consulque . . .** 'and a consul not of one (brief) year but (always) as often as, a good and honest judge, it has preferred the right to the expedient, (as often as it) has flung back with haughty mien the bribes of the guilty, (yes, and) through opposing mobs has advanced its arms victoriously to the front.' Line 39 refers to the Stoic paradox that the perfectly virtuous man is under all circumstances a 'king among men' ; cf. 3. 2. 17 n. Horace tells Lollius, who had been consul B.C. 20, that 'his soul is ever consul,' *i.e.* though he no longer wears the external insignia of that office,

his soul proclaims its real dignity and unchanging rank whenever it prompts him to act with true nobility. Bentley quotes a quantity of phrases which show that *animus consul* would not be as novel to a Roman ear as it is to us, e.g. *animus carnifex, censor, dominus, rex, liberator.* Others say that, there being four lines between *animus* and *consul*, Horace applies the word rather to Lollius himself than to *animus*; but surely the whole point is that, though *Lollius* himself is no longer consul, yet his nobility of conduct makes him ever a consul *in soul.*

41. **honestum utili.** These two words are often used in the neuter in ethical treatises almost as substantives, like Gk. τὸ καλόν and τὸ συμφέρον. They express the two great ends with reference to which moral conduct may be regulated, viz. right and expediency. We do a thing because we think it either right (*honestum*) or expedient (*utile*). 46. **recte**, with *vocaveris*; **beatum** predicatively: 'you will not rightly call blessed.' There is a play on the word *beatum* in the Latin: it has two meanings, (1) 'happy,' (2) a conventional meaning = 'well off,' 'wealthy.' The owner of large estates is popularly called *beatus*, but according to a more correct standard (*recte*) he often does not deserve the name, cf. 2. 2. 18 n. 48. **sapienter**, 'wisely': the word describes the action of one who not only acts rightly, but acts so consciously and on principle as the true 'wise man' should; cf. Ep. 1. 16. 20. 50. **timet, non ille . . . timidus.** Mark the antithesis: 'and fears dishonour worse than death, he who fears not to die for friends or fatherland.' The pleonastic *ille* is inserted to call emphatic attention to the fact that he, who so fears dishonour, is the very man who fears nothing besides.

ODE X

'*Ah, Ligurinus, beautiful and proud with flowing locks and rosy cheeks, when your mirror reflects a bristly chin and a different face you will regret your beauty and your pride.*'

1. **Veneris** . . . 'a lord of all love's gifts.' 2. **pluma**, 'down,' of the early beard. **insperata**, *i.e.* sooner than is expected. 4. **nunc et** . . . 'and the hue which now surpasses the purple rose's bloom has changed and altered Ligurinus into a hirsute visage.' 6. **alterum**, 'different.' Cf. the celebrated epigram in the Anthology, Ἀναθηματικά I. ἡ σοβαρὸν γελάσασα καθ' Ἑλλάδος, ἡ τὸν ἐραστῶν | ἑσμὸν ἐνὶ προθύροις Λαῒς ἔχουσα νέων, | τῇ Παφίῃ τὸ κάτοπτρον, ἐπεὶ τοίη μὲν ὁρᾶσθαι | οὐκ ἐθέλω, οἵη δ' ἦν πάρος οὐ δύναμαι. 8. **incolumes**, 'in their freshness.'

ODE XI

'*All is prepared for keeping high festival, the wine, Phyllis, the ivy-garland that so sets your beauty in relief, the altar and the victim; the whole household is astir and the kitchen chimney smokes. To-day is the Ides of April, the month of Venus, and above all it is the birthday of my own Maecenas. Come then, and cease to long for Telephus who is far beyond your reach: let the history of Phaethon and Bellerophon be a warning against such lofty ambition. Come, Phyllis, the last—I swear it—of my loves, come and sing me one of my songs: song is the antidote for care.*'

This is the only Ode in this Book in which mention is made of Maecenas, to whom all the three first Books are addressed. Between 21 and 16 B.C.,

when he finally withdrew from public life, a coolness had sprung up between the Emperor and the minister, so that his name could hardly be mentioned frequently in a Book written specially at Augustus' request.

2. **Albani**: reckoned second only to Falernian. 3. **nectendis apium coronis**, 'parsley for weaving chaplets': this use of the dat. of the gerundive to express a purpose is chiefly found in legal phrases, e.g. *IIIviri agris dividendis*, 'a body of three land commissioners,' *Xviri legibus scribendis*, 'a body of ten men for drawing up laws.' Virg. G. 1. 3 has *cultus habendo pecori;* 2. 9 *arboribus natura creandis*, 'method for rearing trees.' For this use of parsley, cf. 1. 36. 16; Virg. Ecl. 6. 68. 4. **vis multa**, 'much abundance.' 5. **qua crines** . . . 'which binding back thy hair sets off thy beauty.' The Latin with inimitable terseness expresses that the hair was drawn back and fastened with a wreath of ivy, the effect of this simple ornament being to bring out in full relief the brilliancy (cf. *fulges*) of Phyllis' beauty. 7. **verbenis**: 1. 19. 14 n. **avet inmolato** . . . 'longs to be sprinkled with the sacrifice of a lamb.' *spargier* is an archaic form of the inf. passive only found here in the Odes.

9. **manus**, 'band,' *i.e.* of slaves, further defined in line 10 as *mixtae pueris puellae*. The invitation is doubtless to Horace's Sabine farm, cf. *in horto*, line 2. 11. **sordidum flammae** . . . 'the flames quiver as they whirl the sooty smoke in eddies': *sordidum* is graphic and suggests a contrast with the bright glimmer of the flames. **trepidant**: 2. 4. 23 n. 14. **Idus** . . . 'you are to keep the Ides, the day . . .' The Ides were on the 13th of every month except March, May, July, and October, when they were on the 15th. 15. **mensem Veneris marinae.** The month being sacred to Venus adds fitness to his invitation. Ov. Fast. 4. 61 derives *Aprilis* from Ἀφροδίτη, because in that month Venus rose from the foam (ἀφρός) of the sea: *sed Veneris mensem Graio sermone notatum | auguror; a spumis est dea dicta maris.* The real derivation is from *aperio* 'the month of the opening,' *quia ver aperit tunc omnia* (Fast. 4. 87). 16. **findit.** The ancients connected *Idus* with *divido*, or an Etruscan word *iduo* of the same meaning.

18. **natali**: used as a subst. without *die*. 19. **adfluentes** . . . 'reckons the on-gliding years.' *adfluentes* admirably describes the way in which each succeeding year silently glides on (*fluere*) and is added (*ad*) to the tale of those already past. 20. **ordinat**, lit. 'places in a row,' *i.e.* each birthday adds one to the row of figures which marks the number of his years. 21. **occupavit**, 'has made her own.' 22. **non** . . . 'a youth of fortunes other than yours': **sors** = a man's 'lot' or position in life. 23. **grata compede.** Oxymoron, cf. 3. 11. 35 n.

25. **avaras spes**, 'greedy' or 'ambitious hopes.' There is 'a half comic irony' (Wickham) in the mythological instances which Horace selects as a warning to Phyllis. 26. **exemplum grave**, 'a weighty warning.' The use of *gravatus* in the next line seems to have no reference to *grave* here but to be purely accidental. 27. **gravatus**, 'disdaining the burden of an earth-born rider.' *gravari* 'to treat as a weight,' 'hardship,' or 'grievance'; hence accurately of a horse which objects to its burden and gets rid of it. 29. **ut**: after *exemplum praebet*, 'gives a warning so that you should seek a fitting partner.' **et ultra** . . . the construction is *et disparem vites nefas putando sperare ultra quam licet:* 'and shun an unequal match by thinking it unholy to hope for more than is permitted.' 33. **non alia calebo femina**, 'no other woman shall fire me with love.' For *calere* with abl. =

'be in love with,' cf. 3. 9. 5 n. **34. condisce**: stronger than *disco* = 'learn well' or 'thoroughly.' **35. reddas**, 'reproduce,' cf. 4. 6. 43 *reddidi*. **atrae**, 'gloomy.'

ODE XII

'*Winter is passing away and spring returning, the swallow is building her nest and the shepherds are piping on the grass. The warmer weather suggests a drinking party, but if you, Vergilius, who have so many noble youths among your patrons, mean to drink my best wine, why then you must "pay your shot" with a box of nard and then you shall have the best that is to be procured. Come then and bring the nard: I cannot afford to feast you wholly at my own cost: come quickly and forget money-making for a while: life is short, remember, and a little folly in its season is very pleasant.*'

The Vergilius here addressed is certainly not the poet, for (1) he died B.C. 19, before this Book was published, (2) the language here used (*iuvenum nobilium cliens* 15, *studium lucri* 25) could not possibly have been applied to him; cf. the language used 1. 3. 6; S. 1. 5. 40; 1. 6. 55.

1. veris comites. These 'attendants of spring' are not the Zephyrs as in 4. 7. 9, but the 'northern breezes' mentioned in line 2. So Columella 11. 2. 21 *x. Cal. Mart. venti Septentrionales, qui vocantur Ornithiae, per dies triginta esse solent; tum et hirundo advenit.* **2. Thraciae**, 'northern'; cf. 1. 25. 11; Epod. 13. 3. **4. hiberna nive turgidi**, 'swollen with winter's snow,' *i.e.* with the melting of it. This would take place in very early spring before settled warm weather came in. **5. Ityn** . . . 'the unhappy bird that ever mournfully moans for Itys and (is) the undying disgrace of the house of Cecrops for that she cruelly avenged . . .' Cf. Soph. El. 148 ἃ Ἴτυν, αἰὲν Ἴτυν ὀλοφύρεται | ὄρνις ἀτυζομένα, Διὸς ἄγγελος, of the swallow. **8. regum.** The plural is generic: the reference is to Tereus alone, but the plural suggests that such vicious acts were common among princes. For the story, see Dict. Ant. s.v. Tereus: some legends make Procne (the swallow) mother of Itys, others Philomela (the nightingale). Here in connexion with nest-building as a sign of spring the swallow seems referred to, cf. Virg. G. 4. 306 *ante | garrula quam tignis nidum suspendat hirundo* = 'before spring,' and the proverb μία χελιδὼν ἔαρ οὐ ποιεῖ.

9. dicunt carmina fistula, 'rehearse songs with the pipe,' *i.e.* with the assistance of the pipe. *fistula* is a Pan's-pipe (σύριγξ), and *deum, cui* . . . refers to Pan. **11. nigri**, 'dark-wooded.' **14. sed pressum** . . . 'but if you are eager to quaff wine pressed at Cales' (cf. 1. 20. 9 n.). **ducere**: 1. 17. 22 n. **16. merebere**, 'you will,' *i.e.* 'must earn.'

17. nardi parvus onyx: *onyx*, so called from its resemblance to the finger-nail (ὄνυξ), is a kind of marble or alabaster: it was frequently used in making boxes for ointments or unguents, and hence the word is frequently used = 'an ointment box' of whatever material, *e.g.* Prop. 3. 10. 22 *murreus onyx.* Cf. the accounts given of the anointing of Christ at Bethany: St. Matthew (xxvi. 7) speaks of ἀλάβαστρον μύρου βαρυτίμου; St. Mark (xiv. 3), with his usual accuracy, has ἀλ. μύρου νάρδου πιστικῆς πολυτελοῦς, adding that she 'brake the box' (συντρίψασα), and that its value was ἐπάνω τριακοσίων δηναρίων. **eliciet**, 'shall lure forth.' **18. Sulpiciis** . . . 'reposes in the Sulpician stores.' For proper nouns used as adjectives, see 1. 15. 10 n. The 'Sulpician' stores were on the Tiber at the foot of the Aventine and subsequently became part of the imperial domain, being well known as the

horrea Galbiana; Lanciani, Rome p. 248. **19. donare, eluere.** Epexegetic, cf. 1. 3. 25 n. **amara curarum,** 'the bitterness of care.'

22. non ego te. Notice the antithetical pronouns: I the poor poet, you the rich money-maker. 'I do not propose to steep you in my cups for nothing.' **23. inmunem** (from *in* and *munus*), ἀσύμβολον, 'without paying a contribution.' It was common among the Greeks and Romans to have feasts at which each guest contributed his share, cf. 3. 19. 6 n. **26. nigrorum ignium,** 'black flames,' *i.e.* the flames of the funeral pyre. **27. consiliis,** 'plans,' *i.e.* for money-making. **stultitiam brevem,** 'an hour's folly.' **28. desipere,** 'to cast off seriousness.' **in loco,** ἐν καιρῷ.

ODE XIII

'*The gods have heard my prayers: you are becoming old and ugly, Lyce, and yet you still act like a young girl, and seek to awaken love. Love prefers fair Chloe's cheeks, and rudely wings his flight past wizened age, to which no ornaments can bring back its former charms, the charms which once stole my heart from me, when you succeeded Cinara as the queen of my affections. Alas, poor Cinara, the fates cut her off in her youth, while you they preserve to a fabulous age that the young men may scoff at the ashes of your beauty.*'

A sequel to 3. 10 which describes the cruelty and pride of Lyce in her youth.

1. audivere . . . The repetition (cf. 2. 14. 1 n.) expresses exultation, just as we say Hurrah, Hurrah! cf. 4. 2. 49. The repetition too of sound in *fis* and *vis* seems intentional: he almost *hisses* the harsh truth into her ear. For the inverted order *audivere Di . . . Di audivere,* cf. 3. 5. 21 n. **5. et cantu . . .** 'and with quavering notes when in your cups seek to arouse sluggish Cupid.' **6. ille.** Emphatic: the god, *you* try in vain to awake, is wide awake enough elsewhere. **virentis,** 'young,' 'in the spring-time of life.' **7. psallere,** ψάλλειν, 'to touch,' or 'twitch with the fingers,' then to play on the harp, or sing to it, cf. 'psalm.' **Chia,** originally an adj. then a proper name, cf. *Delia, Lesbia.* **8. pulchris excubat . . .** 'keeps watch on the fair cheeks.' *excubo* is a technical word used of sentinels on guard. For the metaphor cf. Romeo and Juliet, v. iii. 94 'beauty's ensign yet | Is crimson in thy lips and in thy cheeks, | And death's pale flag is not advanced there.'

9. aridas quercus, 'sapless oaks'; Lyce is compared to an old and gnarled oak. **10. te quia . . . te quia.** Derisive repetition. 'Shrinks from *you, because* your teeth are yellow, from *you, because* wrinkles give ugliness and the snow upon your head.' **13. Coae purpurae.** Purple robes of extremely fine silk manufactured at Cos, see Mayor on Juv. 8. 101. **14. clari lapides,** 'gleaming jewels'; other MSS. give *cari,* 'costly.' **tempora . . .** 'the years which once swift time has shut in safe-guarded in the public registers.' **15. notis**: added to hint that it is no use Lyce endeavouring to deny her age; the *public* registers bear testimony which cannot be concealed. **condita inclusit.** The idea is that of Time *storing up* and then *locking in* the past so that it can never be recovered.

17. venus: as often, 'charms,' 'beauty.' **color,** 'hue,' 'complexion.' **18. quid habes . . .** 'what have you (left) of her, ah me, of her who breathed passion . . . ?' **illius,** 'her of long ago,' *i.e.* the old Lyce, the Lyce of former days. For the repetition cf. 4. 4. 70 n.; the effect here is pathetic, but the pathos is used to enhance the mockery.

20. surpuerat. By syncope for *surripuerat*, cf. 1. 36. 8 n. **21. felix . . .** 'happy (*i.e.* in the possession of my heart) after Cinara (*i.e.* after her death) and a beauty of repute (*nota*) and winning wiles (*gratarum artium*).' **gratarum artium** is simply a gen. of quality (cf. 4. 1. 15 *centum puer artium*), and is put instead of an adj., being strictly parallel to *nota*. **facies** refers to the whole personal appearance of Lyce. Most editors make *artium gratarum* dependent on *nota*='noted for,' and *et*=*etiam*, 'and a beauty noted also for her winning wiles.' That *et* after *que* can=*etiam* certainly lacks proof, and the construction *notus artium* they only support by the authority of 2. 2. 6, where see notes. The *gratae artes* are explained by Comm. Cruq., '*artium gratarum facies dicitur quae oculis, nutu superciliorum, cervicis volubilitate, capitis gratia, totius denique corporis motu placet.*' **24. servatura . . .** 'though they mean to preserve Lyce to match (*parem* is proleptic) the years of a poor old raven.'

25. vetulae: used of old age when spoken of contemptuously. For the age of the raven, cf. 3. 17. 13 n. **28. facem,** 'torch,' here of the blaze of beauty which kindles the fire of love. For *dilapsam* (*dis-lapsam*) 'that has fallen asunder,' *i.e.* gradually wasted away into ashes, some MSS. by a common error read *delapsam in cineres* which would mean 'that has fallen down into ashes.'

ODE XIV

This and the following Ode are closely connected: the one dwells on Augustus' victories in war, the other on his triumphs in peace.

'*How shall senate and people worthily immortalise thy merits, O Augustus? But lately the Vindelici have been taught thy prowess in war, for it was with thy troops and under thy auspices that Drusus overthrew the Genauni and the Brenni, and that afterwards Tiberius joined battle with the Raeti. On him every eye was fixed as he careered irresistible over the field of battle; like to the South wind when he sweeps over ocean at the equinox, or the bellowing Aufidus when with swollen torrent he threatens inundation, was the onset with which he broke the mailed ranks of barbarians and, his own troops uninjured, carried carnage and conquest far and wide—yes, because thou didst furnish the forces, the forethought and the favour of the gods. For it was fifteen years from the day when Alexandria yielded to thee that fortune added this crowning glory to thy past campaigns. Now all the world owns thee its master at peace beneath thy sway, while Italy and Rome enjoy thy guardianship and thy presence.*'

Tiberius (emperor A.D. 14-37) and Drusus (4. 4 Intr.) were the sons of Tib. Claudius Nero and Livia, who subsequently married Augustus. The campaigns referred to took place in B.C. 15: Wickham says that 'their object was to obtain military command of the more eastern passes into the valleys of the Rhine and the Inn which were still unsafe for Roman armies. Drusus forced what is now known as the Brenner pass, overthrowing the Rhaeti near Tridentum, now Trent. Meantime Tiberius was despatched from Augustus' army in Gaul, with the purpose of taking the enemy in the rear. He ascended the Rhine valley to the lake of Constance, and thence penetrated the gorges of the Upper Rhine and Inn in every direction, so that at the conclusion of a brilliant and rapid campaign, the two brothers had effected the complete subjugation of the Grisons and the Tyrol.'

1. patrum . . . Quiritium: a poetical variation of the ordinary phrase *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, S. P. Q. R. **2. honorum,** 'magistracies,'

cf. 1. 1. 8 n. The word is used strictly: the Roman emperors carefully retained the old *forms* of the Republic: the old magistracies were still allowed to exist in name (*eadem magistratuum vocabula*, Tac. Ann. 1. 3). The emperor was technically only an ordinary citizen, on whom the senate and people had from time to time conferred various ordinary and extraordinary dignities. Thus Augustus was appointed perpetual *Imperator*, B.C. 29, and in the same year accepted the 'censorian power'; in B.C. 28 he became *princeps senatus;* he was consul for the 6th time B.C. 28, and for the 7th time B.C. 27; in B.C. 23 he received the 'tribunician power,' and in B.C. 12 he was made *pontifex maximus:* see Merivale c. 31. **3. Auguste.** Octavian assumed this name B.C. 27; it really served as a title: 'the name was intact,' says Merivale, 'it had never been borne by any man before,' but the adjective was applied to things holy and divine and suggested power and greatness (cf. *augeo*, and see Ov. Fast. 1. 609). **in aevum . . . aeternet**: pleonastic emphasis: 'is to immortalise for ever.' Cf. the N.T. εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. **4. per titulos . . .** 'by (means of) inscriptions and recording annals.' *Fasti sunt fasti dies*, says Festus: *fastus* is originally an adj. from *fari*, and *fasti* (*dies*) are (1) days 'on which the magistrates may speak,' on which the law-courts are open, cf. Ovid, Fast. 1. 47, (2) a register or list of such days, (3) as here, 'annals,' 'records.' Such public records would be the *annales maximi* kept by the *pontifex maximus*.

5. qua . . . oras = the whole habitable globe; ἡ οἰκουμένη. **6. principum.** The title of *princeps senatus* was a purely honorary distinction conferred by the censors on the most esteemed and worthy of the senators. It was the title which Augustus specially affected: cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 1 *cuncta . . . nomine principis sub imperium accepit;* 1. 2. 50. The word certainly does not in Horace's time mean 'a prince' or 'sovereign,' and so *maxime principum* must be taken = *maxime princeps*. **7. quem . . . Vindelici didicere . . . quid Marte posses**: lit. 'whom the V. have learnt what thou couldst in war,' *i.e.* whose prowess in war the V. have learnt. This idiom by which the nom. of the subordinate sentence is placed under the government of the main verb is Gk. rather than Latin, *e.g.* οἶδά σε τὶς εἶ.

10. Genaunos. These and the *Brenni*, whose name still survives in the Brenner pass, are two tribes of the *Raeti* in the modern Tyrol. **11. et arces . . .** 'and citadels that crown the awful Alps.' *arx*, derived '*ab arcendo*,' = 'a place of defence' situated on an eminence. **13. deiecit,** 'o'erthrew': the word governs all the accusatives which precede, though, perhaps, more strictly applicable to the last. **plus vice simplici**: lit. 'more than with one-fold requital,' *i.e.* avenging every loss he suffered by inflicting a much greater. The omission of *quam* after *plus* is not uncommon, e.g. *plus quingentos colaphos infregit mihi*, Ter. Ad. 2. 1. 46. Conington renders 'and paid them back their debt twice told.' **15. inmanes**: 3. 4. 42 n. **16. auspiciis secundis,** 'with' or 'under happy auspices': *i.e.* those of Augustus, who as perpetual *imperator* could alone take the auspices, so that all victories were won under his auspices; cf. 1. 7. 27 n.

17. spectandus . . . quantis fatigaret seems an ordinary indirect question dependent on *spectandus*: ''Twas a sight to see with what destruction he harassed hearts dedicated to the death of freemen.' Wickham makes it a Gk. construction = θαυμαστὸς . . . ὅσοις. **18. devota . . . liberae.** Horace, with true Roman indifference, merely mentions this quality to enhance the glory of Tiberius. **20. indomitas,** 'unconquerable': the adj. suggests a

comparison with the description of the Raeti in line 18. **prope qualis . . .** The construction is *prope qualis Auster exercet undas . . .* (*tali modo*) *inpiger vexare turmas:* 'almost as the South wind when he frets the waves . . . (even so) unwearied to harass the squadrons of the foe and dash his snorting steed . . . ' **prope:** the introduction of this word before *qualis* is very remarkable. Metaphors, similes and the like are in their proper place in Poetry, in Prose they are strictly speaking not: consequently Prose-writers frequently introduce them with apologies and qualifications, Poets rarely or never. A comparison in poetry that needs qualification or apology is self-condemned. In S. 2. 3. 268 the purely conversational style admits *prope.*

21. **Pleiadum . . .** The Pleiades rise and set about the time of the equinoxes, and so of the equinoctial gales. They are spoken of as 'cleaving the clouds' because, in the cloudy stormy weather which accompanied their rising and setting, they would be only seen fitfully through *rents* in the *clouds.* **24. medios per ignes:** a proverbial phrase of facing any great danger, cf. S. 2. 3. 56; Ep. 1. 1. 46, but specially of plunging into 'the heat of the fray,' cf. Sil. It. 14. 175 *per medios ignes mediosque per enses;* Ov. Met. 8. 76 *ire per ignes | et gladios ausim.* **25. tauriformis.** The Greeks represented rivers and torrents under the form of bulls, doubtless with reference to their violence and their roar; so Homer, Il. 21. 237 describes Xanthus as μεμυκὼς ἠύτε ταῦρος, and cf. Eur. Ion 1261 ὦ ταυρόμορφον ὄμμα Κηφισοῦ πατρός. For the Aufidus cf. 3. 30. 10, 4. 9. 2. Horace with pardonable prejudice selects the river of his native place. **28. meditatur,** 'plans.'

29. **agmina ferrata diruit,** 'dashed in pieces the mailed ranks.' **31. metendo,** 'by mowing down.' So in English: 'Some men with swords may reap the field, | And plant fresh laurels where they kill'—J. Shirley. **32. stravit humum,** 'strewed the ground,' *i.e.* with the dead his sword had mowed down. **sine clade victor:** because of the small loss of his own men. Cf. Much Ado about Nothing I. i. 8 'A victory is twice itself, when the achiever brings home full numbers.' **33. tuos divos.** The expedition was undertaken under the 'auspices' of Augustus, see line 16 n. **34. quo die,** *i.e.* when Augustus after the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra at Actium B.C. 31 passed on to the East and entered Alexandria some time in the autumn of B.C. 30. The words *quo die* are probably not to be taken too accurately. **36. vacuam:** because Antony and Cleopatra had put an end to their lives. See Shak. Ant. and Cleo. IV. xv and Act V.

37. **lustro:** 2. 4. 23 n. **40. arrogavit.** This word usually means (1) to adopt a child, (2) to appropriate to oneself what is not one's own. Neither sense suits here. Horace perhaps coined the phrase on the analogy of the well-known *prorogare imperium.* Just as the senate for a favourite or victorious general (*prorogabat imperium*) 'granted an extension (*pro*) of his command,' so Fortune for her favourite Augustus 'granted this additional (*ad*) glory to his past commands' (*decus peractis imperiis arrogavit*). **41. Cantaber:** 2. 6. 2 n. **42. Medus,** 'the Parthian,' cf. 1. 2. 51 n. **Indus, Scythes.** Suet. Oct. 21 says that embassies from these two peoples came to solicit the friendship of Augustus. **44. dominae,** 'mistress,' *i.e.* of the world. **45. te . . . Hister.** Wickham rightly points out that, though the adjectival clause *fontium qui celat origines* applies primarily to the Nile, yet 'the position of the copulatives seems to show that the Danube is included,' cf. Seneca, Quaest. Nat. 4. 1, who compares the Danube with the Nile, *quod et fontes ignoti et aestate quam hieme maior sit.* **47. beluosus:**

only found here, = the Homeric μεγακήτης: cf. 3. 27. 26 *scatentem* | *beluis pontum;* Ps. civ. 25 'this great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts.' **remotis Britannis**: 1. 35. 29 n.

49. non paventis funera Galliae, 'Gaul that dreads not death'; because, according to the teaching of the Druids, death in battle was only the passage to another life; cf. Lucan 1. 459 *felices errore suo, quos ille timorum* | *maximus haud urguet leti metus, inde ruendi* | *in ferrum mens prona viris animaeque capaces* | *mortis et ignavum rediturae parcere vitae.* **50. audit**, 'obeys.' **51.** For the **Sygambri**, see 4. 2. 36 n. **52. compositis . . .** 'worship with weapons laid to rest.' Mark the peacefulness and repose suggested by the sound and sense of this concluding line.

ODE XV

'*When I thought to tell of wars and warlike conquests, Phoebus struck his lyre to warn me against venturing on so wide a sea. And indeed, Caesar, the most glorious triumph of thy life is the establishment of universal peace. Peace hath her victories no less than war, the checking of licence, the banishment of vice and the restoration of the old virtues that made the name of Italy famous to the limits of the world. Safe beneath thy guardianship we fear war neither at home nor abroad, and therefore every day, when young and old meet at the family board, it shall be our delight, after prayer to the gods, to sing of the glorious dead, to sing of Troy and Anchises, and of thee the last and greatest of that heaven-descended race.*'

1. Phoebus: as the god of song and music. So also he restrained Virgil, though in a more homely manner, Ecl. 6. 3 *cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem* | *vellit et admonuit.* **2. increpuit lyra**: *increpo* means (1) 'to make a noise,' (2) 'to make a noise at,' 'rebuke loudly,' and is therefore used accurately here = 'sounded his lyre in warning.' Ovid, A. A. 2. 493, describes the same thing: *haec ego cum canerem, subito manifestus Apollo* | *movit inauratae pollice fila lyrae.* **3. parva Tyrrhenum.** Note the antithesis, cf. 3. 3. 72 *magna modis tenuare parvis;* according to his universal practice of preferring the special to the general, Horace selects the Tyrrhene sea as an instance of a wide or large sea. **4. vela darem**, 'spread my sails': for the same metaphor, cf. Virg. G. 2. 41 *pelagoque volans da vela patenti.* **Caesar.** Augustus was a 'Caesar' as the adopted son of Julius Caesar: but the name was gradually becoming a title, as it has become in many modern languages, *e.g.* Kaiser, Czar, Shah.

5. fruges . . . *i.e.* by making it possible to again cultivate the fields in safety. **5-16. et.** Note the repetition of *et* emphasising the accumulation of blessings, and contrast the repetition of *non* 17-24. **6. et signa . . .** cf. 1. 2. 22 n. **nostro**: because Jupiter Capitolinus was *the* god of Rome, cf. Prop. 3. 11. 41 *ausa Iovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim.* **8. vacuum duellis**, 'free from wars.' For the form *duellum* cf. Ep. 1. 1. 6 n.

9. Ianum Quirini clausit. For a full account of Janus, see Ov. Fast. 1. 62-146 and Dict. s.v. The word is the masc. form of Diana (*Ianus* = *Dyanus*), and probably was originally the title of the sun. In Italy, however, he is always represented with two heads, and the patron of gates (*ianuae*), inasmuch as they look two ways, while the term *Ianus* is applied to any 'covered way' or 'arcade' with two entrances. The name *Ianus Quirini* or *Ianus Quirinus* was however specially applied to one such arcade, the doors of

which were open in time of war and shut in time of peace. It was said that, whereas they had only been twice closed previously, viz. in the reign of Numa and after the first Punic war, they were closed three times in the reign of Augustus, viz. B.C. 29 and 24, and on one other occasion. Cf. Suet. Oct. 22 *Ianum Quirinum semel atque iterum a condita urbe clausum . . . terra marique pace parta ter clausit.* **et ordinem** . . . 'and curbed licence that strayed outside the straight path.' **10. frena inicere** is found even in prose = 'to curb,' or 'restrain': on the other hand, *dare frena* = 'to give the rein to,' 'give full scope to.' The metaphor in **evaganti** is from a horse that in a race breaks away and leaves the *rectus ordo* or 'straight line' of the course: here however *rectus ordo* means also 'the path of rectitude.' 12. **veteres artes,** 'ancient arts,' *i.e.* the virtues of old Roman life, such as thrift, temperance, simplicity, on which Horace dwells in Book 3. 1-6 and which Augustus attempted to galvanise into life again by numerous statutes. For *ars* in this sense, cf. 3. 3. 9 *hac arte Pollux.*

14. **imperi.** For contracted gen. cf. 1. 6. 12 n. *imperium,* lit. 'military sway,' then the 'state possessing military sway,' 'the Empire.' 15. **maiestas.** This word is technically used to describe the dignity (1) of the gods, (2) of magistrates, and (3), most frequently, of the Roman State, *e.g.* in the phrase *maiestas populi Romani: maiestatem p. R. minuere* or *laedere* is 'to commit high treason,' and 'treason' is *laesa maiestas* (cf. Norman-French lèse-majesté). The phrase *imperi maiestas* represents the State as a living unit, embodying and reproducing all the glories of Roman history, and, as such, to be deemed reverend and inviolable. Cf. Cic. pro Rab. 1. 2 *maiestatis atque imperi,* = 'the imperial dignity' of Rome. 17. **furor civilis,** 'civil madness,' *i.e.* civil war, such as had for a century devastated Italy, and made men indifferent to forms of government so long as they could enjoy that *otium* which was the greatest gift and greatest safeguard of the Empire. 18. For **exiget,** 'banish,' some MSS. read *eximet,* 'take away.' 20. **inimicat**: a word invented by Horace. *inimicus* is usually distinguished from *hostis* as a *private* from a *public* enemy; *inimicus* is one who might be a friend, *hostis* is a stranger or foreigner: probably Horace therefore uses *inimicat* to bring out more forcibly the idea that the strife between these 'hapless cities' is not 'a war' but a 'family, domestic quarrel.'

21. **qui profundum** . . . *i.e.* dwellers by the Danube, cf. 2. 20. 20 n. 22. **edicta Iulia,** 'the Julian decrees.' The word *edictum* is used loosely here: strictly it is the 'declaration' made by the *praetor* on entering office of the principles by which he would be guided in administering justice. See Dict. Ant. s.v. **23. Seres.** Put for any remote Eastern nation, cf. 1. 12. 56. **infidi Persae,** *i.e.* as always, the Parthians. Cf. Ep. 2. 1. 112 *invenior Parthis mendacior,* where the expression seems proverbial. 'Perfidy' however was a charge which the Romans commonly brought against successful opponents, cf. 3. 5. 33 n. and 4. 4. 49.

25. **nosque** . . . 'and we (for our part),' *i.e.* they shall keep peace and we will enjoy it. **et . . . et,** 'both . . . and.' **profestis**: days which were not *dies festi.* **26. inter iocosi** . . . Cf. Macaulay's imitation at the end of Horatius, 'When the oldest cask is opened,' etc. **29. virtute functos duces**: lit. 'leaders who have fulfilled a man's part,' *i.e.* who have died after performing a man's part—'the heroic dead.' *functus* and *defunctus* as expressing a completed task are continually applied to the dead, as being those who 'rest from their labours,' either with or without (though this is

somewhat post-classical) an abl. of the task completed; cf. 2. 18. 38 *functum laboribus*. *virtus* from *vir* is 'all that may become a man'—'manliness' and therefore frequently 'courage.' **more patrum**: with *canemus*. Cato the Censor is quoted by Cicero (Tusc. 1. 2) as referring to this 'ancient custom': *est in Originibus solitos esse in epulis canere convivas ad tibicinem de clarorum hominum virtutibus*. **30. Lydis**: the pipe was much used in Phrygia, *e.g.* in the worship of Cybele. But 'Lydian' often describes a peculiar *style* of music (ἡ Λυδιστὶ ἁρμονία Plat. Rep. 398 E), spoken of as μαλακὴ καὶ συμποτική by Plato: others again speak of it as orgiastic and wild as opposed to the sober solemnity of the 'Dorian mood.' **remixto.** This rare word expresses the continuous alternation of song with music; cf. A. P. 151 *veris falsa remiscet*, 'intertwines fact with fiction.' **31. almae**, 'fostering,' 'kindly' (3. 4. 42 and note)—the famous epithet of Venus immortalised by Lucretius 1. 2 *Aeneadum genetrix, hominum divumque voluptas, | alma Venus*. **32. progeniem Veneris.** Not Aeneas, but his great descendant Augustus.

EPODES

EPODE I

'*You, Maecenas, are about to risk your life for Caesar in a naval combat. What shall I do, to whom life without you is a burden? I will follow you to the world's end, for, though I can be of no service, yet at your side my anxiety will be less. Nor is my devotion due to hope of reward; I am already rich enough by your bounty and have no desire for splendour or wealth.*'

It is generally assumed that Maecenas was not present at Actium, on the authority of Dio (51. 3), who states that he was left in charge of Italy; but the author of an elegy on the death of Maecenas (which Bücheler holds to be contemporary) definitely states that he was present (*cum freta Niliacae texerunt laeta carinae, | fortis erat circum, fortis et ante ducem*), and this view agrees with the language of this and Epode 9.

1. **Liburnis; propugnacula.** The fleet of Augustus consisted chiefly of the small, swift vessels known as Liburnian (see Dict.), which are contrasted with the huge, unwieldy galleons, with 6 to 9 banks of oars, which supported Antony. Cf. the contrast between the English and Spanish fleets in the case of the Armada. **5.** 'to whom life, if ('tis mine) while thou livest, is delight, if otherwise, a burden.' **6. si contra** = *si te mortuo*; euphemism. **7. utrumne**: S. 2. 6. 73 n. **iussi**, 'at thy bidding.' **otium**, 'repose,' which he could employ in poetic pursuits, as opposed to the 'toils' (*laborem*) of war.

9. **laborem**, sc. *persequemur*, 'or shall we follow up this toil (of war), ready to bear it with such resolve as men not cowardly should bear it with?' In the answer *feremus* corresponds to *laturi* and *sequemur* to *persequemur* in inverted order (Chiasmus). **11. te**: emphatic by position. **12. inhospitalem C.**: Od. 1. 22. 6 n. **13. sinum**, 'nook,' 'recess'; cf. Virg. G. 2. 122 *India . . . extremi sinus orbis*. **15. roges**, 'should you ask.'

19. **ut . . .** 'as a bird brooding o'er her callow young.' **adsidens**, not actually 'sitting on,' as the next lines show, but generally of the time when she is sitting. **21. relictis**, dat. She 'fears more *for* them when left, though with them, they with her, she could aid no more (than if far

away)'; lit. 'not likely, though present, to afford them present more aid.' For the repetition of the same idea in *adsit* and *praesentibus* to give emphasis, cf. Ter. Ad. 3. 3. 39 *quia ades praesens;* 4. 5. 34 *hanc sibi videbit praesens praesenti eripi;* Virg. Aen. 4. 83 *absens absentem audit.* **24. in spem,** 'to further my hope,' Wickham.

26. aratra nitantur, 'my ploughs may struggle'; the ploughs are poetically said to do what the oxen drawing them do; *nitantur* suggests rich strong land. **meis** has much better authority than *mea;* cf. 2. 3 *bobus . . . suis.* **27. pecusve . . .** 'or my flocks before the dog-star's heat change from C. to L. pastures'; lit. 'take L. pastures in exchange for C.,' cf. Od. 1. 17. 2. For driving sheep from Calabria to the hills of Lucania in summer cf. Ep. 2. 2. 177 and note. **29. superni,** 'lofty.' Tusculum, 10 m. SE. of Rome, was on the summit of a mountain 2 m. above the modern *Frascati*; Cicero had a favourite villa there. **candens,** 'gleaming,' because built of marble. **Circaea**: because Tusculum was said to have been founded by Telegonus (Od. 3. 29. 8), son of Ulysses and Circe. **32. haud paravero . . .** 'I will never seek to have amassed wealth, either, like miserly Chremes, to bury it in earth or to squander it a dissolute rake.' **33. Chremes**: cf. A. P. 94 n. **34. discinctus**: the loose garb indicates the loose character. **nepos**: 'prodigal': the word has no connexion with *nepos* 'a grandson' and is derived from *ne* and *possum* (cf. *inpotens* Od. 1. 37. 10) indicating 'lack of self-control,' cf. S. 1. 4. 49 *nepos filius*, 'prodigal son.'

EPODE II

'*Blessed is the rustic who ploughs his land in peace remote from towns, tends his vines and cattle, stores up honey and fruits* (1-22). *He can lie on the grass lulled to sleep by the murmur of a stream, or in winter hunt* (23-36). *Who, amid such joys, would miss the gallantries of town? While, with a decent homely wife to pile up the fire and prepare the dinner for her good man's return, I would ask for no foreign dainties in preference to a simple meal enjoyed while watching the cattle coming home and the farm-servants taking their supper round the glowing hearth.' So said the usurer Alfius, and after getting in his money on the Ides is now eager to put it out again on the Kalends.*

The praise of rural life is a commonplace with poets. Horace gives a satirical tone to his treatment of it by the surprise (παρὰ προσδοκίαν) which awaits the reader in the final four lines.

1. negotiis, 'business,' just as we use the word. You may *work* when 'far from business,' cf. 1. 7 n. *otium.* **2. prisca,** 'ancient' (cf. Od. 3. 21. 11 n.), living in an ideal age of virtue and happiness. **3. exercet,** 'works,' cf. Virg. G. 1. 99 *exercetque frequens tellurem.* **4. solutus . . .** 'free from all usury,' *i.e.* his stock (cf. *suis*) and farm are his own; he has no mortgage to worry him. The full point of *faenore* is only betrayed line 67. **6. horret,** 'shudders at,' as a sailor. For the acc. cf. Od. 2. 13. 26 n. **7. superba,** 'the haughty thresholds (='antechambers') of more powerful citizens,' *i.e.* the great from whom he seeks favours.

9. ergo . . . 'and so (*i.e.* because free from such cares) he either weds the tall poplars with the full-grown offspring of the vine.' For the 'marriage' of the vine to its supporting tree, cf. Od. 4. 5. 30 n. **adulta**: Columella gives three years as the age. **propago** is technical for a 'layer,' which is obtained by pegging (cf. πήγνυμι, *propago*) down a shoot in the ground until it

takes root and then cutting it off from the parent plant. **11. mugientium,** 'oxen'; so elsewhere in poetry *balantes* 'sheep,' *volantes* 'birds,' *natantes* 'fishes.' **14. feliciores inserit,** 'engrafts more fertile ones': both words are technical, cf. Virg. G. 2. 69, 81. **15. pressa**: cf. Virg. G. 4. 140 *spumantia cogere pressis | mella favis.* The honey was first allowed to drain of itself out of the combs and then the remainder was 'pressed' out; Colum. 9. 15. **16. infirmas**, not 'sickly,' but 'unresisting'; cf. Is. liii. 7.

17. vel . . . 'or when Autumn (personified as a deity) has raised among the fields his head decked with ripe fruits.' **19. gaudet decerpens,** 'delights to pluck' or 'in plucking'; *ἥδεται δρέπων.* **insitiva**, cf. *inserit* line 14, implies that they are choice sorts. **21. Priape.** Cf. S. 1. 8. 2 n.; Virg. G. 4. 111. **22. tutor finium.** Some say that *Silvanus* was especially (like *Terminus*) 'a guardian of boundaries,' but the words here only appeal to him as 'guardian of the farm,' cf. the use of *fines* Od. 3. 18. 2. **24. tenaci,** 'clinging,' as being strong and well-rooted. Others 'matted'; Wickham 'that makes a couch from which you do not slip.'

25. interim=*interea, i.e.* while you lie. **altis . . . ripis**: cf. Quintilian 12. 2 *ut vis amnium maior est altis ripis multoque gurgitis tractu fluentium quam tenuis aquae* . . . which shows that the phrase is used of a *full* stream flowing high up its banks so as to be nearly on a level with their top. Orelli explains 'between their high banks.' *vet. Bland.* has *rivis*='with brimming water-courses,' Wickham. **27. obstrepunt,** sc. *iacenti*, 'fountains with their flowing waters make melody (for him as he lies) to woo . . .'; cf. Theocr. 8. 78 *ἁδὺ δὲ τῷ θέρεος παρ' ὕδωρ ῥέον αἰθριοκοιτῆν.* Markland conjectured *frondes*; cf. Prop. 5. 4. 4 *multaque nativis obstrepit arbor aquis.* **29. annus hibernus,** 'the wintry season,' cf. Od. 3. 23. 8 n.

33. āŭt ămĭ|tĕ lēvi, not *āŭt ā|mĭtĕ lĕv|i*, for a tribrach divided after the second syllable spoils the beat of an iambic; cf. below 35, 57, 61; 3. 17; 5. 85. **rara,** 'meshed'; like *levi* purely pictorial. **34. dolos**: merely 'snares.' Nauck gives 'baits' to tempt the 'gourmand thrushes' (cf. Hom. Od. 12. 252 *ἰχθύσι τοῖς ὀλίγοισι δόλον κατὰ εἴδατα βάλλων*), but if so the apposition between *retia* and *dolos* is very harsh. **35.** The short syllables in the line express the idea of rapid flight. For *lăquĕō* in 5th foot cf. 5. 79 *inferius*, though there perhaps *i* is semi-consonantal. **advenam**: because the crane comes to Italy from the north in winter. **37.** See Summary. **amor**: in a bad sense='gallantry' as opposed to simple domestic life. The correction *Roma quas* is easy and needless. For the noun (*curas*) attracted into the relative clause cf. 6. 8; S. 1. 4. 2. **39. in partem,** 'for (*i.e.* so as to fulfil) her part.' **iuvet,** 'were to help.'

41. Sabina: cf. Od. 3. 6. 38 seq. **solibus**: cf. Ep. 1. 20. 24. **42. pernicis A.**: cf. Od. 3. 16. 26. **44. lassi . . .** 'ready for her weary husband's return'; cf. Lucr. 3. 894 seq.; Gray's Elegy 21 'For them no more the blazing hearth shall burn, | Or busy housewife ply her evening care.' **45. textis cratibus,** *i.e.* wattle hurdles. **47. dolio.** Common wine drunk the same year (*horna*) was not bottled (*in amphoras diffundere*), but drawn straight from the *dolium* or 'cask,' as we should say.

49. conchylia, 'oysters,' for which the Lucrine lake near Baiae was celebrated, Juv. 4. 141. **51. intonata**: from *intono*=*quae intonuit;* cf. *placitus, concretus, iuratus, suetus, cenatus, potus.* Storms in the East are supposed to drive the rare fish just mentioned into Roman seas. **53. Afra avis**: Juv. 11. 141='guinea-fowl.' **54. attagen**: *ἀτταγᾶς*, 'heathcock.'

55. iucundior: predicatively, 'would go down into my stomach with more relish.' **pinguissimis**: cf. Judges ix. 9 'But the olive tree said . . . Should I leave my *fatness* . . . ?'

57. gravi . . . 'mallows that bring health to the burdened body'; cf. Celsus 2. 29 *alvum movent . . . malvae, lapathum;* Od. 1. 31. 16 *leves malvae.* **59. vel agna** . . . His simple diet is only varied with meat on such occasions as the sacrifice of a lamb at the *Terminalia* (a feast in honour of *Terminus*, 'god of boundary-stones,' held Feb. 23) or when a wolf happens to be caught carrying off a kid it had just killed. Sacrifices in antiquity were usually accompanied by a feast on such portions of the victim as were not actually consumed on the altar. **61. pastas**, 'from pasture': lit. 'having fed,' from *pascor*. **62.** Note the exultant emphasis of **videre** . . . **videre**, 'what joy to see . . . to see . . . !' Also note the change from rapid to slow rhythmic movement between lines 61, 62 and lines 63, 64. **65. postos**, 'sitting at supper': cf. S. 2. 6. 66. **examen**, 'swarm,' as of bees. **67-70.** See Summary. The Ides and Kalends (especially the latter, when the monthly interest fell due; S. 1. 3. 87) were natural days for money settlements.

EPODE III

A comic imprecation against garlic, which Maecenas in joke (20) has fraudulently induced Horace to eat in some dish, and which he compares to hemlock, adder's venom, Canidia's poisons, Medea's unguents, the fiery heat of an Apulian midsummer, and the Nessus-shirt which burned up Hercules.

1. olim, 'at any time,' 'ever'; Od. 4. 4. 5 n. For patricide as a type of blackest guilt, cf. Od. 2. 13. 5. **inpia**, 'unnatural.' **3. edit**: an old form of subj.; cf. S. 2. 8. 90 n. **4. o dura** . . . The exclamation marks a spasm of pain. For the taste of 'reapers' for garlic cf. Virg. Ecl. 2. 10 *Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus aestu | alia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentes.* **5. quid hoc veneni** . . . 'what strange poison is this that rages in my vitals?' For the graphic *quid hoc veneni* cf. Ter. Hec. 4. 4. 2 *quid mulieris uxorem habes?* Plaut. Rud. 1. 2. 60 *quid illuc est hominum?* **8.** 'Or did Canidia handle the accursed dish?' For **Canidia** cf. Epod. 5.

9. 'When beyond all the Argonauts Medea marvelled at their glorious chief, that he might fasten (lit. 'when about to fasten') on the bulls the unknown yoke, with *this* did she anoint Jason.' See for the story Class. Dict. s.v. *Argonautae*. **candidum**: in the glow of youth and beauty. **11. tauris** is really governed by both the words between which it stands. **ignota**: because they had never been broken in. **13. hoc**: picking up the preceding *hoc* emphatically—'with *this* she steeped her gifts taking vengeance on a concubine and fled . . .' The potent antidote was also a potent poison. **donis**: a πέπλος and golden crown, cf. Eur. Med. 949. **paelicem**: cf. Od. 3. 10. 15 n.: so Medea would call Creusa daughter of Creon (q.v. in Class. Dict.) whom Jason was about to wed, cf. 5. 63. **14. serpente**, 'dragon.' **15. siderum vapor**, 'heat of the stars,' *i.e.* especially of the dog-star, cf. 1. 27. **17. munus**. The garment steeped in the blood of the centaur Nessus, which Deianira gave Hercules to act as a love-charm, but which clung to him and burned him to death; cf. 17. 31. **umeris**: pictorial, suggesting his strength. **efficacis**: 'laborious,' recalling his Twelve Labours. **19. at**: as often in curses, cf. 5. 1.

EPODE IV

'There is strife between us, you whipped slave. Pride does not alter breeding, and as you strut down the street men cry indignantly—" This scoundrel has estates, carriages, and a seat in the theatre among the knights. Why equip a fleet against brigands and slaves when he—yes, he—is a tribune of the soldiers?"'

The Epode is addressed to an arrogant and upstart freedman, whom the scholiasts call Menas or Menodorus, a freedman of Sex. Pompeius and a commander of his fleet, who deserted to Octavian in B.C. 38. It is safer to assume that we have merely a type of those wealthy freedmen who from the time of Sulla begin to figure so prominently in Roman society.

1. **lupis** . . . The 'enmity' between wolves and lambs is proverbial, cf. 15. 7; Hom. Il. 22. 263 οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄρνες ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν: Shaks. Merch. of Ven. IV. i. 73. **sortito**, *i.e.* by the allotment, appointment of fate or nature. 3. **Hibericis**: made of *spartum*, 'Spanish broom,' 'esparto-grass,' largely used now for making paper. **peruste**, 'scarred': cf. Ep. 1. 16. 47 *loris non ureris.* 5. **ambules**, 'strut along,' cf. 5. 71; Od. 4. 5. 17. In line 7 **metiente** describes his pompous 'pacing' of the street. 7. **Sacram viam**: led through the Forum to the Capitol—a fashionable place for loungers, cf. S. 1. 9. 1. 8. **bis . . . toga**: the opposite of the *toga arta* of the humble client, Ep. 1. 18. 30, or *exigua* of Cato, Ep. 1. 19. 13. **trium** is a correction of the MS. *ter.*

9. **vertat**=*avertat*, 'turns away.' Others say=*advertat*, but, if you see a man and *turn* your face, it must be turned *away.* **huc et huc** (=*huc et illuc*) is most naturally taken with *euntium*, though Nauck takes it with *vertat*, 'turns away in every direction.' 10. **liberrima**, 'most free' or 'unrestrained'='most free-spoken.' The next lines give the language in which they indulge. 11. **triumviralibus**, *i.e.* of the *triumviri capitales*, see Dict. Ant. 12. **praeconis ad f.** 'until the very officer was weary (of his task)': the *praeco* seems to be an officer who during the flogging publicly proclaims the nature of the offence, punishment, etc.; cf. Plat. Leg. 11. 917 D τῇ μάστιγι τυπτέσθω πληγὰς ὑπὸ κήρυκος . . . κηρύξαντος ὧν ἕνεκα μέλλει τύπτεσθαι. 13. **Falerni**: named because famous for its vineyards. 14. **Appiam**: named as the most famous Roman road, constantly thronged with travellers, cf. Ep. 1. 6. 26. **mannis**: cf. Od. 3. 27. 7; like our 'in his carriage.' 16. For Otho's law reserving the first fourteen rows in the theatre (next to the *orchestra* where senators sat) for the *equites*, cf. Ep. 1. 1. 62 n. This upstart relies on his wealth and forgets the disqualification of his birth. The struggle for these seats by *parvenus* is perpetually referred to; cf. Juv. 3. 153 seq. 17. **ora** . . . 'beaked prows of ships vast in bulk'; for the *rostra* see illustrations in Dict. Ant. s.v. *navis.* 19. **latrones** . . . Sex. Pompeius manned his fleet in B.C. 36 with 'brigands and slaves,' cf. 9. 7-9. 20. **hoc, hoc.** This repetition is common in the Epodes, cf. 5. 53; 6. 11; 7. 1; 14. 6; 17. 1, 7.

EPODE V

The witch Canidia prepares a charm with which to secure the affections of the aged Varus, and with this object is about to kill a young boy. (1-10) He appeals for pity: (11-24) Canidia gets ready various ingredients, while Sagana, another hag, helps (25-28), and Veia (29-40) digs a pit in which the

boy is to be buried up to the chin and starved to death, a fourth witch, Folia, being also present (41-46): (47-82) Canidia prays the powers of evil to bring Varus to her doors, and then breaks off (61) to ask why her spells avail not. 'Can some more skilful sorceress have prevailed over her? Never! A still more potent philtre shall fire his passion.' Then (83-102) the boy, seeing prayers are idle, breaks out into a curse and threatens them with the vengeance of his ghost. The scholiasts say that Canidia (17. 50; S. 1. 8. 24) was really called Gratidia, and was an old flame of Horace's. Such guesses seem futile, and this Epode is only an immature attempt to depict one of those scenes of magic, which were popular with ancient readers; cf. Virgil's *Pharmaceutria*, Ecl. 8, and its original in Theocr. 2. For the murder of the boy cf. the well-known story of St. Hugh of Lincoln.

1. **at**: common in entreaties, prayers, and imprecations. It marks the sudden outburst of words that will no longer be controlled, cf. 3. 19; Virg. Aen. 2. 535; Plaut. Most. 1. 1. 37 *at te di omnes perdant;* Catull. 3. 13 *at vobis male sit*—'Nay, but, O all ye gods that (lit. 'whatever of gods') rule . . ., what means that (**iste**, deictic) uproar?' For **deorum quidquid** cf. S. 1. 6. 1 *Lydorum quidquid . . . incoluit;* Catull. 3. 2 *et quantum est hominum venustiorum*, where the phrase is, as here, used as a vocative. **3. omnium, unum**: artistic contrast. **5. si vocata** . . . 'if ever at thy prayer Lucina aided true travail.' The words have two meanings: (1) 'if ever (='as surely as': C. S. 37 n.) thou hast been a mother'; (2) they contain an innuendo that she never has had a child of her own, cf. 17. 50. **6. Lucina**: C. S. 14 n. **adfuit**: commonly of deities being present to *aid*, cf. line 53. **7. inane**, 'idle,' *i.e.* if it does not serve to save him. **purpurae decus**, *i.e.* the *toga praetexta* which marks the sanctity of youth; cf. Quint. Decl. 340 *sacrum praetextarum . . . quo infirmitatem pueritiae sacram facimus;* Juv. 14. 47. It was worn until the taking of the *toga virilis*. It and a golden amulet (*bulla*) are the *insignia pueritiae*, cf. line 12. **8. inprobaturum**: litotes.

9. noverca. The hatred of 'stepmothers' was proverbial: cf. Tac. Ann. 12. 2 *novercalibus odiis;* Sen. Contr. 4. 6 *novercalibus oculis intueri;* Virg. Ecl. 3. 33 *iniusta noverca.* **11. trementi**, 'quivering.' **13. inpube corpus**, 'a childish shape.' **14. Thracum**, *i.e.* of the rudest barbarians; cf. Od. 1. 27. 2. **15.** 'Canidia, having her locks and dishevelled head entwined with tiny adders.' Note the excited short syllables. Canidia is described as a Fury; cf. *furiale caput*, Od. 3. 11. 17 of the snake-crowned head of Cerberus, and see head of Medusa in Smith's Dict. For **brevibus** cf. Ov. Her. 2. 119 *Alecto brevibus torquata colubris;* A. A. 2. 376 *nec brevis ignaro vipera laesa pede.* The adj. contrasts them with other snakes which are of great length.

17. caprificos: often found growing among tombs, cf. Juv. 10. 145. **18. cupressos**: Od. 2. 14. 23 n. **19.** 'and eggs besmeared with a foul toad's blood and feathers of . . .' The eggs are those of the screech-owl, but the position of *ova* next to *ranae* is awkward. Shakespeare puts in his witches' cauldron 'toad,' 'toe of frog,' and 'owlet's wing,' Macbeth IV. i. **21. Iolcos**, in Thessaly, which was famous for witchcraft, cf. Od. 1. 27. 21. **Hiberia**, in Pontus the land of Medea, cf. *Colchicis* below and Od. 2. 13. 8. **22. venenorum ferax**, 'fruitful in poisons'; gen. of abundance, cf. Od. 3. 6. 17 n.

25. expedita=*succincta;* S. 1. 8. 23 n. **26. Avernales a.**, *i.e.* water from lake Avernus, where was the reputed entrance to hell; the opposite of 'holy water,' *pura unda* (Virg. Aen. 6. 229) used in purification; cf. Virg. Aen. 4. 512. **28. currens** balances *expedita*: the word suggests a boar

charging with his bristles up, cf. Ov. Hal. 60 *actus aper saetis iram denuntiat hirtis,* | *et ruit.* **29.** Probably = 'deterred by no consciousness (of guilt),' *i.e.* not troubling herself to think whether she is guilty or not. Wickham prefers 'not one whit deterred by her consciousness (of guilt).' **32.** 'That the boy buried there might die in contemplation of . . .' The food was set before him and changed in order to increase his anguish. **34. inemori**: only found here, governs dat. like *ingemens,* line 31.

35. cum . . . 'while his head projected (above the ground), as much as bodies (of swimmers) suspended by the chin rise above the water.' **36. suspensa mento** is pictorial; the chin rests on the water and so the swimmer is described as hanging by it. **37. exsecta.** So the best MSS., not *exsucta* ('drained out,' 'dried up'), which is not required, for **aridum** goes with both substantives—'that cut out his (parched) marrow and parched liver . . .' **38. amoris poculum,** 'a love-philtre,' *φίλτρον.* **39.** 'When once his eyes had grown glazed (in death) fixed on the forbidden food.' **interminato** in a passive sense, cf. Od. 1. 1. 25 n. **40. pupulae** (dim. of *pupa*) = *κόραι,* lit. 'dolls'; the reflected image of the observer seen in the eye, and so 'the eye' or 'pupil' itself.

43. otiosa N.: 'idle Naples' is mentioned to give a semblance of reality (so too *Ariminensem*), and also as a town which, with its chattering Greek population and reputation for laziness, would possess the latest scandal with fullest details. **45. Thessala.** Cf. Od. 1. 27. 21; and for 'charming the moon out of Heaven,' 17. 4; Virg. Ecl. 8. 69 *carmina vel caelo possunt deducere lunam;* Plat. Gorg. 513 A τὰς τὴν σελήνην καθαιρούσας τὰς Θετταλίδας. **47. inresectum,** 'untrimmed,' with long sharp nails—as hags, witches, and beldams are represented in all ages; the opposite of *sectis unguibus* 'trim nails,' Od. 1. 6. 18. **49. quid** . . . 'what did she say or leave unsaid,' *i.e.* she said everything that was conceivably possible; cf. Ep. 1. 7. 72 *dicenda tacenda locutus* and note. **50. arbitrae,** 'witnesses': Od. 1. 3. 15 n. **51. Diana.** More often called *Trivia, Hecate, Luna* in connexion with witchcraft.

55. formidolosis, 'awe-inspiring'; cf. Virg. G. 4. 467 *et caligantem nigra formidine lucum.* Many MSS. give *formidolosae,* but the balance of the sentence makes it probable that *silvis* has an adj. like *ferae* and *sopore.* For a truer picture of beasts of prey at night cf. Ps. civ. 20-22. **57.** 'May the hounds of the Subura bark, so that (lit. 'a thing at which') all may laugh, at the adulterous old man besmeared with unguents such that my hands never compounded any more perfect.' The *Subura* was a street of bad repute running through the valley between the Esquiline, Quirinal and Viminal. Canidia imagines old Varus hurrying to her house in it so perfumed that all the dogs sniff and bark at him. The 'unguent' is probably one she has sent him, and is supposed to exercise a charm over him, cf. line 69.

61. barbarae = *Colchicae* (line 24): the word suggests something 'outlandish' and dreadful. **63. superbam,** 'proud,' because deeming herself victorious. **paelicem** . . . Cf. 3. 13 n. Medea gave Creusa a robe on her marriage, which burnt her to death when she put it on. **69. unctis** . . . 'a couch smeared with forgetfulness (*i.e.* with drugs that bring forgetfulness) of all (my) rivals.' She had covered even his couch with magic unguents. **71. a, a!** An excited cry as it strikes her why Varus has broken her bonds. **ambulat**: pictorial (cf. 4. 5 n.) indicating his easy satisfied air. **72. carmine,** 'by the spell.'

73. The picture presented to her mind in 71, 72 rouses her rage and

resolution. 'No ordinary (litotes, cf. Od. 1. 18. 9 n.) potions shall make thee hurry back to me, O Varus, thou that art soon to smart severely for this, and not summoned by Marsian spells (cf. 17. 29; Virg. Aen. 7. 758) shall thy heart return (to me): something more powerful will I prepare, a more powerful draught will I administer to thee in thy pride.' She means that giving up ordinary means she will kill the boy to prepare a draught; hence his outburst, line 83. Porphyrion takes *nec vocata* . . . 'nor shall thy (sane) mind ever return *to thee* though recalled by Marsian spells,' but *redibit* is clearly parallel to *recurres* and so *ad me* must be supplied with it. **74. caput** can be applied to a person in emotional language (*e.g.* of hate, affection, mirth), and so commonly *infandum, carum, festivum caput,* and in Gk. ὦ φίλον, σκληρὸν κάρα. **fleturum**: cf. Gk. κλαίων = 'to your cost,' κλαύσει, 'you will pay for it.'

83. sub haec, 'thereupon': *sub* with acc. is sometimes 'just after' as well as 'just before.' **84. lenire**: historic inf. used dramatically. **85. sed** . . . 'but doubtful whence to break the silence (*i.e.* not knowing with what words to begin in his despair) he hurled forth a Thyestean curse,' *i.e.* one like that of Thyestes, when he cursed his brother Atreus, for serving up to him at a meal the flesh of his sons, cf. Aesch. Ag. 1560 seq.

87. venena . . . (1) magic rites (can change the) great (laws of) right and wrong, (but) cannot change human retribution,' *i.e.* though they may be able to murder him and so confound the great laws of right and wrong (cf. Soph. Ant. 797 τῶν μεγάλων θεσμῶν: Virg. G. 1. 505 *fas versum atque nefas*), yet they cannot render idle that human vengeance (cf. Od. 1. 28. 32 *vices superbae*) which he immediately proceeds to threaten them with. So most take this perplexing passage, supplying *convertere valent* with the first clause; cf. Cic. ad Att. 10. 1. The construction, however, is very doubtful, while it is certainly harsh to speak of magic rites as able to prevail over everlasting laws of right and wrong, but unable to prevail over mere human vengeance. (2) Taking *humanam vicem* adverbially (see *vicem* in Dict.) 'magic cannot confound the laws of right and wrong as if they were human things.' The words which follow, however, show that *vicem* is here 'retribution.' (3) Haupt's conjecture *maga non* is largely adopted, 'magic drugs cannot change right and wrong, cannot change . . .' (4) It is possible to make *magnum f. n.* a parenthical exclamation, 'magic rites—great are the (or 'O great') laws of right and wrong—cannot change human retribution.'

89. diris: abl. of *dirae,* 'curses.' **agam,** 'pursue.' **94. deorum Manium.** Cf. the regular inscription on tombstones D.M. = *dis Manibus.* They represent the 'spirit' or 'ghost' of the departed, and as such have 'power' (*vis*) to haunt his murderers. **100. Esquilinae.** Part of the Esquiline hill outside the walls was a common burying-ground for the poorest of the poor, cf. S. 1. 8. 8-13. The witches are to be flung out here unburied for carrion-birds to feed on, while the boy's parents gloat over the spectacle. For the hiatus in the final syllable (probably with shortening) before *alites* cf. S. 1. 9. 38 *si me amas;* Virg. Aen. 3. 211 *insulae Ionio.*

EPODE VI

'Why, like a cur, worry harmless strangers and shrink from a wolf? Why not attack me, for I can bite back? I, like a well-bred hound, follow up the quarry; you give tongue grandly and then begin smelling at a bone. Beware, for I have horns to attack scoundrels with as vigorously as ever

Archilochus or Hipponax did. Or do you expect me when attacked to sit down and cry like a child?'

The Epode is addressed to some cowardly libeller.

3. **vertis.** *vet. Bland.* gives *verte* (and *pete*) which would involve altering the order to *verte, si potes*, but the balance of the double question *quid vexas?* and *quin vertis?* is clearly marked, and either construction is lawful, cf. Virg. Ecl. 2. 71 *quin . . . paras?* Aen. 4. 547 *quin morere!* 5. **Molossus**; **Lacon.** The dogs of the Molossi in Epirus and of the Spartans were famous; cf. Soph. Aj. 8 κυνὸς Λακαίνης ὥς τις εὔρινος βάσις: Virg. G. 3. 405 *veloces Spartae catulos acremque Molossum;* Shaks. Mid. Night's Dream IV. i. 124 'my hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind . . .' 6. **amica vis,** 'stout friends to shepherds'; cf. Lucr. 4. 681 *permissa canum vis;* Virg. Aen. 4. 132 *odora canum vis,* the phrase being copied from Homer's ἱερὴ ἲς Τηλεμάχοιο, ἲς ἀνέμοιο etc. 7. **sublata,** 'pricked up.' 8. For **fera** attracted into the relative clause cf. 2. 37 n.

12. **cornua.** The metaphor is changed to that of a bull which gores or tosses its enemy; cf. S. 1. 4. 34. 13. 'Like him whom faithless L. spurned as his son-in-law, or the foe fierce against (the dat. with *acer*) Bupalus.' For Lycambes cf. Ep. 1. 19. 25 n. Hipponax was an iambic poet of exceptional ugliness, and Bupalus a sculptor who produced a caricature of him. 15. **an**: often introduces an absurd or impossible suggestion in the shape of a question, cf. 17. 76. **atro dente,** 'with venomous tooth': cf. Ep. 1. 19. 30 *versibus atris;* Virg. G. 1. 129 *ille malum virus serpentibus addidit atris.*

EPODE VII

'Why this unholy strife? Has not blood enough been shed by sea and land, not to win triumphs over foes but that Rome might perish by her own hand? Even beasts do not war upon their kind. Tell me, "Are ye mad or what?" They have no answer, but stand terror-stricken and dazed. Assuredly the curse of a brother's blood pursues the descendants of Romulus.'

Written probably about 36 B.C. with reference to the war against Sex. Pompeius, and interesting as one of Horace's earliest efforts to deal with great national events.

2. **aptantur**: pictorial: they try the disused swords to see whether they 'fit' their grasp. 3. **campis.** Cf. Od. 2. 1. 30. **Neptuno**: Od. 2. 1. 34. 7. **intactus,** 'unconquered.' Horace ignores the hurried invasion by Julius Caesar; to him the Britons are the type of remote unsubdued barbarians. **descenderet**: for the *descent* of the *via Sacra* cf. Od. 4. 2. 35 n. Just before the *triumphator* began the ascent from the *forum* to the Capitol the captives were dismissed to the dungeon to be executed (Cic. in Verr. 2. 5. 77).

9. **secundum** . . . 'in accordance with the Parthians' prayers,' *i.e.* to the joy of your foes, cf. Hom. Il. 1. 255 ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες: 2 Sam. i. 20 'Tell it not in Gath . . . lest the daughters of the Philistines rejoice.' **sua**: abl. 'by its own right hand,' *i.e.* by civil war. 11. 'Neither wolves nor lions have ever, with all their fierceness, had such custom save against another kind.' The startling position of **feris** is due to a desire to emphasise it—'neither wolves nor lions have ever done so, and they are fierce savage beasts, not men.' The conjecture *numquam* makes the lines smoother but less effective—'neither lions nor wolves have this habit, never fierce except against another kind.' 12. **dispar**: neut. adj. used = subst., as

often with prepositions, e.g. *in melius, in tutum*. **13. furorne** . . . 'is it (1) blind madness, or (2) is it a stronger power, is it guilt that hurries you along?' Then *sic est* accepts the latter alternative: it is *vis acrior* and *culpa*, the former in the reply becoming *acerba fata*, and the latter *scelus fraternae necis*. 'Yes,' says the poet, 'it is a stronger power and guilt that master you—the cruel destiny which the crime of a brother's blood brings with it.' **19. ut**, 'ever since,' Od. 4. 4. 42 n. **in terram**: graphic; cf. Gen. iv. 10 'The voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground.'

EPODE IX

'*When, Maecenas, shall we celebrate a triumphal feast in your palace at Rome, as we did lately after the defeat of that sea-captain who armed slaves to destroy Roman freedom? Now Romans sell themselves as slaves to the service of eunuchs and an eastern queen, although, chafing at such disgrace, even Gauls deserted to Caesar, and her own fleet refuses to fight. O Triumph-god, dost thou delay the triumphal procession, though never hast thou conducted home so great a leader? Changing his purple robe for mourning the conquered foe is flying to lands afar. Boy, bring larger goblets and stronger wine to check these rising qualms: in wine we will forget our care and fear for Caesar.*'

The dramatic scene is at sea on the evening of Sep. 2 B.C. 31, just after the battle of Actium, at which Maecenas was present with Horace; cf. the graphic *sinistrorsum* line 20, *fluentem nauseam* line 35 and Epod. 1 Intr. The language is not that of assured triumph, but indicates that doubt and uncertainty still remain (cf. line 1 *quando*, 21 *moraris*, 37 *curam metumque*) as to the final issue.

1. quando. The word expresses longing; cf. S. 2. 6. 60 *o rus, quando ego te aspiciam, quandoque licebit . . . ?* Od. 1. 24. 8. **repostum** (by syncope for *repositum*) = *reconditum*, Od. 3. 28. 2 n. **Caecubum**: a choice wine, cf. Od. 1. 20. 9; 37. 5. **3. sub alta** . . . In his palace on the Esquiline, the *turris Maecenatis*, cf. Od. 3. 29. 10 n. **sic Iovi gratum**: 'such is Jove's pleasure,' *i.e.* that some day we should hold the feast in your palace. **5.** 'while the lyre makes melody blended with the pipes, it in Dorian, they in foreign strains.' For the Phrygian music of the pipe (or pipes, for they were usually double, see illustration in Dict. Ant.) cf. Od. 3. 19. 18 n.; it is here contrasted with the deeper notes of the lyre, the Dorian style of music (ἡ Δωριστί) being severe and sober, whereas the Phrygian (ἡ Φρυγιστί) was high-pitched and exciting. The two instruments were continually played together, *e.g.* Hom. Il. 18. 495 αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον. **7. Neptunius dux**: Sex. Pompeius, defeated by Agrippa near Messana B.C. 36, fled to Lesbos and Asia, where he was taken prisoner and put to death by Antony. He styled himself 'son of Neptune,' cf. Appian, B. C. 5. 100 ἔθυε μόνον θαλάσσῃ καὶ Ποσειδῶνι, καὶ υἱὸς αὐτῶν ὑφίστατο καλεῖσθαι . . . φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τούτων χαυνούμενον καὶ τὴν συνήθη τοῖς αὐτοκράτορσι χλάμυδα ἐκ φοινικῆς ἐς κυανῆν μεταλλάξαι.

9. minatus . . . 'he who had threatened Rome with the fetters he had torn from perjured slaves.' He manned his fleet largely with slaves who deserted (cf. *perfidis*) to him. The character of his followers is emphasised because it leads up (*servis* line 10, *servire* line 14) to the thought which follows: Horace had celebrated one feast for a victory over slaves and hopes to celebrate another. **12. emancipatus.** The opposite of our 'emancipated' and = 'enslaved,' made the *mancipium* ('chattel') of some one; cf. Plaut. Bacch. 1. 1. 59 *nunc, mulier, tibi me emancipo; tuus sum.* **13.** Nauck rightly places a comma after **arma** to bring out the double antithesis of

Romanus)(*emancipatus feminae*, and *miles*)(*spadonibus*. **vallum.** These *valli* 'stakes' were 'carried' by Roman troops to serve in making the *vallum* for the camp. **14. potest,** τολμᾷ, 'can bring himself to,' though such an act seems impossible for a Roman. **16. sol aspicit:** the sun is the universal witness to all that happens upon earth, especially to deeds of shame and wrong; cf. Aesch. Prom. 91 καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ: Shelley, Prom. 'I ask yon Heaven, the all-beholding Sun, Has it not seen?' Soph. Aj. 845; 2 Sam. xii. 11 'in the sight of this sun'; 12 'before all Israel and before the sun.' **conopium:** κωνωπεῖον (κώνωψ, 'a mosquito'), our 'canopy,' is (1) 'a mosquito-tent,' (2) 'a curtained bed' and so a sign of effeminate luxury; cf. Prop. 3. 11. 45 *foedaque Tarpeio conopia tendere saxo.*

17. at huc . . . 'and yet two thousand Gauls, chanting Caesar's name, turned their snorting steeds hither (*i.e.* deserted to us).' The Gauls who thus deserted Antony were Galatians (Γάλαται, Κέλται) under king Deiotarus. Wickham with many MSS. reads *ad hunc*, and explains *frementes* as nom. = 'chafing at such a sight,' *hunc* being = *militem spadonibus servientem*, but such Latin is dubious, and *frementes* must go with *equos* (cf. Od. 4. 4. 23, Hom. Il. 4. 227 ἵππους φυσιόωντας), the very horses being described as 'snorting' with indignation. Orelli read *at hoc* and also took *frementes* as nom. directly governing *hoc*, 'indignant at such a thing.' In any case the conduct of these barbarians is contrasted with that of the Romans in Antony's service. Notice **vertĕrunt**, as elsewhere in poetry *tulĕrunt, dedĕrunt.* **19.** The meaning of these lines is obscure. They are closely connected with the preceding lines by *que* and so must mark some similar conduct on the part of some vessels of the fleet, which are described as now 'lying hid in harbour' (*i.e.* the Ambracian gulf) and not joining Antony and Cleopatra. But what is *sinistrorsum citae*, and why the odd phrase *navium puppes*? The latter is the opposite of *ora navium* 4. 17, and so would suggest retreat as opposed to attack, so that perhaps we may take *citae* as a part. and *puppim ciere* = ἀνακρούεσθαι πρύμναν, 'back water,' while *sinistrorsum* is a graphic word natural enough if the writer actually saw them so backing 'to the left' into the Ambracian gulf. Porphyrion explains of flight 'towards Egypt,' which would be to the left of a fleet facing west; and so Orelli *etsi ad fugam sinistrorsum vocantur, tamen Cleopatram destituerunt portuque latent.*

21. io Triumphe. Cf. Od. 4. 2. 49. **22. intactas,** *i.e.* that have never borne the yoke; cf. Virg. G. 4. 539 *intacta cervice iuvencas;* Aen. 6. 38 *grege de intacto . . . mactare iuvencos.* The reference is to the white bulls (*boves* is used fem. according to poetical custom) bred by the river Clitumnus (Virg. G. 2. 146) specially for sacrifice in a triumph. **23.** 'neither in the Jugurthine war didst thou bring home such a leader (as Caesar), nor Africanus (sc. *reportasti parem ducem*), for whom valour reared his monument over Carthage.' Marius led Jugurtha in triumph, Jan. 1, 104 B.C.; Scipio destroyed Carthage B.C. 146. Carthage is described as the 'sepulchre' (*i.e.* everlasting monument) which Scipio by his valour reared for himself. For *sepulchrum* in this sense cf. Stat. Silv. 2. 71 *et Pharo superba | Pompeio dabis altius sepulchrum*, where Lucan's poem the Pharsalia is described as a 'loftier memorial of Pompey than the proud Pharos.' *Africano* (sc. *bello*) has some authority, but 'a war for which (Roman) valour reared the sepulchre over (the ruins of) Carthage' is a startling phrase instead of 'which Roman valour brought to an end by burning Carthage,' and not to be justified by such a use of *sepelire* as Cic. pro L. Man. 11. 30 *bellum . . . adventu [Pompeii] sublatum ac sepultum.*

27. punico. The reference is to the purple *paludamentum* of a Roman general. It is sometimes called *sagum purpureum* to distinguish it from the *sagum gregale* of the common soldier, which Antony here adopts as a sign of mourning. **28. mutavit,** 'has taken in exchange,' cf. Od. 1. 17. 2 n. **29. centum . . .** Cf. Od. 3. 27. 33 n. **30. non suis** : litotes = very unfavourable; cf. Ov. Trist. 3. 5. 4 *nave mea vento forsan eunte suo.* **31. Syrtes.** Cf. Od. 1. 22. 5. **exercitatas**: cf. Od. 4. 14. 21. **32. aut fertur . . .** 'or drifts over the uncertain sea,' *i.e.* is carried aimlessly wherever chance of wind and wave takes him.

34. Chia. Cf. Od. 1. 17. 21 n. It and Lesbian were light wines, whereas Caecuban was strong and εὐστόμαχον, so that Horace suggests it 'to keep in check the rising bile.' The old explanation was that the party were beginning to have drunk too much, but Orelli's 4th edition rightly accepts Bücheler's view that Horace describes himself as really at sea and really uneasy, though the actual physical uneasiness is meant also to suggest the mental uneasiness which is troubling him, cf. lines 36, 37. **37. rerum**: obj. gen. 'fear for Caesar's fortunes.' **38. Lyaeo**: from λύω (Od. 3. 21. 15 n.), so that *solvere* plays on its meaning.

EPODE X

A humorous antithesis to Od. 1. 3 and so affording proof—if proof is needed—that the Virgil there mentioned is the *poet* Virgil. Horace prays all the winds to fall upon the ship which is conveying Maevius (probably to Greece) and to stir up such a storm as fell on the Greek fleet when returning from Troy; he pictures to himself how Maevius will shriek and pray, and vows, if he is only drowned, to offer suitable victims to the Tempests. Maevius was a poetaster chiefly known from Virgil's line, Ecl. 3. 90 *qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina, Maevi.*

1. mala . . . alite. Cf. 16. 23 *secunda alite;* Od. 1. 15. 5 n. **soluta,** 'unmoored.' **3. ut**: in wishes from 'familiar speech'—later *utinam,* **4. memento**: parenthetic. **Auster, (5) Eurus, (7) Aquilo.** Cf. Od. 1. 3. 4, where all the winds, except Iapyx, which would waft the ship to Dyrrachium, are kept imprisoned: here all the winds which would hinder the voyage are to be let loose. **7. quantus . . .** 'mighty as when on mountain heights he snaps the quivering oaks.' **9. sidus amicum.** Without the stars the ancients could not steer, and on the stormy night 'when baleful Orion sets' they would be especially needed; cf. Acts xxvii. 20. **10. tristis Orion**: cf. 15. 7 and Od. 1. 28. 21 n.

13. cum . . . Pallas was 'angry' with Troy because of the judgment of Paris, but when Ajax, son of Oileus, outraged Cassandra in her temple during the sack of Troy, she 'turned her anger away from Ilium in ashes against the impious bark of Ajax,' and caused a violent storm to fall upon the Greek fleet during which Ajax perished; cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 39 seq.; Aesch. Ag. 650; Hom. Od. 4. 499. **16. pallor luteus**: Homer's χλωρὸν δέος. The 'paleness' of an Italian complexion is 'yellow' rather than 'white.' Hence *pallor* is used of gold, and *pallentes violas* (Virg. Ecl. 2. 47) probably of wall-flowers, cf. Od. 3. 10. 14 n.

17. Cf. Cic. Tusc. 2. 23. 55 *ingemiscere nonnumquam viro concessum est, idque raro: eiulatus ne mulieri quidem.* **19. udo,** 'rainy.' **remugiens,** 'roaring back to the S. wind,' cf. Od. 3. 10. 6. **21. opima . . .** 'but if stretched a noble prey upon the curving shore you shall feast the gulls . . .' *opima praeda* on the analogy of *spolia opima.* Porphyrion says, *apparet et*

pinguem fuisse, and the joke is probably meant, as 'fat' in Latin is also = 'stupid.' **22.** For **iuveris** the MSS. give *iuverit*, which many retain. **23.** A lamb was regularly vowed to the Tempests in prayers for *safety*; cf. Virg. Aen. 5. 772 *Tempestatibus agnam | caedere deinde iubet:* here it is promised comically in the opposite case. The **libidinosus caper** is clearly symbolical of *olens Maevius.* Note the mock grandeur of the two lines.

EPODE XIII

"'Tis winter and storm without, and so, while we are young, let us banish gloom within doors. Bring out wine of the year when I was born, and cease to talk of troubles, looking for happier days. Now, steeped in perfumes, we will lighten our hearts with song, according to the sage advice of Chiron to Achilles, "Thou dost go to Troy never to return: remember then while there to seek in wine and song the dear relief of misshaped melancholy."'

A similar theme to Od. 1. 9.

1. caelum contraxit, 'has made the sky lower,' *i.e.* made the face of heaven look threatening; cf. *contrahere frontem, supercilia*, etc. At the same time the literal sense of the clouds 'contracting' the open expanse of sky must not be excluded. **2. deducunt Iovem.** Graphic: the 'rain and snow' come down in such masses that they seem to bring down the sky itself with them, cf. Od. 1. 16. 11 n. Horace is copying Anacreon, Fr. 6 *Δία τ' ἄγριοι χειμῶνες κατάγουσιν.* **silŭae**: cf. 16. 32 *milŭo*; Od. 1. 23. 4 n. **3. Threiciō Aquilone.** The hiatus is helped by the caesura and the proper names: Virgil is fond of it in the 5th foot, *e.g. Actaeō Aracyntho, Neptunō Aegaeo.* Bentley's *amice* for **amici**, though many accept it, is needless. Horace here addresses all his friends who are present: in line 6 he addresses one of them specially, because at a feast some one person was made 'lord of the revel' (*arbiter bibendi*, Od. 2. 7. 25). **4. de die.** To be taken closely with *rapiamus*: the day offers 'opportunity,' let us eagerly accept from it what it offers; cf. Od. 1. 11. 8; 3. 8. 27. Porphyrion has '*convivia de die*' *dicebantur a primo mane coepta;* cf. Od. 1. 1. 20; Ep. 1. 14. 34; Catull. 47. 5 *vos convivia lauta sumptuose | de die facitis*, and undoubtedly feasting, drinking, etc. 'while it is still daylight' are often spoken of in connexion with luxury, intemperance, and the like: but here, where there is no such reference, the simpler meaning of the words is far preferable. **virent genua**: cf. Theocr. 14. 70 *ποιῆν τι δεῖ, ἇς γόνυ χλωρόν* = while young and strong. For *virens* of youth, cf. Od. 1. 9. 17; 4. 13. 6, and the 'knees' are regularly used as a symbol of strength; cf. the Homeric *γούνατ' ἔλυσεν* and Ps. cix. 24 'my knees are weak'; Is. xxxv. 3 'confirm the feeble knees.'

5. obducta solvatur. Antithetical juxtaposition—'unknit the frowning brow of gloom'; cf. Od. 3. 29. 16. **senectus**: metaphorically = 'moroseness'; cf. Ep. 1. 18. 47. **6.** For this birthday wine cf. Od. 3. 21. 1 and note. **move**: cf. Od. 3. 21. 6. **7. cetera.** Cf. carefully the position of this word, Od. 1. 9. 9, where it also follows the mention of wine. Hence, clearly, 'all else' = 'all that is not connected with wine and mirth.' **deus haec** . . . 'perchance heaven will with kindly change (cf. Od. 1. 4. 1 *grata vice*) bring back these storms to calm': *haec*, 'the present condition of things,' *i.e.* in the first instance, the stormy weather outside, and then, secondarily, all our troubles—there will be sunshine after storm. **8. Achaemenio n.** Cf. Od. 3. 1. 44 n. **9. Cyllenea**, *i.e.* sacred to Mercury its inventor (Od. 1. 10. 6), who was born on Mt. Cyllene in Arcadia. The spondaic ending to give

dignity: cf. 16. 17 *Phocaeorum*; 16. 29 *Appenninus*: so Virgil ends lines with *Anchiseo, Pallanteum, Orithyia.*

11. **grandi**, 'huge,' of heroic mould. **cecinit**: of *oracular* utterance; cf. Od. 1. 15. 4 n. **Centaurus.** See *Chiron* in Class. Dict. 12. 'Invincible youth, mortal offspring of divine Thetis.' 13. **manet**, 'awaits,' *i.e.* by destiny, in spite of all thy mother's efforts to keep thee from the land where thou must die; cf. Od. 1. 8. 13. **parvi**: but in Hom. Il. 20. 73 *μέγας ποταμὸς βαθυδίνης | ὃν Ξάνθον καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δὲ Σκάμανδρον.* Perhaps Horace wishes to emphasise the idea of a lowly grave by a 'little' stream in contrast with the glory and greatness of Achilles. Of conjectures *flavi* which gives a Latin rendering of Ξάνθος = ξανθός, 'yellow,' is the best. 14. **lubricus**, 'swift-gliding'; Virg. Aen. 5. 261 *rapidum Simoenta.* 15. **certo subtegmine**, 'with sure web'; cf. Tib. 1. 7. 1 *Parcae fatalia nentes | stamina*, and for the thread of human life which the Fates 'snap' (*rupere*) Od. 2. 3. 15 n. 16. **caerula**: the regular epithet of ocean deities, whose hue is that of the sea itself; cf. Od. 1. 17. 20 n. 18. **alloquiis.** Apparently a reproduction of some Gk. word such as *παρηγόρημα*: cf. the rule given A. P. 52. Note the alliteration of the line and the skill with which it is made up of four words, the aim being to give a smooth and musical finish.

EPODE XIV

An apology to Maecenas for not completing the book of Epodes.

'*You harass me to death with asking me why I am so idle and forgetful to finish my long-promised iambics. I am fired with love fierce as that of Anacreon, and you ought to pity me, for you are in love yourself, happy in a mistress fair as Helen, while Phryne makes me lean with jealousy.*'

1. **tantam** . . . 'has so steeped my deepest senses in oblivion'; for **imis sensibus** cf. Virg. Ecl. 3. 54 *sensibus haec imis—res est non parva—reponas*, and our phrase 'the bottom of the heart.' 3. **ut si** . . . 'as though I have drained draughts . . .'; **traxerim**, like *σπάω, ἕλκω* and commonly *duco.* 5. **candide.** Cf. Od. 1. 18. 11 n. 6. **deus**, *i.e.* love. 7. **olim**, 'long ago'; cf. Od. 4. 4. 5 n. 7. **iambos**, *i.e.* the Epodes; cf. Ep. 2. 2. 59. 8. **ad umbilicum** . . .: cf. Mart. 4. 89. 1 (the last epigram of the book) *ohe iam satis est, . . . | iam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos.* The *umbilici* were the knobs at each end of the stick round which the book was rolled: as you read (*evolvere*) a book when you get to this stick you have got to the end.

9. **arsisse B.** 'was fired with love for'; for construction cf. Od. 3. 9. 5 n. 12. **non** . . . 'to no elaborate measure'; so of Pindar, Od. 4. 2. 11 *numerisque fertur | lege solutis.* The genuine fragments of Anacreon hardly allow us to fully test Horace's criticism, by which, however, he probably means little more than 'in simple strains.' 13. **non pulchrior** . . . 'no fairer flame kindled beleaguered Ilium': **ignis** is used literally = 'fire,' and metaphorically = 'object of love,' *i.e.* Helen. 15. **nec** . . . 'and not satisfied with a single wooer.' 16. **macerat**: cf. Od. 1. 13. 8.

EPODE XV

'*Clinging closely to me you swore—ah! soon to be forsworn—that you would always return my love. Now, Neaera, you shall learn to regret my firmness, for I will not brook your constant preference of a rival. And you, proud sir,*

though wealthy, wise, and handsome, shall yet learn the pain of being deserted, and then it will be my turn to laugh.'

3. **magnorum . . . deorum.** The assonance gives a mock-heroic dignity: cf. the conventional scene-painting in the first two lines which are surely to be taken as mimicry and not real poetry. **laesura,** 'soon to outrage,' *i.e.* by breaking the oath sworn by them. 4. **in verba iurabas**: cf. 16. 25; Ep. 1. 1. 14 *iurare in verba magistri;* the phrase describes swearing *to* a form of words recited by another; so especially of soldiers taking the oath of allegiance to their commander, e.g. *in verba P. Scipionis iurare.* 5. **artius atque,** 'more closely than.' This use of *atque* is a poetic extension of its use in comparisons (after *aequus, similis, idem* etc.) to put two things closely side by side; cf. Virg. Aen. 3. 561 *haud minus ac iussi faciunt.* **hedera**: cf. Od. 1. 36. 20. 6. **lentis,** 'pliant, 'clinging.'

7. **dum . . . mutuum** give the words of the oath in oblique narration—'(you swore) that while the wolf (was hostile) to the lamb (4. 1 n.), while Orion (Od. 1. 28. 21 n.), hostile to sailors, vexed . . . this love should be mutual,' *i.e.* as long as the order of nature remained unchanged. 9. **intonsos**: Od. 1. 21. 2 n. 10. **mutuum**: Od. 4. 1. 30 n. For **turbaret, agitaret,** Bentley, with some authority, read *turbarit agitarit,* which Nauck prefers as more dramatic—'(you swore, saying) that while the wolf shall be . . . this love shall be'; cf. *renarint* 16. 25, following *iuremus in haec.* 11. **virtute,** 'manhood' (*i.e.* resolution); cf. **viri** in next line. The abl. is that of the instrument—you shall be made to mourn *by* my firmness. **Neaera,** from *νεαρός.* 12. **nam . . .** 'for if there be anything manly . . .,' *i.e.* as surely as there is something manly: for **si** cf. Od. 1. 32. 1 n.; C. S. 37 n.

13. **potiori,** 'a favoured rival'; Od. 3. 9. 2 n. 14. **parem,** 'a true mate' or 'match.' 15. 'nor shall my determination yield before your beauty when once it has become hateful (to me)'; for **offensus** practically = *invisus,* cf. Cic. pro Clu. 58. 158 *invidiosus aut multis offensus;* pro Sest. 58. 125 *cui nos offensi invisique;* 2 Verr. 3. 62. 145 *invidiosum offensumque.* Bentley conjectured *offensi* asking *quid mirum, si formae offensae et invisae non cederet? si non illam deperiret, quam turpem iam et deformem esse crederet?* as though *forma offensa,* 'beauty that has become hateful,' meant 'beauty that has become ugly'! But Horace never dreams of Neaera as ugly. No: it is her very beauty which will make her more hateful and loathsome to him, if once the galling doubts of jealousy become certainties (cf. *certus*). 17. **meo . . .** 'who now march triumphant in my mishap' (lit. 'rendered proud by'): **incedis** suggests the haughty gait of a victor; cf. Virg. Aen. 5. 68, who also uses it of the stately gait of Juno, Venus, and Dido. 19. **licebit**: rare even in poetry for *licet,* 'although.' 20. **tibi,** *i.e.* for your profit. **fluat,** *i.e.* 'rolls down its golden sand,' as we should say.

21. For Pythagoras and his theory of souls 'being born again' in fresh bodies, see Class. Dict. and Od. 1. 28. 10 n. **arcana**: 'the secret' or 'esoteric teaching' only revealed to the inner group of his disciples. His doctrines were of an especially mystic character, and his followers were divided into *ἀκουσματικοί* mere 'hearers,' and *μαθηματικοί* real 'students,' Iambl. V. Pyth. 81. 22. **Nirea**: Od. 3. 20. 15 n. 23. **eheu.** Horace mimics his rival's cry. Many MSS. give *heu heu.*

EPODE XVI

'A second generation is being worn away in civil strife, and Rome, which no foreign foe could vanquish, will be overthrown by itself (1-14). *The only*

plan to be rid of our troubles is to fly, like the old Phocaeans, binding ourselves by an oath never to return until the laws of nature are all changed (15-34). *Be this the resolve of those among us who have a good heart, and let us set sail for that circumambient Ocean* (41) *in which are the Happy Isles, where toil and trouble and sickness are unknown—Isles, which as yet no bark has ever reached, but which Jupiter reserved for a righteous people in the day when he turned the age of gold to brass and then to iron, and where the righteous, with me as their prophet-bard, may now find a refuge.*'

Like the seventh, an Epode in which Horace is tuning his lyre to loftier strains. It is undoubtedly early (see notes on lines 49, 55, 57 for its similarity to Eclogue 4) and usually assigned to about B.C. 41, the date of the 'Perusine war' between L. Antonius and Octavian. The idea of setting sail for the Happy Islands is ascribed to Sertorius by Sallust (Fragm. 1. 61) *traditur fugam in Oceani longinqua agitasse, cuius duas insulas propinquas inter se et decem milia stadium procul a Gadibus sitas constabat suopte ingenio alimenta mortalibus gignere;* Plut. Sert. 9.

1. **altera**, 'a second': the first 'generation' would begin in the time of Marius and Sulla, about B.C. 88. 2. **suis** . . . 'and Rome falls by its own might,' *i.e.* is being destroyed by its own mighty men, who ruin it by internecine strife, cf. 7. 10; Matt. xii. 25; Luke xi. 17. Editors compare Liv. Praef. *res . . . ut iam magnitudine laboret sua;* Aug. de Civ. D. 18. 45 *Roma . . . tamquam se ipsa ferre non valens, sua se quodammodo magnitudine fregerat;* Lucan 1. 72 *nec se Roma ferens*, and Od. 3. 4. 65 *mole ruit sua:* but in all these cases Rome is spoken of as something which has become too big to bear its own weight and therefore falls necessarily, whereas in connexion with 'civil strife' the force of *suis* and *ipsa* must be to express suicidal conduct which destroys what is otherwise absolutely stable. 3. **Marsi**. In the Social war B.C. 91-88; Od. 3. 14. 18 n. 4. **Ĕtrusca**: so 40, S. 1. 6. 1; 10. 61, but with Ē long Od. 1. 2. 14, 3. 29. 35, C. S. 38. **Porsĕnae**, but *Porsenna* in Virg.; see Intr. to Macaulay's Horatius.

5. **aemula**. Capua revolted from Rome after Cannae and was retaken B.C. 211. It was treated with ruthless severity, for Rome brooked no 'rival'; cf. for the adj. 7. 5 *invidae Karthaginis.* **Spartacus**: Od. 3. 14. 19 n. 6. **novisque** . . . 'and the Allobroges faithless amid (or 'to' or 'by') revolution.' The ambassadors of the Allobroges (a people between the Rhone and the Isère in the *Insula Allobrogum*) were tampered with by Catiline (B.C. 63), but revealed the secret of his conspiracy; the Allobroges however revolted almost immediately afterwards. **novis rebus** may be dat. 'faithless to Catiline' or abl. causal, 'by desire for revolution,' or general abl. of attendant circumstances. 7. **caerulea**, 'blue-eyed'; Tac. Germ. 4 *truces et caerulei oculi.* **Germania**: the reference is to the defeat of the Cimbri and Teutones by Marius B.C. 102 and 101. 8. **abominatus p.**: cf. Od. 1. 1. 25 n. 9. **devoti sanguinis**, 'of a doomed breed,' because sprung from Romulus, the slayer of his brother, cf. 7. 20. 11. **cineres**: of Rome. 12. **sonante**, 'clattering,' 'echoing,' in contrast with the silence and desolation around. Cf. Ezekiel xxvi. 11 *ungulis equorum suorum conculcabit omnes plateas tuas.*

13. **carent ventis** . . . 'are safe from wind and sun, *i.e.* in the tomb. This is inconsistent with the carrying off of Romulus to heaven, Od. 3. 3. 15; but rhetoricians and poets may defy consistency. Porphyrion quotes Varro as referring to a 'burial place of Romulus behind the Rostra.' Cf. Jer. viii. 1 *eicient ossa regum Iuda et ossa principum eius et ossa sacerdotum . . . de*

sepulchris suis et expandent ea ad solem et lunam; Baruch ii. 24. **15. forte** . . . 'perchance ye seek, all alike or the nobler part (of you, to learn) what aids you to be quit of your unhappy troubles: let no decision prevail over this, as . . . (so) to go (21) . . .' The sentence is one of those common conditional sentences where the protasis is put vigorously as a statement, instead of hypothetically with *si*. **quid expediat** seems used with an inf. just as *quid inpediat* might regularly be, Horace being fond of bold uses of the inf.; cf. within a few lines *hac* (*sententia*) *ire; habet suadere; occupare moramur.* Others explain *quid expediat* (*quaeritis*) . . . *quaeritis carere* . . ., cf. Od. 3. 4. 39 *finire quaerentem.* Kiessling 'what sets you free from troubles so as to be quit of them,' *ὥστε ἀπαλλαχθῆναι αὐτῶν.* **17. Phocaeorum** . . . The inhabitants of Phocaea, being besieged by Harpagus B.C. 534, abandoned their city and sunk 'a lump of iron,' vowing not to return to Phocaea *πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφανῆναι* (Herod. 1. 165). They founded Massilia. **18. exsecrata,** 'having bound themselves by a curse'; *ἐποιήσαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας* Herod. l.c.

21. quocumque . . . quocumque . . . Passionate repetition. **pedes . . . per undas,** *i.e.* by land or sea, cf. Od. 3. 11. 49. **23. sic placet?** Recalling the *placetne?* used in taking the judgment of the Roman senate, the decrees of which often began *Placere senatui* or *Senatui non placere.* **25. renarint,** 'rise and float.' **26. ne** . . . '(then only) let returning be not a crime.' **27. quando . . . aequora** (34), *i.e.* when all the laws of nature are inverted. The Latin poets are fond of developing this idea, *e.g.* Od. 1. 29. 10; Virg. Ecl. 1. 59. **28. Matina,** *i.e.* of Mons Matinus in Apulia, cf. Od. 4. 2. 27. **30. monstra iunxerit,** 'shall unite monsters,' *i.e.* animals which by seeking such unions will show themselves monstrous and unnatural. **31. iuvet** . . . 'so that tigresses delight to mate with stags, and the dove finds a paramour in the kite.' **32. miluo**: trisyllabic; cf. Ep. 1. 16. 51 n.

33. ravos. Cf. Od. 3. 27. 3 *rava lupa.* Festus defines the colour as between *fulvus* and *caesius*, which is used of the colour of a cat's eye or of Minerva's eye (=*γλαυκός*). The adj. is used by Varro of the eyes; a good ram should have *ravos oculos*, a good dog *oculos nigrantes aut ravos.* It seems here=*χαροπός* (cf. Hom. Od. 11. 611 *χαροποὶ λέοντες*) which is used (1) as='bright-eyed,' then (2) of colour='bluish-gray,' see Lex. Many MSS. have *flavos.* **34. lēvis,** *i.e.* losing its hair and becoming 'smooth' like a fish. **37. mollis** . . . 'let the delicate and despairing continue to press their ill-omened couches'; *i.e.* lie idly at home where they are doomed to perish. **39. tollite,** 'away with!' cf. Od. 2. 5. 9. **virtus, muliebrem**: antithetical juxtaposition. **40. Etrusca litora**: not 'the coast of Etruria,' but 'the coasts of the Tuscan sea' (*mare Tyrrhenum* or *Tuscum*) and so='the shores of Italy,' which they are to fly past on their way westward.

41. circumvagus. The Homeric idea of *'Ωκεανός* was that of a stream flowing round the world; cf. Aesch. Prom. 138. Porphyrion reads *n. m. O. circum vagus arva beata: petamus arva* . . . making *circum* govern *arva*, but then the repetition of *arva* by itself after *arva beata* is intolerably flat. **42. divites et insulas** is explanatory of *beata arva*—'let us seek the fields, the blessed fields of those rich isles where . . .' For *divites insulae* cf. Od. 4. 8. 27 n.; Hom. Od. 4. 563 seq. **43. reddit,** 'duly bears,' gives what is looked for from it. **45. n. fallentis,** 'that never deceives' those who expect fruit from it; Od. 3. 1. 30 n. **46. pulla,** 'dark,' *i.e.* ripe. **suam,** 'its own,'

i.e. without needing to be grafted on another stock; cf. Virg. G. 2. 82 *miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma*, said of the stock in which a graft has been placed. **47. mella . . .** Cf. Od. 2. 19. 12 and the Biblical phrase 'a land flowing with milk and honey.' Abundance of honey is a constant sign of felicity with the ancients, who, having no sugar, made much more use of honey than we do. **48.** Notice the rhythm.

49. illic . . . So in the same connexion Virg. Ecl. 4. 21 (written about B.C. 40) *ipsae lacte domum referent distenta capellae | ubera*, where *ipsae* = *iniussae* here, and *distenta u.* = *tenta u.* **50. amicus**, 'loving,' and so needing no constraint, but coming 'unbidden.' **52. neque . . .** An artificial phrase: 'nor does the ground swell up and heave with snakes,' being = 'nor do snakes, which cover the ground, swell (*i.e.* in anger) and raise themselves (*i.e.* to attack).' Others take *alta humus* of 'deep soil' as opposed to the rocky, dry, sandy spots which vipers love. **53. pluraque . . .** 'and more things shall we marvel at . . . (namely) how . . . '. For *miror ut* cf. Od. 3. 4. 12. **54. radat**, 'scours.' **55.** Note the careful balance and order of this line—adj. A, adj. B, verb, noun A, noun B, and cf. lines 7, 33; Virg. Ecl. 4. 4 *ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas*, 14 *inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras*, 23 *ipsa tibi blandos fundent cunabula flores*, 29 *incultisque rubens pendebit sentibus uva.* The tendency thus to balance adjectives at the beginning of a line with nouns at the end is marked throughout this Epode (cf. lines 2, 4, 9, 34, 46, 48, 57, 59, 63), as it is in Eclogue 4, and rather indicates juvenile work, although some of the finest effects in Virgil owe much to the same device, cf. G. 1. 468 *inpiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem*, and lines 495, 497, 508, 510. **56. utrumque**, *i.e.* 'each' extreme of wet and drought.

57. non huc . . . *i.e.* they have never been contaminated by any of those restless adventurers (typified by Jason in pursuit of the golden fleece) and merchants, for whom Horace has a hearty dislike, cf. Od. 1. 3; 3. 29. 57-61. Similarly in Virg. Ecl. 4. 32 'tempting the sea in ships' and the 'building of the Argo' are marks of 'guile,' and in the golden age that is coming there will be no sailors and no merchants. **59. Sidonii.** The Phoenicians were the great traders of antiquity; cf. Od. 3. 29. 60 *Tyriaeque merces;* Is. xxiii. 2 'the merchants of Zidon'; 8 'Tyre . . . whose merchants are princes.' **cornua**, *κέρατα*, the ends of the yards. **60. laboriosa c.** 'much-enduring troop': *πολύτλας*, the Homeric epithet of Ulysses himself (cf. 17. 16), is transferred to his followers. **61. astri**: such as *Sirius*, the dog-star, to the 'fiery fierceness' of which the malignant heat of summer was attributed (cf. 1. 27; Virg. Aen. 3. 141). **62.** For **inpotentia** of '*uncontrolled* fierceness' cf. note on *inpotens* Od. 1. 37. 10. **64. aere . . . aere**: cf. Od. 1. 2. 4 n. **65. duravit**, 'he made hard,' playing on the word *durus*, which can be used (1) literally of iron, (2) metaphorically (*a*) = enduring trouble, (*b*) = hard, cruel. **quorum**, 'from which,' with *fuga*.

EPODE XVII

A dialogue in which Horace (1-52) sarcastically entreats Canidia's pity, while Canidia (53-81) replies that he pleads in vain.

HORACE. '*I yield; be pitiful and cease thy spells* (1-7), *even as Achilles had pity on Telephus and Priam, and Circe on the comrades of Ulysses* (8-18). *I have suffered, and still suffer, torture enough, so that I recant my denial of the power of witchcraft* (19-29). *I am consumed with fires, that burn like the shirt of Nessus or the flames of Aetna. Is there no expiation of my guilt? I*

am ready to hymn to heaven thy chastity and virtue, in a palinode such as that by which Stesichorus recovered sight (30-44)*; and therefore set me free, for, truly, upon thy lineage there is no slur, thou hast never violated a tomb, Pactumeius is the offspring of thy own womb, thine are the distinctions of maternity.'*

CANIDIA. '*Thou dost appeal to deaf ears. Art thou to be unpunished for revealing my mysteries and making me the talk of the town?* (53-59). *Is it for that I have studied witchcraft? No: thou shalt live to suffer endless torments like the torments of the damned* (60-69). *Thou shalt seek to slay thyself, but in vain, while I ride in triumph on thy neck. What! shall I, who can work all wonders, lament that my skill is ineffective against thee?'*

1. **iam iam.** Eager repetition, cf. *solve, solve*, line 7. **do manus,** 'yield,' 'acknowledge defeat.' 3. **Dianae**: cf. 5. 51 n. **non movenda,** 'inviolable,' ἀκίνητα: both *movere* and κινεῖν are especially used of sacrilegious disturbance of things sacred. 4. **libros . . .** Cf. Acts xix. 19 'Many of them also which used curious arts brought their books together, and burned them before all men.' 5. **refixa . . .** Cf. 5. 45 n. **refixa,** 'unfixed,' cf. Od. 1. 28. 11; Virg. Aen. 5. 527 *refixa sidera* of shooting stars. 6. **parce . . .** 'cease from thy awful spells'; *sacris* is purposely ambiguous ='holy' or 'accursed.' 7. **turbinem**: ῥόμβος, 'a magic wheel,' used in Theocr. 2. 17 with a wry-neck (ἴυγξ) fastened on it to draw a lover to the house. The 'letting it go back' destroyed the charm. 8. **Telephus.** Achilles, grandson of Nereus, as being the son of Thetis, wounded Telephus king of the Mysians, and then healed him, according to the oracle ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται, with the rust of the spear which wounded him.

11. **unxere,** 'anointed'; part of the solemn ritual of burial (cf. Il. 18. 350 καὶ τότε δὴ λοῦσάν τε καὶ ἤλειψαν λίπ' ἐλαίῳ: Virg. Aen. 6. 219 *corpusque lavant frigentis et unguunt*) and so in strong contrast with *addictum . . . canibus.* He received due burial although Achilles had 'given him over' to the fowls of the air and to the dogs, cf. Il. 23. 182-3 Ἕκτορα δ' οὔ τι | δώσω Πριαμίδην πυρὶ δαπτέμεν, ἀλλὰ κύνεσσιν: see too 1 Sam. xvii. 44 'I will give thy flesh unto the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field.' 12. The rhythm is most striking and possibly intended to convey a sense of horror. **homicidam H.**: a poor rendering of Hom. Il. 1. 242 Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο. 14. **heu** emphasises the pitiable position of Priam at the feet of the slayer of his son. The famous story of Priam begging back the body of Hector is told in Il. 24. **pervicacis,** 'obstinate,' but still yielding in the end. 15. **saetosa . . .** 'by Circe's favour put off (their swinish) limbs bristly with hard hides.' The crew of Ulysses drank of Circe's enchanted cup and were turned into swine, but retained their intelligence (Od. 10. 240 αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος ὡς τὸ πάρος περ), which Horace, however, here supposes them to lose; cf. *mens*, line 17. 16. **laboriosi**: sense and rhythm make this go with *Ulixei*, but cf. 16. 60. 17. **sonus** '(human) utterance.' 20. **institoribus.** 'Pedlars' played a more important part in antiquity than they do now, and these travelling merchants with their costly wares (Sen. fr. de matr. 52 *institores gemmarum sericarumque vestium si intromiseris, periculum est*) were dangerous to womanly virtue, cf. Od. 3. 6. 30. Of course the phrase 'well-beloved by sailors and pedlars' is satirical.

21. **fugit, reliquit, est, reclinat, urguet**: excited asyndeton. **verecundus color,** 'the hue of modesty,' the fresh colour of blushing youth. 22. **ossa . . .** 'my bones now covered with yellow hide'; cf. Theocr. 2. 89 ἔρρευν δ' ἐκ κεφαλᾶς πᾶσαι τρίχες, αὐτὰ δὲ λοιπὰ | ὀστί' ἔτ' ἦς καὶ δέρμα, where ὀστία

and δέρμα correspond to *ossa* and *pelle* here, and *ossa atque pellis esse*, 'to be a bag of bones,' is proverbial; cf. Plaut. Capt. 1. 2. 26; Aul. 3. 6. 28. **25. urguet** . . . 'night treads on the heels of day and day of night, and yet it is not possible . . .' Notice the inverted order of the cases in *diem nox et dies noctem*. The repetition emphasises the idea of ceaseless continuity, as in our phrases 'year by year,' 'day by day,' etc. **26. tenta spiritu**, 'strained with sighing.' **27. negatum** . . . 'I am driven to believe what I denied, (namely) that . . .' **28. increpare**, cf. Od. 4. 15. 2 n., seems here ='move (by the terror of their sound),' and so almost=*incantare*. **Sabella . . . Marsa** . . . (60) **Paelignas**: witches seem to have abounded among these old-fashioned mountain tribes; cf. 5. 76; S. 1. 9. 29. **29. dissilire**, 'is racked with pain'; cf. our 'splitting headache.'

31. Hercules. Cf. 3. 17. **32. Sicană fervidā.** Note the quantities. **33. virens**: most explain 'flourishing,' 'vigorous,' cf. such phrases as πυρὸς ἄνθος (in Lucr. *flammai flore coorto*) and φλὸξ ἐμαράνθη. Orelli gave 'green'= sulphurous; Peerlkamp=*fulgens*, cf. Plaut. Men. 5. 2. 76 *viden tu illi oculos virere;* Kiessling strangely derives the word from *vis vires*, making the *i* long. The readings of some MSS. are clear corrections, *Virens* becoming *Vrens* and *Furens*. **tu** . . . '(but) thou dost glow a workshop with Colchian poisons until, burnt to ashes, I am scattered abroad by the insulting winds.' The language is strange, but not unsuited to the highly unnatural character of the Epode. Canidia is spoken of as herself 'a workshop aglow with poisons' or 'magic spells,' because she is at work keeping the magic fire aglow, in which she burns various objects, in order that, as they consume away, so Horace also may consume away. This method of affecting a person by burning an image of him (cf. line 76; Theocr. 2. 28), or something that belonged to him or symbolised him (cf. Virg. Ecl. 8. 84 *Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum;* Theocr. 2. 23-26) was regular in witchcraft. **34. iniuriosis**: cf. Od. 1. 35. 13. **36. stipendium**, 'tribute,' 'penalty,' ζημία, and so exactly=*poenas* in the next line.

39. centum iuvencos, *i.e.* as an expiatory sacrifice, ἑκατόμβη. **sive** . . . 'or whether thou shalt choose to be hymned by my untruthful lute, (then) thou "chaste," thou "virtuous," shalt traverse the stars a golden constellation.' The language is mock-heroic and satirical in the extreme. **mendaci** has two meanings: (1) that lied when it reviled you, (2) that will lie when it calls you chaste. **40. sonari**: Od. 2. 13. 26 n. **pudica, proba**: the epithets are those which he will use of her in his palinode. The alliteration and repetition of *tu* emphasise the sarcasm. For the highly comic **perambulabis** cf. 4. 5 n. and Od. 4. 5. 17. Of course 'traversing the stars,' etc., is heroic language for 'being deified.' **42. infamis** . . . 'angry on account of libelled Helen, Castor and the brother of mighty Castor yielding to prayer restored . . .' See Od. 1. 16 Intr. For **vice** many MSS. give *vicem*; both are good Latin, though the acc. is more usual. **infamis**, *i.e.* who was made infamous by the account given of her by Stesichorus in his Ἰλίου πέρσις. Castor and Pollux were Helen's brothers as being sons of Leda. For the phrase **Castor . . . fraterque magni Castoris**, cf. Catull. 4. 27 *gemelle Castor et gemelle Castoris.*

46. p. obsoleta sordibus, 'sullied with hereditary squalor'; cf. Od. 2. 10. 6. **47. prudens** . . . 'a hag skilled to scatter (for inf. cf. Od. 1. 3. 25 n.) the newly buried ashes.' The ninth day after death witnessed the final completion of all funeral rites (cf. Apul. Met. 9. 31 *nono die completis apud*

tumulum sollemnibus), or perhaps there was a final sacrifice at the grave on the ninth day after burial (*novendiale dicitur sacrificium, quod mortuo fit nona die qua sepultus est*, Porphyrion). Anyhow, by the phrase 'ninth-day dust' Horace clearly indicates that Canidia disturbs the ashes the first moment the final rites are concluded, and she can safely do so without fear of interruption. **50. tuus . . . tuo.** Emphatic: the sneer is the same as in 5. 5. **Pactumeius**: the genuine name of a Roman gens. **52. fortis . . .** 'thou leapest up (from thy couch) a sturdy mother.' The recovery is so rapid as to throw doubts on the reality of the illness, which, it is hinted, is only a device to draw money from her lovers.

54. navitis, *i.e.* to their lamentations when shipwrecked on the rocks. **56. inultus . . .** 'shalt thou unavenged have treated the revelation of Cotytto's mysteries as a jest?' For the indignant question *ut . . . riseris?* cf. S. 2. 5. 18 *utne tegam spurco Damae latus?* **Cotytto** is some Thracian goddess whose mysteries were celebrated in connexion with licentious (cf. *liberi*) orgies. **58. et Esquilini . . .** Her 'magic practices' amid the graves on the Esquiline are fully related in Sat. 1. 8. Canidia here implies that he was able to tell so much because he was himself the chief performer, 'the high priest of magic,' on that occasion, and not a mere chance witness. **60. quid proderat,** 'what profit were it then (*i.e.* if you are to escape) to me to have enriched Paelignian hags (*i.e.* by buying their secrets) or to have mingled swifter (*i.e.* more than usually deadly) poisons?' Many MSS. have *proderit,* 'what profit will it be to me?' Some, who adopt this reading, explain the words as a taunting question put to Horace, 'what profit will it be *to you* to have studied these arts and to have mixed (for yourself) swiftest poisons?' to which the answer follows, 'none at all, for I will not let you die quickly.' But to supply *tibi* after *proderit* is very hard. Moreover, where has Horace hinted that he is going to poison himself 'very swiftly'? Canidia wishes to emphasise her power; she knows how to compound 'very swift poisons'; but, as she immediately goes on to state, Horace must not imagine that she is going to use them on him; for him there waits 'a more lingering doom' than he prays for.

63. in hoc . . . ut, 'to this end that thou mayest ever be ready for new sufferings.' **65. infidi.** For the 'treachery' of Pelops to Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus, by whose assistance he won the hand of Hippodamia, see Class. Dict. Some MSS. give *infidus,* which would refer to the 'treachery' of Tantalus in betraying the secrets of the gods. **66. egens . . .** 'ever craving for the bounteous feast,' which is ever before his eyes, but which he can never touch; hence our 'tantalise.'

71. ense Norico: cf. Od. 1. 16. 9. **73. fastidiosa . . .** 'sad with loathing weariness (of life).' **74. vectabor . . .** 'then I will ride mounted on thy hated neck, and the earth shall yield to my triumphant pride'; cf. Plaut. Asin. 4. 1. 109, where a slave mounts on his master's back. **75. cedet . . .** *i.e.* she will proudly spurn the ground on her novel steed, exactly like the *victor insolens* in 16. 14. For **insolentiae,** the conduct of 'a beggar on horseback,' cf. Od. 1. 16. 21 n. **76. an . . .** 'or (cf. 6. 15 n.) am I, though I have power (*quae possim*) to make waxen images feel . . . , to lament the issue of my skill that effects nothing against thee?' Wax images, representing the person who was to suffer enchantment, were pricked, burned, melted, and otherwise ill-treated in witchcraft; cf. S. 1. 8. 30; Virg. Ecl. 8. 81. **79. excitare mortuos.** Cf. S. 1. 8. 30, and the witch of Endor. **80. desideri pocula,** φίλτρα, cf. 5. 38.

CARMEN SAECULARE

'*O Phoebus and Diana, grant our prayer at this solemn season when the Sibylline verses ordain that a chorus of youths and maidens should chant a hymn to the gods who love the seven hills* (1-8). *O life-giving Sun, ever do thou regard Rome with thy favour, and thou, O goddess that bringest children to the light, protect our mothers* (9-16), *yea, and give good success to the new marriage laws and increase to our people, so that again and again throughout the ages they may in full numbers celebrate this holy festival* (17-24). *And do you, O ye Fates, determine for us a destiny in the future as glorious as in the past: may the earth yield her increase and the heavens drop fatness* (25-32). *Hearken to us, Apollo, hearken, O Queen of Night, and, if Rome be indeed your creation, and if under your guardianship the race of Troy has been guided to greater destinies, then grant righteousness to our youths, peace to our elders, prosperity, increase and glory to our nation* (33-48). *Chiefly fulfil his prayers for him who is the glorious descendant of Venus and Anchises, the conqueror merciful as he is mighty. His sway already the nations own, already beneath his care our ancient virtues and ancient blessings are returning* (49-60). *Yea, as surely as he regards with favour the heights of Palatinus, Phoebus grants another lustre, another age of abiding and ever-increasing happiness: while Diana from her temple lends her ear to the prayers of the Quindecimviri and our vows* (61-72). *That this is the will of the Immortals we carry home a good and certain hope, after duly chanting the praises of Phoebus and Diana.*'

For the occasion of this Ode see Od. 4. 6 Intr. As being written for public performance the Ode is more distinctly rhetorical than poetical, but the diction has the merit of being simple and stately, while if, as in stanza 5, even Horace halts, we may well pity the bard who has to invoke a poetic blessing on pedantic legislation. Editors give various methods of dividing the Ode between the chorus of boys and that of girls. Perhaps the first two stanzas are sung by the joint chorus, the third by the boys, the fourth by the girls; stanza 9 is sung half by boys and half by girls; stanzas 10-15 seem to fall into pairs, and so suggest that they were sung alternately by boys and girls; stanza 19 is clearly sung by all together.

1. **silvarum potens**, 'Queen of the woods.' For the gen. cf. Od. 1. 6. 10. 2. **caeli decus**, 'glory of the sky,' in agreement with both the vocatives *Phoebe* and *Diana*. **o colendi . . .** 'O ever reverend and (ever) revered'; **semper** goes with both adjectives. 5. **Sibyllini versus.** See Dict. Ant. *Sibyllini Libri*. They were in charge of the *Quindecimviri* (line 70 n.); the collection had been burnt in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus B.C. 82, but had been re-formed. They were written, like all oracles, in hexameter verse. 6. **virgines . . .** See Od. 4. 6 Intr. 7. **quibus placuere**, 'in whose sight (they) have found favour.' The perfect is accurate: Rome is not only now, but has long been the object of their regard.

9. **alme**, 'life-giving'; Od. 3. 4. 41 n. 10. **alius et idem**, 'another and yet the same.' 12. **visere**: because the sun is continually spoken of as 'viewing' all that goes on upon earth, cf. Epod. 9. 16 n. **maius**: cf. Virg. Aen. 7. 602 *maxima rerum* | *Roma*. 13. **rite . . .** 'O thou, that according to thy office dost gently bring the young to birth (*aperire partus*) at the full time.' **aperire**: epexegetic inf., cf. Od. 1. 3. 25 n. 14. **Ilithyia**: Εἰλείθυια (perhaps from ἔρχομαι, ἐλήλυθα), the goddess who assists 'the com-

ing' of children, and therefore = *Lucina* 'she who brings to the light,' and *Genitalis* 'she who brings to the birth.' Juno is also called *Lucina*, and *Genitalis* is not elsewhere found as a proper name. **15. sive . . .** Cf. S. 2. 6. 20 *Matutine pater, seu Iane libentius audis.* It was necessary in addressing divinities to address them by the particular title which was appropriate in the particular circumstances (cf. Aesch. Ag. 155). In consequence a suppliant might apply to a goddess all her various names, so as to be sure of hitting on the right one.

17. producas, 'rear,' *i.e.* to manhood; cf. κουροτρόφος applied to various goddesses. For **subolem,** cf. Od. 4. 3. 14 n. **patrum:** the conscript fathers, the Senate. **18. super iugandis feminis,** *i.e.* the *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* or *de adulteriis,* enacted B.C. 18, see Dict. of Ant., and Od. 3. 6 Intr. **19. prolis feraci:** cf. Od. 4. 4. 58 and 3. 6. 17 n. **20. lege marita,** 'marriage law.' **21. per,** *i.e.* after revolving 'through.' **22. orbis,** 'cycle.' **referatque.** For the position of *que,* cf. Od. 2. 19. 28 n. **23. ter.** Three was a sacred number, cf. 1. 28. 36 *iniecto ter pulvere,* Soph. Ant. 431 χοαῖσι τρισπόνδοισι, and the chorus here consists of thrice nine youths and thrice nine maidens. **24. frequentes.** Emphatic: the prayer is that they may be numerous.

25. veraces cecinisse, 'ever truthful in your oracles': for *canere* of prophetic utterance cf. Od. 1. 15. 4 n. The inf. is epexegetic, and the perfect is used accurately: the Parcae have been found truthful in their *past* utterances, and this is the ground of confidence in their promises for the future. **26. quod semel . . .** 'Ye Fates, as has been once appointed—and so may the abiding landmark of our fortunes preserve it—link happy destinies to a happy past.' Supply *bonis* with **peractis.** A few MSS. give *servat.* **stabilis rerum terminus:** in the phrase 'abiding landmark of our fortunes,' Horace refers to the popular legend that, when space was being made for a temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, the god Terminus (see Class Dict. s.v.) alone refused to make way, thus symbolising the eternal stability of the Roman state. The Romans regarded 'boundstones' with peculiar reverence, cf. 2. 18. 24 n.: the word *terminus* is constantly used as a symbol of abiding fixity, cf. Lucr. 1. 78 *alte terminus haerens;* Virg. Aen. 4. 614 *hic terminus haeret.*

29. fertilis frugum, 'prolific in crops': cf. 4. 6. 39 *prosperam frugum,* and 3. 6. 17 n. For the thought cf. Ps. cxliv. 13 'That our garners may be full . . . that our sheep may bring forth thousands and ten thousands in our streets.' **30. spicea . . .** At the festival of the Ambarvalia the statue of Ceres was crowned with a chaplet of wheat-ears, cf. Tib. 1. 1. 15 *flava Ceres, tibi sit nostro de rure corona | spicea.* **31. salubres, Iovis.** Both words go equally, in thought, both with *aquae* and *aurae.* Jupiter is, as often, the god of the weather, cf. Od. 1. 1. 25 n. **aquae,** 'rain,' and for *aquae Iovis,* cf. Il. 5. 91 Διὸς ὄμβρος. **33. condito telo:** the exact opposite of *arcum | tendit Apollo* Od. 2. 10. 19, and cf. 3. 4. 60. His arrows brought pestilence and death, cf. Hom. Il. 1. 43-52. Observe the careful collocation of the adjectives *mitis placidusque* between *condito* and *telo.*

37. si, 'if' = as surely as. For this use of *si* in appeals cf. Od. 1. 32. 1 n. **Iliaeque.** Emphatic: 'and if from Ilium came the squadrons that . . .' Apollo had always favoured the Trojans, and consequently is appealed to to favour the Romans as their descendants, cf. Od. 4. 6. 21-28. **39. pars:** in apposition with *turmae.* **41. cui,** sc. *parti.* **sine fraude,** 'without harm,' 'unharmed,' cf. Od. 2. 19. 20 n. The phrase goes, as its position

proves, with *per ardentem Troiam*, 'uninjured mid the fires of Troy.' **42. patriae superstes.** A pathetic touch. **43. munivit iter**: *munire* is the technical word used by the Romans for 'making' those great military causeways, one of which, for example, stretched from the Golden Milestone in the Forum Romanum to York. **44. plura relictis**: 'Rome instead of Troy,' Wickham.

47. **Romulae.** For the adj. cf. Od. 1. 15. 10 n. For the hypermetric verse, Notes on Metres p. xix. § 1. **49. veneratur**: lit. 'to worship,' then 'to ask as a worshipper,' and so with a double acc. like verbs of 'asking'; cf. S. 2. 6. 8 *si veneror stultus nihil horum.* **bobus albis**, 'with (sacrifice of) milk-white steers,' such as 'grazed along Clitumnus,' cf. Virg. G. 2. 146 *hinc albi, Clitumne, greges et maxima taurus | victima, saepe tuo perfusi flumine sacro, | Romanos ad templa deum duxere triumphos.* **50. sanguis**, 'offspring,' cf. Od. 2. 20. 5 n. **51. bellante**: cf. Virgil's description of the Roman duty (Aen. 6. 853) *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.*

53. **manus potentes**: cf. the use of *manus*, Od. 4. 4. 73. The hand as grasping the sword is naturally used as a symbol of power. **54. Medus**: Od. 1. 2. 51 n. **Albanas secures.** Alba Longa was the mother-city of Rome: the adj. is used instead of 'Roman' as suggesting an antiquarian reminiscence. **secures**: borne among the *fasces* before a Roman magistrate *cum imperio*, and symbolical of his power of life and death, see Dict. Ant. s.v. Fasces, and cf. Od. 3. 2. 19. **55. Scythae, Indi.** For their embassy to Augustus, cf. Od. 4. 14. 42 n. Here however *responsa* clearly suggests the idea of the 'response' of an oracle or divinity. **57. pudor.** αἰδώς: Od. 1. 24. 6 n. **58. virtus.** From *vir*, 'all that may become a man'; Od. 3. 2. 17 n. **neclecta, apparetque, fulgente, acceptusque.** Mark the weak caesura, and also in lines 73, 74; and see p. xix. § 2. Nauck observes that all these stanzas express the sense of tranquillity and peace, and that possibly the rhythm of the lines is intended to represent this. **59. pleno copia cornu.** For *Copia* personified with her horn of plenty (our 'cornucopia,' *benignum cornu*, Od. 1. 17. 15), see Class. Dict. s.v. Amalthea.

62. **acceptus**, 'welcome,' 'dear.' **63. qui salutari . . .**: Παιάν, Παιώνιος. **65. Palatinas arces.** With reference to the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, in which this hymn was sung, built by Augustus B.C. 28, in memory of the battle of Actium, cf. Od. 1. 31. 1. Many MSS. have *aras.* **aequus**, 'with favourable eye.' **66. felix.** The run of the verse points to this word going with *Latium* rather than *lustrum*, as Orelli takes it. **67. lustrum**: cf. Od. 2. 4. 23 n. The reference is doubtless to the fact that Augustus, at the conclusion of the 10 years for which he originally accepted the *imperium*, was in B.C. 18 invested with it for a further period of five years. **68. prorogat, curat, applicat**: *proroget* has good MS. authority, but *curet, applicet*, which Orelli read, have almost none. The chorus here assume a tone of confident assurance rather than of prayer, cf. 73-76.

69. **Algidum**: a Mt. in Latium near Tusculum. Diana is described as 'rejoicing in it,' Od. 1. 21. 6. **70. quindecim virorum**, sc. *sacris faciendis.* They formed a *collegium* or 'guild' and had charge of the Sibylline books. They originally numbered only two: Tac. (Ann. 11. 11) states that they had charge of these games. **71. puerorum**: 'both boys and girls, in accordance with the old use of *puer* for either sex'—Wickham. **75. doctus**, 'trained,' *i.e.* by the poet, who would be χοροδιδάσκαλος, cf. Od. 4. 6. 43 *docilis modorum | vatis Horati.* **76. dicere**: epexegetic.

SATIRES.—BOOK I

SATIRE I

SUBJECT:—*The Restless Discontent of Men, especially of the* avarus.
DATE:—about 35 B.C.

THIS Satire, although placed at the beginning, was probably the last composed of those in the first book. Horace here prefixes to the first book a poem of general bearing on all sorts and conditions of men, just as he does in the first Ode of the first book. Like it, and like the first Epode and first Epistle, it is addressed to his patron and friend Maecenas.

The avowed subject of the Satire is the discontent of men with their lot, and their envy of that of others, 1-19. But this theme is only prefatory to an attack on avarice: this is the real subject, 28 seq., the *avarus* being selected as the most striking instance of the discontented man. There are in reality two subjects, discontent and avarice, but Horace tries to treat them as one, and the suture is apparent. The different individuals who, discontented with their lot, are struggling to attain a competence, are regarded as so many phases of the *avarus*, 28-40. Hence discontent ceases to be the salient feature of attack, and the grasping and meanness of the *avarus* are satirised on to 108, when Horace, feeling that he has strayed from his original theme, suddenly reverts to it, and cleverly interlaces his two subjects together. For his theme, and to a great extent his treatment of it, he seems indebted to Lucilius.

2. **ratio**, deliberate choice, *προαίρεσις*: **fors**, accident, often opp. to *ratio*: 'choice or chance,' cf. Cic. ad Att. 14. 13. 3 *sed haec fors viderit, ea, quae talibus in rebus plus quam ratio potest.* **obiecerit**, 'has flung in his way': cf. 1. 6. 54; Cic. ad Att. 2. 22. 1 *quod fors obtulerit, id facturus videtur.* **3. laudet**: *quisque* is to be taken out of the preceding *nemo*, and *sed* is also to be supplied: cf. line 109; Juv. 6. 17 *cum furem nemo timeret | caulibus et pomis et aperto viveret horto;* Cic. de Or. 3. 14. 52 *nemo extulit eum verbis . . . sed contempsit eum;* Plat. Rep. 366 D *οὐδεὶς ἑκὼν δίκαιος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἀνανδρίας . . . ψέγει τὸ ἀδικεῖν.*

4. **gravis annis**: cf. Virg. Aen. 9. 246 *hic annis gravis atque animi maturus Aletes;* Theocr. 24. 101 *πολλοῖσι βαρύς περ ἐὼν ἐνιαυτοῖς*: Soph. Oed. R. 17 *σὺν γήρᾳ βαρεῖς*. The phrase does not mean that the man is weighed down by years, but that he goes heavily, has lost his nimbleness owing to years, is getting stiff. A man becomes stiff before the age at which a Roman soldier got his discharge, about 45. **5. iam fractus**, 'at length broken down.' *iam* is often joined with participles and adjectives, and, like *ἤδη*, denotes that a certain point has at last been reached. Juv. 3. 206 *iamque vetus Graecos servabat cista libellos;* Ov. Her. 13. 98 *iamque fatigatas ultima verset aquas.* **fractus membra**, 'having his limbs broken down'; cf. Od. 1. 1. 21 *membra stratus.* Some call it acc. of reference 'broken down in his limbs,' but more probably the part. has a certain middle force.

6. Austris, used for any winds; but the S. wind in Hor. is generally violent; cf. Od. 3. 3. 4; Ep. 1. 11. 15. **7. quid enim?** 'for why?' a rhetorical question used when something confirmatory is about to be added: see 2. 3. 132 n. **concurritur**: impersonal, 'the armies meet in battle-shock.' **horae momento,** 'in the passage of an hour,' the time it takes an hour to pass; cf. Pers. 5. 78 *momento turbinis,* in the time it takes to twirl a man round. See too Liv. 5. 7 *ignes coniecit, horaeque momento simul aggerem ac vineas, tam longi temporis opus, incendium hausit;* 9. 16 *momentoque unius horae caesus Samnis, Satricanus captus, et omnia in potestate consulis erant.*

9. iuris legumque: cf. Ep. 1. 16. 41 n. **10. sub galli cantum,** 'at cock-crow,' lit. 'just before': cf. Od. 1. 8. 14 n. **consultor,** the client coming to consult his *patronus,* who was *consultus.* Cf. Ep. 2. 1. 103; Cic. Mur. 9. 22 *vigilas tu [Sulpici] de nocte ut tuis consultoribus respondeas . . . te gallorum, illum buccinarum cantus exsuscitat.* **pulsat,** 'knocks at': κόπτει. Knockers are seldom mentioned among the Greeks and Romans, who generally kicked at the doors: cf. Od. 1. 4. 13 *pulsat pede,* of death knocking at the door. **11. dare vades** meant to provide sureties or bail. The rustic has been summoned, and having given bail for his appearance, is obliged to go to Rome to stand his trial: cf. 1. 9. 36. While there he gets a taste of the sweets of city life, and thinks those alone are happy who live in town. **12. clamat,** emphatic, like 2. 7. 25, 'swears.'

13. cetera de genere hoc occurs eight times in Lucretius, *e.g.* 4. 590 *cetera de genere hoc monstra ac portenta loquuntur.* For reminiscences of Lucretius in Horace see on lines 25; 119; 2. 4. 94; 2. 7. 112. **loquacem,** 'prolix'; Ep. 1. 16. 4 *scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri.* **14. valent**: the use of *valeo* with inf. is common in Horace as in Lucretius and Virgil; it is not found in Cicero or Caesar. **Fabium**: only known to us from the scholiasts. Porph. gives him the cognomen *Maximus,* and Acron says he was a Roman knight of Narbo, who wrote several volumes on the Stoic philosophy. **15. quo rem deducam,** 'to what issue I bring the matter.' *rem aliquo deducere* is used of bringing matters to a decisive crisis, rather than to a conclusion; cf. Ellis on Catull. 75. 1. **en** is to be joined as much with *ego* as with *faciam*: 'here I am, ready to grant your wishes.' **16. iam,** 'at once.'

18. partibus, 'parts' in the drama of life. Hence **hinc . . . hinc discedite,** because the actors had certain doors of entrance and exit regularly assigned to them. 'All the world's a *stage,* | And all the men and women merely *players*: | They have their *exits* and their *entrances*'—Shaks. As You Like It II. vii. 139. **heia!** 'quick! on with you!' a word of impatient command, cf. 2. 6. 23; Virg. Aen. 9. 37 *date tela, ascendite muros,* | *hostis adest, heia!* **19. nolint,** 'they would refuse,' the apodosis to *si quis deus . . . dicat*: for both construction and sentiment cf. 2. 7. 24. **atqui licet esse beatis,** 'and yet they have it in their power to be blest,' ironical. The dat. after *licet esse* is regular: a dat. being understood before *esse,* it should take one after it; so *fieri* when *tibi* precedes, 1. 6. 25; *esse* A. P. 372. The acc. is more rare and indefinite, *civi Romano licet esse Gaditanum,* Madvig 393. 1. **21. buccas inflet,** 'puff out his cheeks with rage at them': *illis* is ethic dat. Similarly *sufflare se* in Plautus = get in a rage and scold another, cf. Cas. 3. 3. 19 *nescio quid se sufflavit uxori suae.* φυσᾶν is thus used, Eur. Iph. Aul. 125 *μέγα φυσῶν θυμὸν ἐπαρεῖ*: 381 *τί δεινὰ φυσᾷς;* **22. facilem,** 'compliant,' esp. used of the gods: cf. Ov. Her. 16. 280 *sic habeas faciles in tua vota deos;* Juv. 10. 8 *di faciles.*

23. **praeterea,** 'to pass to another point.' The point does not come until line 28, being interrupted by a double parenthesis. The construction is *ne sic* (*haec*) *ridens percurram ut qui iocularia* (*ridens percurrit*). **iocularia** has its opposite in *seria* line 27. The picture of Jupiter with his cheeks inflated has probably suggested to Horace that he is treating his subject lightly. 25. **olim,** 'at times,' 'often,' 'usually'; cf. Ep. 1. 10. 42 *ut calceus olim;* Ov. Fast. 3. 555 *ut olim | amisso dubiae rege vagantur apes;* Plaut. Truc. 1. 1. 45 *nunc lenonum plus est fere, | quam olim muscarum est, cum caletur maxime.* **crustula,** 'little cakes'; *crustum* is anything with a crust. **blandi,** 'coaxing.' The simile is from Lucr. 1. 936 *sed veluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes | cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum | contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore.* 26. **elementa prima,** 'their first rudiments,' especially the alphabet. *elementa* by itself is the alphabet only; cf. Ep. 1. 1. 27; Suet. Jul. Caes. 56 *quartam elementorum litteram, id est D.*

28. The point which had been interrupted by the parenthesis is now taken up. The different seekers after wealth compare themselves to the ant laying by its winter store. Horace denies the fairness of the comparison. **ille,** 'yon.' This word and **hic** line 29 are literally demonstrative. 29. **perfidus hic caupo:** the *caupones*, κάπηλοι, shop-keepers, especially tavern-keepers, seem to have been proverbially sharp in their dealings; 1. 5. 4 *cauponibus malignis.* The *caupo* does not appear among the discontented persons introduced at the beginning of the Satire, but takes the place of the *consultus.* This is rendered necessary by Horace's change of front, for the jurisconsult could not be made a type of the *avarus*, as he did not charge money for his advice. Even advocates (*causidici*) were forbidden by the Cincian law (204 B.C.) to accept fees, though the law was often evaded. 30. **currunt,** 'sail'; cf. Ep. 1. 1. 45 *extremos curris ad Indos;* Ep. 1. 11. 27 *qui trans mare currunt.* 32. **congesta:** chosen to suit the metaphor of the ant heaping up her pile. **cibaria,** which properly means 'rations,' is used by the *avari*, who, extenuating their real object, the endless pursuit of riches as an end, say they intend to desist as soon as they have gained sufficient to keep them from starvation.

33. **nam exemplo est,** apologetic; although tiny, it can enforce a moral. **magni** contrasted with and excusing *parvula*: 'that tiny type of giant industry' (Con.). For the ant as a type of provident industry, cf. Virg. G. 1. 186; Juv. 6. 360; Prov. vi. 6. In prose one would expect *animal* before *magni laboris;* cf. 2. 8. 84 *Nasidiene redis mutatae frontis.* 35. **futuri** both with *ignara* and *incauta.* The ant knows by instinct and experience that winter is coming, and provides against it. **incautus** with gen. is rare, and Horace would not have used that construction had he not first used *ignara.*

36. **quae**=*at ea.* Horace denies the pertinence of the simile. The ant makes merry on her store throughout the drear winter; the *avarus* never pauses from his pursuit of wealth to give himself a moment's enjoyment of it. **inversum annum:** 'the inverted year' may mean the new year, the sun entering Aquarius on Jan. 16th. Cf. the Homeric περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν: Theocr. 13. 26 τετραμμένω εἴαρος ἤδη. The year has run its course and begins as it were over again. But, perhaps, as *vomerem inversum*, Epod. 2. 63, =the ploughshare turned backwards so that it will not cut; as *inversi mores*, Od. 3. 5. 7, =manners with their bad side out, altered for the worse; as *virtutes invertere*, 1. 3. 55, =to turn virtues into vices; so here *inversus annus* may mean the year with its winter side, wet and cold, turned towards one, the bright summer side being turned out of sight. 37. **illis** must be em-

phatic or demonstrative like *illum praeteritum*, line 115, for *illis quaesitis* is not Latin for *illis quae quaesiverit*. **utitur**, emphatically 'enjoys,' 'consumes'; cf. Ep. 1. 7. 57 *et quaerere et uti*, where there is the same contrast between *quaerere* and *uti* as here; A. P. 170 *quaerit et inventis miser abstinet ac timet uti*. **38. sapiens**, 'sensible,' *i.e.* knowing how to enjoy the good things of life, not 'prudent,' nor a translation of ἴδρις applied to the ant, Hes. Works and Days 778. For this use of *sapiens* cf. Od. 1. 11. 6 *sapias, vina liques;* Od. 1. 7. 17; 4. 9. 48; Ep. 1. 15. 45; Ov. Her. 4. 96. The reading *patiens* of many MSS. would do very well as a general epithet of the ant, and especially well if the point were that she patiently endures, roughing it, until spring; but that is *not* the point: the point is that the ant, like a sensible creature, makes merry while winter rages, thereby contrasting with the *avarus*, who might be called *patiens* rather than the ant.

43. **quod si**=*at id si*, like *quae*=*at ea*, line 36. 44. **ni id fit**, unless you take from it. **quid pulchri**: cf. 2. 3. 95 *pulchris | divitiis;* Eur. Frag. Pal. 584 Ἀγάμεμνον, ἀνθρώποισι πᾶσι χρήματα | μορφὴν ἔχουσι. 45. **milia frumenti . . . centum**, 100,000 bushels of corn. *medimnum*, gen., must be understood, as *sestertium* in monetary expressions; cf. Lucil. 486 *milia dum centum frumenti tolli' medimnum*. **triverit**: for the construction cf. 1. 3. 15 n.; 1. 10. 64; 2. 6. 48. *tero* is regular for threshing corn, ἀλοιάω, and **area** is an open solid level place, a threshing-floor, ἀλωή. **46. hoc**, 'on this account,' especially used with comparatives; cf. 1. 3. 93 *minus hoc iucundus amicus*. **capiet**, 'hold,' χωρήσει. **plus ac**=*plus quam;* cf. 1. 2. 22; 1. 6. 130; 1. 10. 34. **ut si . . .** 'just as, if you were a slave carrying the bread-bag, you would get no more bread than the other slaves.' In 1. 5. 90 the traveller carries the excellent bread *umeris*, i.e. on the shoulders of his slaves. **47. reticulum** was a net-work bag used for carrying loaves on a journey; Juv. 12. 60 *cum reticulis et pane et ventre lagenae*. **venales**, slaves, creatures of sale.

49. **quid referat . . . viventi.** There is no other certain instance of *refert* with dat. of a person. It may be explained as substituted for the usage *ad* with acc., which is common in early Latin; *e.g.* Plaut. Pers. 4. 3. 52 *quid id ad me aut ad meam rem refert*. **52. tantundem haurire**, 'to draw as much as you.' *haurire* is properly used of drawing liquids, and it is strange that Horace did not choose some other verb when about to propound a metaphor taken from the storing of corn: perhaps the next metaphor from drinking was in his mind. **relinquas**, with inf., 'allow,' 'concede,' a poetic usage: see Lucr. 3. 40, and Munro's note. **53. plus laudes.** Cf. Ep. 1. 10. 15 *plus tepeant hiemes*. Similarly Horace is fond of the adverbial use of *multum*; cf. 2. 3. 147 n. **cumeris**, corn-bins (κυψέλη), probably made of osiers: see Ep. 1. 7. 30. Acron mentions another kind, *fictilia vasa*.

54. **ut . . . si**, 'just as if you needed only a pitcher of water *and* were to say.' Notice the difference between the construction here and the apparently, but not really, similar one in 46-48. **liquidi**, 'water'; cf. Ov. Met. 5. 453 *loquentem | cum liquido mixta perfudit diva polenta*. **urna**, 'a pitcher-full'; not the measure here, half an amphora, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ gallons. *non amplius urna* is subj., *opus* is predicate. **55. cyatho**, 'a glass-full'; as a liquid measure a *cyathus* was $\frac{1}{12}$th of the *sextarius* or pint. **mallem**: much better than *malim* of some MSS., 'I would have preferred, if possible'; the little fountain is present (*hoc*); the large river is only wished for. 58. **Aufidus**, the Ofanto, a river flowing near Venusia and Cannae into the

Adriatic through Horace's native Apulia. He calls it *violens* Od. 3. 30. 10; *longe sonantem* 4. 9. 2. **59. at qui tantuli eget**, 'but the man who asks for the little that is necessary.' *egere* almost = *cupere*; cf. A. P. 154 *si plausoris eges aulaea manentis;* Ep. 1. 10. 11. **limo**: the swollen river brings down water muddy with the flood, and is dangerous to approach to boot.

61. bona pars, 'a large part,' as we say 'a good deal,' 'a good size.' **cupidine**, always masc. in Horace. **62. quia tanti quantum habeas sis**, 'because you are valued by people according to your wealth.' The subj. *sis* because it is the general opinion, indefinite. Horace here expressly copies Lucilius, 1066 Lach. *aurum atque ambitio specimen virtuti' virique est,* | *quantum habeas, tantum ipse sies, tantique habearis.* Cf. Juv. 3. 143 *quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca* | *tantum habet et fidei;* Pind. Isthm. 2. 17 χρήματα χρήματ' ἀνήρ. **63. quid facias**, 'what can you do with,' 'how can you meet such a man as that?' **illi**, the speaker, not *bonae parti hominum*. For dat. with *facere*, cf. Cic. Caec. 11. 30 *quid huic tu homini facias?* Cic. ad Att. 7. 3. 2 *quid enim tibi faciam?* With an abl. the phrase means 'what use to put a thing or person to,' as Plaut. Cas. 5. 4. 6 *quid fecisti scipione?* Cic. Sest. 13. 29 *quid hoc homine facias?* **miserum**, sc. the speaker. **64. quatenus**: causal = *quandoquidem*, as always in Horace; cf. 1. 3. 76; 2. 4. 57; Od. 3. 24. 30. **id facit**, 'he is so' (*miser est*); *facere* can take up any previous verb, cf. line 94—'bid him be miserable since it is his whim to be so.'

66. solitus, sc. *fuisse*. **me sibilat**: there is no other instance of *sibilare* taking an acc. = 'to hiss at,' though the use of *latrare* for *allatrare* perhaps sufficiently defends it. Possibly *si* should be read for *me; si* might fall out before *sibilat*, and the gap be supplied by *me*. *si* is often followed by *at*; cf. Catull. 30. 11 *si tu oblitus es, at di meminerunt;* Plaut. Bacch. 4. 8. 46 *si tibist machaera at nobis vervinast domi;* Virg. Aen. 1. 543; 4. 615.

69. quid rides, *i.e.* why do you laugh at the absurd picture of poor Tantalus, with the waters avoiding his lips? You are Tantalus yourself without knowing it. Cf. Lucian, Tim. 18 οἱ ὥσπερ ὁ Τάνταλος ἄποτοι καὶ ἄγευστοι καὶ ξηροὶ τὸ στόμα ἐπικεχηνότες μόνον τῷ χρυσίῳ. **71. indormis**, 'you sleep on': the *avarus* makes his money-bags his bed, partly from fear of being robbed, partly from affection for the gold. **inhians**, gloating over them with open mouth: Tantalus opens his mouth to swallow the waters; the miser opens his with affection for his treasures. The play on sound in **saccis** and **sacris** should be noticed. **72. cogeris**, the miser is the slave of his avarice. **pictis . . . tabellis**: cf. line 44 *quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?* **73. quo valeat**, 'what end money serves.' **usum**, 'enjoyment.'

74. ematur, potential, 'can be bought.' **sextarius**, about a pint, mentioned as a fair amount to take at dinner. **75.** i.e. *ea quibus negatis humana natura doleat. doleat* answers to *quae si negata sint*, implied in *quibus negatis*. **77. malos fures**: cf. Herod. 1. 41 κλῶπες κακοῦργοι. Fea wrongly pointed *malos, fures*, making *malos* subst. like 1. 4. 3 *quod malus ac fur;* but what other kind of bad men but robbers would the miser fear at night? **78. compilare**, to plunder, takes either the acc. of the person or thing plundered. Cic. Verr. 2. 1. 13. 35 *consulem, exercitum, provinciamque compilarit*. It is rarely used of stealing a particular thing. **fugientes**: the running away of slaves was a common event; such slaves were called *fugitivi*. **79. bonorum**, neuter. The irony is better preserved in Latin

than English, *bona* being commonly used for property, possessions. For gen. after **pauperrimus**, cf. Od. 3. 6. 17 n.

80. at si: the reply of the *avarus*, who urges that in case of illness riches procure attention. **temptare**, often of diseases; cf. 2. 3. 163. **81. lecto te adfixit**, 'has fastened you to your bed.' *adflixit*, 'dashed down,' has much better MS. authority here, and Mr. L. Purser quotes Tennyson's description of Edith's illness in Aylmer's Field, how a low fever found the girl 'and *flung her down* upon a couch of fire'; but the words are often interchanged in MSS. (*e.g.* 2. 2. 79) and Tennyson may have had this passage with *adflixit* in his mind when he wrote his verse. **82. adsideat**, 'sit by your bedside.' Cf. Ov. Her. 20. 137 *adsidet aegrae;* Tac. Agr. 45. **fomenta** (*foveo*), 'fomentations.'

84. Horace replies that the miser's death is wished for by all his relations, neighbours, acquaintances (*noti*), even the children in the streets. **86. post omnia ponas**, a harsh tmesis here for *postponas omnia*. Cf. Cic. Off. 3. 17. 71 *mala bonis ponit ante.* **88-91. at si cognatos . . . frenis**, 'but even if you were to try to retain the affections of the relatives whom nature has given you with no trouble on your part, you would be wasting your labour (*the effort would be too much against the grain*); you might as well try to teach an ass to gallop.' Others say that *nullo labore* belongs to *retinere* and *servare*, not to *dat*. 'If you were to wish, with no effort of your own, to preserve the affections of your relatives.' This idea was refuted by Bentley, who pointed out that, apart from the entangled order, *operam perdas* is inconsistent with it; for a man can hardly waste his labour if he expends none. Very good MSS. give *an si*, which Bentley explains: *An potius nihili facis a cognatis amari, et omne quod ad demerendos eos inpendi debet, male locatum et perditum iri putas? quasi si asinum traderes magistro*, etc.; 'or would you count it a throwing away of your labour, if you were to try to retain the affections of your relatives, as though it were a thing not worth having?' So too nearly Ritter: 'or would you be wasting your labour, if you were to try,' etc. (No: it would be an easy matter, if you would but try it.)

92. denique, 'in short,' 'to sum up.' **cumque**, 'and now that you have got more (than you used to have), fear poverty less (than you used to).' **94. ne facias**: so as not to behave like Ummidius, *i.e.* live in constant fear of starvation; or, perhaps better, meet the same fate as Ummidius, *facere* being a neutral verb; cf. 64 n. **95. qui tam**: Bentley's emendation for *quidam*. Horace never uses *quidam* with proper names, and is not likely to have spoken of a man, who was so rich as to measure his money, as a nobody. By reading *qui tam* an asyndeton is avoided, and *tam* is supplied before *dives*, as in line 20. Horace several times, it is true, uses an adjective or adverb followed by *ut* without *tam*, as 1. 5. 33; 7. 13; but here it is not so much the omission of *tam* as the omission of *qui* that is the chief difficulty.

96. metiretur: measure out in vessels, *modii*, for instance, instead of counting it, *numerare*. The expression is proverbial. Xen. Hell. 3. 2. 27 *οἱ περὶ Ξενίαν τὸν λεγόμενον μεδίμνῳ ἀπομετρήσασθαι τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀργύριον.* **97. ad usque.** So 1. 5. 96; Virg. Aen. 11. 262. **99. opprimeret**, 'surprise,' 'come suddenly on.' **liberta**: Horace probably refers to some well-known case of a freedwoman killing her miser master with an axe, as Clytaemnestra killed Agamemnon *φονίῳ πελέκει*, Soph. El. 99. **100. divisit medium**, 'clave in twain'; cf. Virg. Aen. 9. 750 *et mediam ferro gemina inter tempora frontem | dividit.* **fortissima Tyndaridarum**,

'bravest one of the house of Tyndareus.' *Tyndaridae* is a masc. form, and includes both men and women. Horace does not mean to say she was merely as brave as the bravest *woman* of the house of Tyndareus, but that her bravery was greater than that of any of that bloody house, whether men or women. Bentley first established that *Tyndaridarum* was from *Tyndaridae* masc., and not fem. from a barbarous nom. sing. *Tyndarida*, quoting Synesius, Epig. Anthol. 4. 4 οἱ τρεῖς Τυνδαρίδαι, Κάστωρ, Ἑλένη, Πολυδεύκης, to show that a woman could be included in *Tyndaridae*, and comparing such expressions as *fratres* for brothers and sisters, *reges* for king and queen.

101. The reply of the *avarus*. **Maenius**, 'like Maenius.' For the omission of *ut*, cf. Ep. 1. 2. 42 *rusticus exspectat*. Maenius (cf. Ep. 1. 15. 26) and Nomentanus (cf. 1. 8. 11; 2. 1. 22; 2. 3. 175) are typical spendthrifts, and are mentioned in the fragments of Lucilius which have come down to us; *Maeniu' columnam cum peteret* Lucil. 1171 Lach.; *qui te Nomentane malum iam †cetera perdat* Lucil. 69 Lach. The names had become proverbial in Horace's time, and we should err greatly if we supposed, with the scholiasts, that they were real names of his contemporaries. Maenius is said to have sold his house to Cato the censor in 184 B.C., to form a site for the Basilica Porcia. Porphyrion tells a story of him that he was heard wishing in a loud voice in the Capitol, on the 1st of January, that he might owe 400,000 sesterces; and, on being asked why he wished it, replied that he actually owed 800,000. MS. authority here is in favour of *Naevius*; but we do not read elsewhere of Naevius as a spendthrift. In 2. 2. 68 Naevius is *simplex*, and allows his slaves to offer greasy water to his guests: such a character scarcely suits this passage.

102. **pergis . . . componere**, 'you are proceeding to reconcile opposites.' In proposing to pass from avarice to prodigality, you speak as if these vices were side by side, as if there were but one step from one to the other, whereas they are diametrically opposite. For this use of *componere* cf. 1. 5. 29 *aversos soliti componere amicos*. *componere* also means 'to pit together' (ξυνιέναι) as a pair of gladiators, 1. 7. 20, and so most take it here, but that does not give good sense. How can one be said to pit together foes who are already engaged? What absurdity would there be in matching against each other things that are hostile to each other? 104. **veto te**, sc. *esse*: the man is already *avarus*, so *fieri* is out of place with *te*. Most place the comma after *fieri*. **vappam**, 'a roué,' properly must spoiled by spontaneous fermentation, hence *nomen probrosum hominum cum degeneravit animus* Plin. H. N. 14. 20. 125. **nebulo** (*nebula*), 'a good for nought,' 'scamp.'

105. **quiddam**, 'something,' implying a good deal: so *est aliquid* is a meiosis for *est magnum*. **Tanais**, acc. to Porph., was a eunuch, a freedman of Maecenas, or L. Munatius Plancus: and, acc. to the same, **Visellius** was *herniosus*; but very likely this is only guessing. 106. **modus**, 'a mean' in which virtue lies acc. to Aristotle. Cf. Lucan 2. 380 *haec duri inmota Catonis | secta fuit, servare modum finemque tenere*.

108. **illuc unde abii redeo qui nemo ut avarus se probet**: 'I return to the point whence I started, asking, how is it that no avaricious man is satisfied with his lot.' After *qui* understand *fiat*. Horace here distinctly refers to the first three verses of the Satire. This is shown by the sentiment, by the words *diversa sequentes*, and by the exactly similar use of *nemo* taken up by *quisque*. It seems almost certain that *qui*, which was *the* point at which Horace started, and which *vet. Bland.* preserves, is the

true reading, nor is the ellipse of *fiat* too hard. Many edd. adopt *qui*, but all spoil it by placing a comma after *nemo*, so that the meaning would be, 'how is it that no one, like the *avarus*, is satisfied,' as if it were true that the *avarus* is satisfied: for to take *ut avarus=ut neque avarus* (*se probat*) seems impossible. Two other readings need notice—(1) *nemon ut avarus:* this has, numerically, the highest MS. sanction, and is adopted by many edd. But such an exclamation is out of place at the end of a grave argument, and would mean just the opposite of what is required. The real meaning of *nemon ut avarus* must be: 'can it be thought that no *avarus* is satisfied?' the answer demanded being: 'certainly not: the *avarus* is sometimes satisfied.' Cf. 2. 5. 18; Plaut. Aul. 4. 7. 9 *egone ut te advorsum mentiar mater mea?* Ter. Andr. 1. 5. 28 *eine ego ut adverser?* Livy 4. 2 *illine ut inpune concitent finitima bella.* These passages show that the case put by *-ne ut* is an impossible one. (2) *nemo ut avarus* has but poor authority, and introduces a startling hiatus (cf. however Epod. 13. 3; Od. 1. 28. 24). Moreover the acc. and infin. would be expected, not *ut* with subj. Lastly, the point Horace started with was not the statement that the *avarus* was discontented, but a *question*, how it comes that this is the case. **avarus**: the insertion of this word here is necessary to fuse Horace's two subjects into one; see Intr. 110. So Ov. A. A. 1. 349 *fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris | vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet.* **111. neque se . . . pauperiorum**: one of the most practical sentiments in Horace. Discontent is owing to our comparing ourselves with those above us.

113. **sic** belongs to **festinanti**: cf. Juv. 14. 178 *properantis avari.* 114. Cf. Virg. G. 1. 512-514 *ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae, | addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens | fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas.* From the similarity of Horace's lines, it has been supposed that this Satire was written after the publication of Georgic I.; but it is just as likely that Virgil copied Horace. **carceribus**, the barriers, behind which the chariots stood, before the consul or praetor gave the signal for the start, by dropping his napkin, *mappa*. **115. instat**, 'challenges,' lit. 'presses hard upon.' **illum**, sc. *aurigam*: 'that other.' **116. extremos inter euntem**: 'who drops back into the ruck.' The rival charioteer has had a struggle for first place, but being passed by, relaxes his efforts, loses his place, and falls back into the extreme rear. Horace had often seen the picture he describes of beaten horses falling back.

119. This famous simile is from Lucr. 3. 938 *cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis, | aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem?* 120. According to the scholiasts **Crispinus** was a verbose ἀρεταλόγος (professor of virtue, preacher on moral subjects, see Mayor, Juv. 15. 16) who wrote on the Stoic sect. He is sneered at as a hanger-on of another poor Stoic, 1. 3. 139; as a voluminous but bad poet, 1. 4. 14; as a fountain of Stoic paradoxes, 2. 7. 45. Probably from much study, he had chronic *lippitudo*, or sore eyes, a complaint which was common in antiquity and is often mocked at. Horace sometimes suffered from it, cf. 1. 5. 30, 49. λημᾶν was the Greek term. **scrinia**, 'book-cases,' *i.e.* small cylindrical cases, in which the rolls of papyrus were kept.

SATIRE II

SUBJECT:—*Fools know no Mean.* DATE:—probably 39 or 38 B.C.

The subject of this Satire is summed up in line 24 *dum vitant stulti vitia, in contraria currunt.* The death of Tigellius Sardus, a man freehanded to a

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fault, furnishes Horace with his text, *nil medium est.* Men are either too generous or too stingy, too dainty or too rude; some given to the coarser and lower forms of vice, others to high and dangerous intrigues. The latter subject occupies the greater part of the Satire, from 25 ad fin., but Horace's treatment of it makes it scarcely profitable reading.

1. **ambubaiae,** female flute-players, from Syriac *abuba*, a flute. After the conquest of Antiochus, 190 B.C., numbers of Syrian girls came to Rome, and made a living by music and dancing; cf. Suet. Ner. 27; Juv. 3. 62. **collegia,** 'corporations,' as if they really formed one of those guilds or companies recognised by law at Rome, as in England the 'company of merchant taylors,' 'fishmongers,' 'goldsmiths,' etc. Cf. the Digest 1. ad init., *collegia Romae certa sunt quorum corpus senatus consultis atque constitutionibus principalibus confirmatum est veluti pistorum*, etc. **pharmacopolae,** 'quacks,' who hawked their drugs about the markets. Cicero, pro Cluent. 14. 40, mentions L. Clodius, a *pharmacopola circumforaneus.* 2. **mendici,** 'beggars,' especially the begging priests of Isis, Cybele, and other Eastern deities. The begging priests of Cybele were called μητράγυρται (collectors for the Great Mother). Juvenal makes a Jewish priest beg, 6. 543 *arcanam Iudaea tremens mendicat in aurem | interpres legum Solymarum.* **mimae,** 'actresses.' **balatrones,** perhaps from *blaterones*, 'praters, idle talkers,' then here probably 'clowns,' 'pantaloons.' Cf. Lucr. 3. 955 *aufer abhinc lacrimas, balatro*, where Munro translates 'rascal.' Festus gives *blateae*, lumps of clay which adhere to the boots, as the derivation: these men hung on to the rich as mud sticks to the feet. 3. **Tigellius** was a singer born in Sardinia; a friend of Julius Caesar (Cic. ad Fam. 7. 24). He is not to be confounded with his relative Hermogenes Tigellius, also a singer, but spoken of by Horace as still alive, 1. 3. 129; 10. 90. The latter is admitted by Horace to be a great musician, 1. 3. 129; 9. 25; but is assailed with much bitterness by him, 1. 4. 72; 1. 10. 18, 80, 90. The attacks on Tigellius the Sardinian in this and the next Satire are of a different nature; they point out his follies, but without acrimony. This Tigellius was annoyed with Cicero for neglecting to act as his and his grandfather Phamea's advocate, after promising to do so (Cic. ad Att. 13. 49). Cicero (ad Fam. 7. 24) calls him *pestilentiorem patria sua*, Sardinia being then notoriously unhealthy. In the same letter he says of him and Phamea, *habes Sardos venales: alium alio nequiorem*, referring to the well-known proverb, *Sardi venales: alius alio nequior.*

4. **quippe benignus erat,** 'verily, he was bountiful.' He was really *prodigus*, but the grateful *mimae* and *mendici* called him *benignus.* **hic,** 'another.' 6. **quo,** neut., 'the wherewithal to banish . . .' 8. **ingrata:** never satisfied with what has been given it, always asking for more. Cf. Lucr. 3. 1003 *deinde animi ingratam naturam pascere semper | atque explere bonis rebus satiareque numquam;* Call. Frag. 106 ὅσσα τ' ὀδόντων | ἐνδόθι νειαίρην τ' εἰς ἀχάριστον ἔδυ. **stringat,** 'why he strips the splendid estate of his ancestors by his thankless gluttony.' The metaphorical use of *stringere* here comes from its use in *stringere frondes*, 'pluck leaves from the trunk,' *stringere arborem*, 'strip a tree of its leaves,' etc. 9. **conductis,** 'borrowed'; cf. Juv. 11. 46 *conducta pecunia.* **obsonia,** 'dainties,' including meat, fish, game. The excessive love of good living was an essentially Roman vice, often attacked by Lucilius. 10. **animi parvi.** The dread of being thought 'mean' was then as now the cause of the ruin of many young men. Persius uses *magnanimus* of the 'fast' youth who 'eats'

up a handsome fortune, 6. 21 *hic bona dente | grandia magnanimus peragit puer:* Catullus calls Lesbia's lovers *magnanimos Remi nepotes*, 58. 5.

12. We know nothing certain of this Fufidius beyond what we learn from this passage. Cic. in Pis. 35. 86 mentions a Fufidius who had lent money to the inhabitants of Apollonia. **vappae, nebulonis**: cf. 1. 1. 104 n. 13. **positis in faenore,** 'laid out at interest': cf. Epod. 2. 70 *quaerit Kalendis ponere.* 14. **quinas mercedes**: 60 per cent., literally, five interests. *centesimas* is understood. *centesimae usurae* (=*asses usurae*) meant interest at the rate of 1 per cent. per month, *i.e.* 12 per cent. per annum. Even *centesimae* (though a common rate) was thought high: see Cic. ad Att. 1. 12. 1. *binae* (*centesimae*), *ternae, quaternae* = 24, 36, 48 per cent. respectively. **capiti exsecat,** 'he strikes it off the principal,' *i.e.* he deducts the interest for the first month, before lending the money, just as modern lenders of money on notes-of-hand. **caput**: principal, also *sors.* 16. **nomina,** 'the names,' *i.e.* on notes-of-hand, see Ep. 2. 1. 105 n. The construction *modo sumpta veste virili* for *eorum a quibus vestis virilis modo sumpta sit* is rather harsh. The *toga virilis* was a plain toga (*toga pura*), without the bordering stripe of purple which the *toga praetexta* had, and was assumed on reaching the age of puberty. The Lex Plaetoria (circ. 200 B.C.) forbade contracts being entered into by those under twenty-five years of age, but then, as now, men were ready to lend these legal 'infants' money at high interest.

18. **at,** 'but, it may be supposed, he lays out money on himself in proportion to his gains.' **se**: acc. =*in suum victum.* Cf. Gell. 2. 24. 2 *sumptum facere in aliquid;* Livy 32. 27. 4 *in aliquem.* 20. He never gives his genius a treat: cf. Od. 4. 7. 19 *amico . . . animo.* **pater**: Menedemus, in Ter. Heaut., who, through remorse for his severity to his son Clinias, punished himself with severe labour. 22. **inducit,** 'represents' (ποιεῖ).

SATIRE III

SUBJECT:—*Charity in Judging the Faults of Men.* DATE, 37 or 36 B.C.

The subject of the following poem may be summed up in the words of line 74 *aequum est | peccatis veniam poscentem reddere rursus.* Tigellius again furnishes Horace with his starting-point. Like all singers, he would never sing when asked, never leave off singing if not asked. Inconsistent he was in other respects also, 1-19. But some one may ask me: 'Have you no faults yourself?' yes, I have: I admit them; I am not like the brazen Maenius, who boldly avows that he forgives himself his faults. It is monstrous to overlook one's own failings and attack those of our friends, 20-38. Far better were it to act like fond lovers, who cannot see, who even admire, the blemishes of their loved ones, or like fathers who call the defects of their children euphemistic names, 39-48. This should be the rule in friendship, 49-54. Unhappily we reverse it, and turn our neighbours' virtues into faults, 55-65. If we want to be forgiven, we must forgive, 66-75. Especially we should overlook the smaller offences of our friends, 76-95. For the Stoic view that all offences are equal is absurd. If nature could of herself have separated right and wrong by a broad line, whence arose laws among men? 96-112. Punishments must be graduated to meet offences according to their magnitude, 113-120. 'If I were king,' quoth the Stoic, 'I would be a Draco.' But you are a king, are you not? according to your other absurd paradox, that the

wise man is a king, and anything and everything he chooses? 120-133. Yet in spite of your kingship you are the mock of boys in the streets, and no one does you homage but the pedant Crispinus, more silly than yourself: while I, in spite of my folly, shall enjoy the company of many sweet friends, forgiving and forgiven by them in turn, 133-142.

2. **cantare**: to be joined with *inducant animum* rather than with *rogati.* 3. **Sardus**: contemptuously, cf. 1. 2. 3 n. Calvus the friend of Catullus assailed this Tigellius in scazons, of which Porph. has preserved one line, *Sardi Tigelli putidum caput venit*: 'for sale, the duffer Tigellius.' **habebat . . . hoc**: cf. Cic. Phil. 2. 32. 78 *habebat hoc omnino Caesar*, 'this was a way of Caesar's.' 4. **Caesar**: Augustus, at this time C. Julius Caesar Octavianus. He did not receive the title of Augustus until 27 B.C., but assumed the name of Caesar immediately after the murder of his great-uncle Julius in 44, on hearing of his adoption by the latter in his will. **qui cogere posset**: a compliment to the power of Octavian, sure to please him at this time when he had still Sextus Pompey, Lepidus, and Antonius to subdue before becoming master of the world. **patris**: Julius, great-uncle of Augustus, but adoptive father. The imperfects **posset, peteret, proficeret, citaret** are used instead of pluperfects owing to a mental retrospect, as not uncommonly: see Madvig 247. 2.

6. **si collibuisset**, 'if the whim had seized him.' **ab ovo ad mala**: eggs were included among the things eaten at the beginning of a dinner; cf. Cic. ad Fam. 9. 20 *integram famem ad ovum adfero.* They did not form a part of the *cena* proper, but were called *promulsis, gustus*, or *gustatio.* The *cena* proper consisted of two or three courses (*fercula*) followed by dessert (*mensae secundae*), which would include 'apples.' 7. **citaret**: 'recite.' **Io Bacchae**: cf. Eur. Bacch. 577 κλύετ' ἐμᾶς κλύετ' αὐδᾶς, ἰὼ Βάκχαι, ἰὼ Βάκχαι. This seems to have been a well known recitative. The MSS. are pretty evenly divided between *Bacchae* and *Bacche*, but the extreme rarity of the lengthening of a short vowel-ending (exceptions are duplicate *-que*, and *gravia* Aen. 3. 464, *anima* 12. 648) must decide in favour of *Bacchae.* This Palmer now adopts, though he formerly defended *Bacche* on the ground that in this particular hymn the accent in singing probably fell on the last syllable. **summa voce**, 'with deepest voice,' while **ima** = 'highest.' The Greeks and Romans reversed our system. The old simple tetrachord had four strings: *νήτη, παρανήτη, παρυπάτη, ὑπάτη*: of these the highest string, *ὑπάτη, summa*, was the most bass; the lowest, *νεάτη, νήτη, ima*, was the most treble. 8. **resonat**: for *resonare* of musical accompaniment, cf. Od. 3. 11. 3. **qua e chordis quattuor ima**, 'in that note in which the lowest of the four strings resounds.' *qua e* for *quae* is Palmer's emendation. It is no change, for in MSS. of Horace's time words were not separated, nor is there anything unusual in the elision *qua e*; cf. 2. 1. 71, where *se* is elided before *a*; 1. 1. 44 *ni* before *id*; 1. 2. 100 *quae* before *invideant*; Prop. 4. 2. 57 *te qui ad vadimonia curris.* Reading *quae* the construction of *chordis* is very obscure. Orelli suggests three explanations:—(1) *ima in chordis*; (2) *chordis* as instrumental abl.; (3) *chordis* as dat. Schütz and Kiessling take *chordis* = 'from the strings,' but a preposition would be absolutely necessary. For *voces*, of musical notes, see A. P. 216, Virg. Aen. 6. 646 *septem discrimina vocum.*

9. **nil aequale**, 'he had no uniformity,' no consistency. **velut qui currebat.** The construction is, *saepe currebat velut qui fugiens hostem* (*curreret*), *saepe* (*incedebat*) *velut qui Iunonis sacra ferret.* The reference is to the

καvηφόροι, or 'basket-bearers,' maidens who at various Greek religious festivals (*e.g.* of Demeter, Dionysus, and Athena) carried the sacred things on their heads. Their gait would be slow and solemn; cf. 2. 8. 14. **12. decem**: ten slaves seems a large number to us, but it was about the smallest number which, consistent with respectability, a Roman gentleman could have. Horace had eight on his farm, 2. 7. 118; three served his dinner, 1. 6. 116. **reges atque tetrarchas**, 'kings and pashas.' The most notable tetrarchies were those of Galatia and of Judaea. **13. mensa tripes**: the earliest and simplest kind with three legs: the more fashionable kind at this period and later had only one central leg of ivory or bronze. The three-legged tables were sometimes called *Delphicae* from their resemblance to the tripod; cf. Mart. 12. 66. 7 *aurum non simplex Delphica portat.* **14. concha.** Instead of the silver salt-cellar, usual even in humble households (Od. 2. 16. 14), he would be content with a shell of salt, and the salt would be sufficient condiment for his food, cf. 2. 2. 17.

15. deciens centena (*milia sestertium*), 'a million sesterces,' about £8000. **dedisses**: for *si dedisses;* but *si* is often omitted in putting hypothetical cases, cf. 1. 1. 45, and the case is put somewhat more strongly than if *si* were used: 'suppose you gave.' **17. erat**, 'there was sure to be nothing.' **18. nil**: more comprehensive than *nemo*. We scarcely have this idiom in English, but it is common in Latin; cf. Nep. Alcib. 1 *constat . . . nihil illo fuisse excellentius vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus.* **19. quid tu.** Horace makes this retort the link to connect his exordium with his chief subject, viz. the duty of being gentle towards the failings of our friends. **20. immo alia**, 'ay, I have, but different from these, and perhaps of a lesser kind.' *immo* is used like γε in answers where something more than an affirmative is given: it also has the force of μὲν οὖν, corrective; 'nay.' It combines both meanings here, 'yes, but.' **minora**: cf. 1. 4. 130; 6. 65.

21. Maenius: 1. 1. 101 n. **Novium**: possibly one of the Novii, usurers mentioned 1. 6. 121. **carperet**, 'was running down.' **heus tu**: οὗτος (voc.), 'hark you, sir!' **22. dare verba**: to give words (for things), hence to cajole, deceive. Note the play on sound of *ignoras, ignotum, ignosco:* cf. *ingenium ingens* line 33. **23. putas**, 'do you think you are deceiving us as a stranger?' not 'do you think to,' *i.e.* 'expect' (δοκεῖς), a use which *puto* does not seem to have. **24. inprobus**, 'brazen,' 'impudent': see line 56 n. **dignusque notari**, 'deserving of censure'; for the inf. cf. Od. 1. 3. 25 n. The Augustan poets do not use the common prose construction of *dignus* with relative. **25. pervideas**, 'examine.' **mala**, 'faults': cf. Ep. 2. 2. 127; Phaedr. 4. 10. 4 *hac re videre nostra mala non possumus:* | *alii simul delinquunt censores sumus.* **inunctis**: cf. *lippus inungui* Ep. 1. 1. 29. Your eyes are rheumy, and covered with eye-salve, when you survey your own faults. **26. in**, 'in the case of.' **27. aquila**: cf. Hom. Il. 17. 674 *αἰετὸς ὅν ῥά τέ φασιν* | *ὀξύτατον δέρκεσθαι ὑπουρανίων πετεηνῶν.* **serpens Epidaurius**: all serpents were considered sharp-sighted (δράκων, δέρκομαι). They were sacred to Aesculapius who was worshipped in the form of a serpent at Epidaurus, and a serpent, believed to be the god himself, was brought thence to Rome to heal a pestilence, 293 B.C. This serpent made its way to the island in the Tiber, and a temple to Aesculapius was built there.

29. iracundior: Acron and Schol. Cruq. say that Hor. refers to Virgil here. He is probably not referring to any particular individual, although he mixes up many of *his own* traits in the picture: he was hot-tempered, 2. 3.

323 ; Ep. 1. 20. 25 ; careless in externals, Ep. 1. 1. 94 : and he speaks of his compensating *ingeni benigna vena* Od. 2. 18. 9. **minus aptus acutis naribus horum hominum,** 'scarce fit to face the polished banter of the men of our day': cf. 1. 6. 5 ; Epod. 12. 3 *naris obesae*, the opp. of *acutae.* **30. horum hominum**: cf. Catull. 24. 1 *o qui flosculus es Iuventiorum,* | *non horum modo, sed quot aut fuerunt* | *aut posthac aliis erunt in annis;* Cic. ad Att. 13. 6 *hic Spurius* of one of his contemporaries, contrasting him with a preceding Spurius. **eo**: causal: cf. 1. 6. 89 ; 9. 55 ; 2. 3. 120 ; 8. 65. **31. rusticius**: with *tonso* ; his hair is cut in clownish style. **defluit,** 'trails,' expressing carelessness. **male**: most easily taken with *haereat,* 'scarcely hangs on to his foot.' Cf. Theophrast. Char. 4 ὁ δὲ ἄγροικος τοιοῦτός τις οἷος . . . μείζω τοῦ ποδὸς τὰ ὑποδήματα φορεῖν.

32. The triple *at* replies to the triple censure in 29, 30. **35. concute,** 'shake yourself': the metaphor is from shaking out the *sinus* or folds of the *toga* over the bosom. *excutere* is more common in this sense. **num qua vitiorum** = *num quae vitia*, rather a favourite idiom with Hor. **inseverit,** 'has planted in you.' This verb suits *consuetudo mala* rather than *natura.* **36. namque**: the Greek γάρ, supposing an ellipse: 'and it is sure to do so, *for* . . . ,' or something of that sort. **37. filix,** 'ferns which must be got rid of by burning'; cf. Virg. G. 2. 189.

38. praeverti means to pay attention to one thing in preference to others: a common Plautine verb. Let us in friendship have our attention engaged by the fact that the blemishes of a mistress escape the notice of a lover as though blind, or actually give him pleasure, as Hagna's wen did Balbinus. **39. decipiunt** here almost = *fallunt.* **40. pōlypus,** 'a wen,' from the Ionic form πουλύπος (= πολύπους), or the Doric πώλυπος. **Hagna** (ἁγνή), whence our Agnes, probably a *liberta* ; not uncommon in Inscriptions. **42. virtus,** 'good feeling'; cf. Od. 2. 2. 19. **posuisset**: like τιθέναι ὀνόματα.

43. ut nati: sc. *si quod sit vitium non fastidit*, 'as a father in his child (does not sneer at any defect) so we in a friend . . .' **44. strabonem** (στράβων, στρέφω) is 'squinting,' while *paetus* is 'having a slight cast': the latter defect was sometimes considered a beauty, attributed to Venus herself; cf. Varro Sat. Men. p. 178, 1 *non haec res de Venere paeta strabam facit.* The fact that the adjectives here are real *cognomina* of Roman houses is an accident. Horace could scarcely select an epithet describing a bodily peculiarity without its being a Roman name. Instances of surnames derived from such peculiarities are *Barbatus, Capito, Naso, Scaevola, Rufus, Balbus, Niger.* **45. male parvus,** 'wretchedly small'; cf. Od. 1. 9. 24 n. **46. abortivus,** 'dwarfish,' *i.e.* as small as if he had been an abortion. **47. Sisyphus**: a favourite dwarf of M. Antony's, evidently so called from his sharpness. Dwarfs (*nani*) were often kept by the rich at Rome: Prop. 4. 8. 41; Juv. 8. 32. **varum,** 'knock-knee'd': *varus* means 'having the knees bent inwards,' ῥαιβός: opp. to *valgus*, 'bow-legged,' βλαισός. The kind father calls his child only knock-knee'd, when his legs are twisted out of all shape. **48. balbutit,** 'calls lispingly,' in fond imitation of his child's talk. The father calls the son merely big-ankled, **scaurum,** when he can scarcely stand on his misshapen shins. The most famous passage in Latin where defects are called by euphemistic names, ὑποκορίσματα, is Lucr. 4. 1160 seq. For the short syllable before **strabonem,** cf. 1. 5. 35 ; 2. 3. 43.

49. parcius, 'somewhat stingily.' **frugi** (dat. of *frux* or *frugis*, used as adj.; in old Latin it is often a noun with *bonae* joined to it), always a term

of praise opposed to *nequam*, combines the ideas of thrift and respectability: 'thrifty.' **ineptus** is the man devoid of taste and tact. Cicero remarks that the Greeks had no word for it, nor have we: his definition exactly agrees with this passage, de Or. 2. 4. 17 *qui aut, tempus quid postulet, non videt, aut plura loquitur aut se ostentat aut eorum, quibuscum est, vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinnus aut multus est, is ineptus dicitur.* **50. iactantior,** 'talks too much about himself.' **51. postulat,** 'his object is to make himself entertaining, and he thinks that is the way to do it.' *postulo* = ἀξιῶ: cf. Plaut. Capt. 1. 2. 83 *numquam istoc vinces me Hegio, ne postules.* **53. caldior**: by syncope for *calidior*; cf. 2. 5. 65 *soldum*; Ep. 1. 9. 6 *valdius*, and see 1. 5. 79 n.

56. sincerum cupimus vas incrustare, 'we wish to coat with foulness even the clean vessel,' *i.e.* so far from calling vices by the name of virtues, we call virtues vices. The metaphor is probably derived from the incrustation left by wine, especially sour wine, in a bottle. Cf. Ep. 1. 2. 54 n.; Lucil. 489 *incrustatu' calix.* **probus . . . damus,** 'we have a modest acquaintance, a very retiring fellow: we give him the sobriquet of a slow coach, a dullard.' *probus* from its being the opposite of *inprobus*, 'bold,' and from the fact that it is now and then joined with *demissus*, must have meant *modest.* Cic. de Or. 2. 43. 182 joins *probi* and *demissi*; cf. Catull. 42. 24 *pudica et proba.* Both *tardus* and *pinguis* are terms of reproach, the latter somewhat the stronger of the two. **57. multum**: Horace is fond of the adverbial use of *multum*; cf. 2. 3. 147; 5. 92; Ep. 2. 2. 62. **59. malo**: masc., 'he exposes his flank to no enemy'; a military metaphor, and not unfrequent. **60. cum**: elliptical; (and he acts rightly) since he has to move in a world where envy and calumny are rife. **61. bene sano**: a man of thoroughly sound sense; *bene* strengthens praise.

63. simplicior quis et est, qualem. The construction is usually said to be *simplicior quis* (*est*) *et est* (*talis*) *qualem* . . . , but this makes Horace say that he would gladly interrupt Maecenas when reading or silent; for it distinctly separates *qualem* from *simplicior.* A translation will show this: 'one is somewhat simple, and of the character in which I hope I may have exhibited myself to you, namely, such as to interrupt one when reading or silent with random talk.' We must take *et* as simply joining the sentence to the preceding: 'another too is somewhat simple (in which character I hope I may have exhibited myself to you, Maecenas), so as to interrupt his friend when reading or silent with random talk.' **65. inpellat**: lit. 'push,' 'jostle,' here = 'interrupts rudely.' **66. communi sensu,** 'ordinary tact.' Cf. Juv. 8. 73 *rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa | fortuna*, Mayor's note; Sen. Benef. 1. 12. 3 *sit in beneficio sensus communis: tempus, locum observet, personas, quibus momentis, quae grata et ingrata sunt.*

70. cum mea compenset vitiis bona, 'let him take my good qualities as a set-off against my faults.' *cum* is here preposition, not conjunction, for *compensare* never means literally 'to weigh against,' which is the meaning demanded by *cum*, 'when,' but either (1) to set off one (good) thing against another (bad) thing, or (2) to compensate for one (bad) thing by another (good) thing. In (1) *compensare cum* is generally used: in (2) simply *compensare*; (1) cf. Cic. Pis. 30. 75 *nonne compensabit cum uno versiculo tot mea volumina laudum suarum?* 'will he not accept as a set-off against a single line so many volumes of panegyric?' and (2) Cic. Or. 64. 216 *spondeus paucitatem pedum gravitate sua et tarditate compensat.* At the same time the notion

of weighing in a balance is of course present in *compenset*, and this idea is more clearly worked out in *inclinet* and *trutina*. Many editors take *cum* as the conjunction; but the mood of *compenset* as well as the force of this verb are both against this. For the separation of the preposition from its case see 1. 6. 115; 10. 91; 2. 6. 34; Ep. 1. 2. 6. **pluribus hisce** is dat. or abl. It is generally taken as dat., but the dat. with *inclino* is very doubtful. It is better to take *hisce* as abl. = let him be weighed down, *i.e.* be influenced by these, as being more numerous, if only they are more numerous. **hisce**: sc. *bonis*. **71. inclinet.** The friend himself is compared to a balance. *inclinet* is intrans., for that is the best Augustan construction of the verb, and there is no acc. here. **72. hac lege**: he shall be weighed in the same scale, on this condition (viz. that he weighs my character thus).

73. tuberibus, 'tumours' (the beam that is in thine own eye). **74. verrucis**, 'warts' (the mote that is in thy brother's eye). **76.** Horace, reprimanding the severity with which we judge our neighbour's venial faults, is reminded of the Stoic paradox that all offences are equal, and from this point leads up to it and its refutation. The Stoics will not allow that any but the perfect *sapiens* can ever be free from faults. **quatenus**, 'since,' 1. 1. 64. **excidi**: supply *nequit* out of next line. Since neither anger nor the other faults ingrained in fools can be thoroughly eradicated, why enact a too severe general law for punishing offences? Reason should have weights and measures of her own, and mete out her punishment fairly, proportioned to each particular case. **77. stultis**: from the Stoic point of view; all save the *sapiens*.

80. tollere, 'remove from table.' **81. tepidum . . . ius**, 'cold gravy.' **82. Labeone.** Said by the scholiasts to be M. Antistius Labeo, a great jurisconsult, famous for his outspoken attacks on the emperor, *propter quod Horatius adulans Augusto insanum eum dixit*. He was son of Labeo who was a comrade of Horace at Philippi; but at the time this Satire was written was not more than twenty, and could not yet have become famous for his free opinions. Others refer to C. Atinius Labeo, cf. Liv. Epit. 59 *C. Atinius Labeo tribunus plebis Q. Metellum censorem, a quo in senatu legendo praeteritus erat, de saxo deici iussit; quod ne fieret, ceteri tribuni plebis auxilio fuerunt.* But this was in 131 B.C., so that the reference is remote. Bentley conjectures *Labieno*: but Labienus, a famous orator, nicknamed Rabienus for his savage attacks on the emperor and others, is later than the date of this Satire.

83. hoc: nominative, 'the following': ill-treatment of slaves was not thought much of at Rome. **85. concedas**: with acc. of thing: cf. Ov. Trist. 2. 31 *sed nisi peccassem, quid tu concedere posses?* **86. Ruso** (called Octavius Ruso by Porph.) is unknown, but *Ruso* was a cognomen of the Octavii, Calvisii, and Occii. He had a mania for writing history, but could get no one to read his works or listen to him reading them: so he lent money, and expected his debtors in arrear to listen to his readings. Horace ironically pretends great horror at such a fate. So Juv. 3. 9 enumerates the recitations of poets in the month of August as the last and worst danger of a city life. **87. Kalendae.** Money was lent and called in, and interest paid, at the Kalends, Nones, or Ides, the first and last more commonly than the Nones: cf. Epod. 2. 69; Ov. Rem. Am. 561 *qui Puteal Ianumque timet celeresque Kalendas, | torqueat hunc aeris mutua summa sui.* **88. mercedem aut nummos**, 'interest or principal': the former also *usura* or *faenus*; the latter, generally *sors* or *caput*. **unde unde**, 'by hook or crook.' **extricat**, 'screws out.' **89. porrecto iugulo**: as if preparing for the headsman's axe.

91. **Euandri manibus tritum,** either (1) 'worn by the hands of Evander,' the mythical Italian king, *i.e.* of venerable antiquity; like the brazen foot-bath of Sisyphus, 2. 3. 21; or (2) 'shaped by the hands of Evander,' a *caelator* (chaser of silver) and statuary (*plastes statuarum*), said to have been brought by M. Antony from Athens to Alexandria, thence to Rome by Octavian after the battle of Actium. This is the explanation of Porph., who says he derived it from those *qui de personis Horatianis scripserunt*, and *Avianius Evander* a statuary is mentioned Cic. ad Fam. 7. 23; 13. 2 and Pliny 36. 5. 32. But Horace is clearly satirising the fashionable craze for antiques at Rome, cf. Mart. 8. 6. 9 *hi duo longaevo censentur Nestore fundi | pollice de Pylio trita columba nitet*, where *trita* exactly answers to *tritum* here, while to use *tritum* of a *caelator* or sculptor is most unnatural. 92. **positum ante**=*antepositum*, 'served up.' **mea in parte,** 'in the part of the dish next to me.' 95. **fide,** the old dat. and genit., frequent in Plautus, cf. Od. 3. 7. 4. **sponsumve negarit,** 'disowned his bond': referring to a man becoming security for his friend, and then denying his liability.

96. **quis**=*quibus*, cf. 1. 1. 75: the form is used by Horace only in his earliest writings, the Satires and Epodes. The Stoics held that offences were equal. **fere,** to be joined with *paria*: see on 2. 3. 32. **placuit,** *δέδοκται*, 'they have laid it down.' **laborant,** *ἀποροῦσιν*, they are at a loss when they come to deal with practical life, *ad verum*. 97. **sensus,** sing. 'instinct,' as Cic. de Fin. 4. 19. 55, arguing against the same paradox, says, *sensus enim cuiusque et natura rerum atque ipsa veritas clamabat quodam modo, non posse adduci, ut inter eas res quas Zeno exaequaret nihil interesset.* **moresque,** 'the rules of life,' cf. Od. 4. 4. 35 n. 98. **utilitas . . . aequi.** That the distinctions of right and wrong are founded in utility has been held without the *prope* by a numerous school of modern philosophers from Hobbes to Mill. Cp. Plato, Rep. v. 457 B. It is clearly an Epicurean view. 101. Nails, fists, cudgels, and so on step by step (*porro*) till they fought with arms. In our civilised days we have got on to grape-shot and torpedoes. 102. **arma** includes both *tela* and armour. **usus,** 'experience,' or 'necessity.' 103. **donec verba**: language was the first step in civilisation; next law. **verba,** *ῥήματα*, articulate words, with which men gave meaning and shape to **voces,** the inarticulate sounds of the savage voice. 104. **nomina,** *ὀνόματα*, names for external things. Cf. A. P. 234.

111. **iura inventa metu.** Laws, embodying distinctions of right and wrong, were invented: they were not made by nature ready to man's hand. Nature of herself drew no clear and evident line between right and wrong. They slide into each other by gradations, and there are gradations of crime, and ought to be gradations of punishment. The Stoics, on the other hand, said that *τὸ δίκαιον* existed *φύσει*)(*θέσει*=*inventa*. 113. **iusto . . . iniquum,** neuter, 'Nature cannot discriminate between what is just and unjust in the same way as she distinguishes between good things and their opposites' (as, for instance, she distinguishes between health and sickness, pain and pleasure). 115. **nec vincet ratio hoc,** 'nor shall philosophy prove this, that,' etc. **vincere hoc,** to carry this point, like *νικᾶν γνώμην*: and *vincere causam*. This is an exceptional use of *ut* with subj. for the usual acc. and inf. (for which cf. 2. 3. 225): *ut* is due to the interposition of *hoc*, of which *ut peccet* is epexegetic. 116. **qui teneros caules.** By the laws of Draco idle persons and those who stole vegetables, *τοὺς λάχανα κλέψαντας*, were punished equally with sacrilegious thieves (*ἱερόσυλοι*) and homicides.

117. sacra . . . legerit, used with reference to *sacrilegus*. **lego**, prop. to pick, gather, hence steal.

118. aequas, 'just,' proportioned to the magnitude of the offence. **119. scutica** (σκῦτος or σκύτος), a whip of hide, used by schoolmasters, or for the milder offences of slaves. **flagello**, a scourge, of several cords, sometimes with knots in which were inserted pieces of metal, then named *scorpiones*; a terrible cat-o'-nine-tails, used for beating slaves for their worst offences. Its severity is often referred to: Epod. 4. 11; Juv. 14. 19. Many expired under it. **120. nam ut . . . caedas**: 'For I have no fear lest you should beat with the cane one who deserves a severer lashing.' If the reading is sound, *ut* is here used where *ne* is required, owing to its clause preceding *vereor*, and causing a sort of anacoluthon, *e.g.* the sentence might have been *nam ut . . . caedas, id vero non est verisimile.* Or, more probably, *ut caedas* is put loosely for *illud ut caedas* (cf. *hoc ut peccet* 115) 'of (this, viz.) your beating . . . I am not afraid.' On the other hand Horace is very careful about the idiom in question, cf. 2. 1. 60 *o puer ut sis | vitalis metuo;* 1. 4. 31 *ne quid | summa deperdat metuens aut ampliet ut rem.* Hence Palmer conjectures *nunc* for *non* in 121. With *nunc* the words mean 'for as matters stand at present, I fear there is no chance of your merely caning . . ., with your saying all offences are equal.' The *ferula* or cane (properly the stalk of the fennel-plant, νάρθηξ) was milder even than the *scutica.* It was the schoolmaster's rod; cf. Mart. 10. 62. 10 *ferulaeque tristes sceptra paedagogorum;* Dom. Marsus ap. Suet. Gramm. 9 mentions both *scutica* and *ferula* as belonging to schoolmasters, *si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit.* **122. furta**, larceny, petty thefts: **latrociniis**, highway robbery. **magnis**, to be joined with **simili**, a short way of saying *falce simili eius falcis qua magna recidis.* **123. si tibi regnum**: the Stoic says unguardedly, 'if I were only king, I would do so and so': Horace at once silences him with the retort, 'But with you the wise man *is* a king! so you are one: why wish for what you have?'

125. According to the Stoics the *sapiens* was perfect in everything. Porph. quotes Lucilius here, a passage which Horace evidently copied: *non dum etiam qui haec omnia habebit, | formosus dives liber rex solu' vocetur.* He is rich, he is a first-rate shoemaker, he is handsome, he is a king. Cicero several times refers to the same doctrine, Mur. 29. 61; Acad. 2. 44. 136; de Fin. 4. 27; 3. 22. 75. The subject of the sixth Stoic Paradox treated by Cicero is: *solum sapientem esse divitem.* **127. Chrysippus**, B.C. 280-207, succeeded Cleanthes as head of the Stoic sect. He is often spoken of as the chief Stoic philosopher, and it was currently said εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος οὐκ ἂν ἦν Στοά, Diog. Laert. 7. 7 (183). The Stoic here tries to explain the Stoic paradox thus: the wise man is *potentially* a good shoemaker, though he never made shoes; as Hermogenes is a famous singer, although not singing at the time; as Alfenus remained a barber after giving up his trade: in this sense a wise man may even be called a king. **crepidas** (κρηπίς): shoes of Greek fashion, perhaps affected by philosophers. **128. qui**, 'how so?' evidently the true reading, though not so well supported as *quo*: cf. Pers. 1. 127.

129. Hermogenes Tigellius, a famous musician, apparently spoken of as alive, and, if so, not to be confounded with Tigellius Sardus of 1. 2. 3, though probably a relative. **130. Alfenus.** The scholiasts say that this is a hit at Alfenus Varus of Cremona, who having given up his business as a shoemaker there (*abiecta sutrina* or *tonstrina* according to one MS.), came to Rome,

and after studying under Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, attained fame as a jurisconsult, obtained the consulship, and at his death was accorded a public funeral. The word *vafer*, 'shrewd,' suits this account, as it is now and then found applied to jurisconsults. **131. instrumento**, 'stock-in-trade,' *i.e.* if a barber, his razors, *novaculae*; shears, *axicia*; towels, *lintea*; curling-tongs, *calamistrum*, etc.: if a shoemaker, his lasts, *formae*; knives, *scalpra*; awl, *subula*, etc. **132. tonsor**: so Bent. from the *vet. Bland.* against all other MSS. which have *sutor*. The Stoic wants to prove the wise man potentially a shoemaker. He naturally goes to other professions for his illustrations: as Hermogenes is potentially *a singer*: as Alfenus still remained *a barber*: so the wise man is potentially *a shoemaker*. It would show poverty of thought to select another shoemaker as the second illustration, and *sutor* sounds awkward after *sutor* twice preceding. **sic**, 'in this sense,' *i.e.* potentially, δυνάμει, not actually, ἐνεργείᾳ.

133. barbam. A beard was affected by professors of philosophy, especially the Stoics and Cynics. Cf. 2. 3. 35; Pers. Sat. 1. 133 *si Cynico barbam petulans nonaria vellat*. **134. coerces**, 'keep at bay.' **135. urgueris**, 'you are mobbed.' **136. rumperis et latras** = *latrando rumperis*, 'you burst yourself with scolding'; cf. Ep. 1. 19. 15; Plaut. Capt. Prol. 14. **137. dum** rather rare with future: here it denotes a habit. **quadrante lavatum**, 'to bathe for a farthing'; cf. Juv. 6. 447 *quadrante lavari*. The Stoic is represented as going shabbily to the public baths, where the price for the cheapest bath was only a *quadrans*, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an *as*, about $\frac{1}{2}$ a farthing. **138. rex**, 'your majesty.' **stipator**, 'in your retinue.' King though you are, the offensive ἀρεταλόγος, Crispinus, will be your only escort. **139. et . . . que**, 'both . . . and,' a rare correspondence, cf. Liv. 4. 2 *id et singulis universisque semper honori fuisse;* Madv. de Fin. 5. 22. 64. **140. stultus**, ironically opposed to the vaunted wisdom of the *sapiens*. **amici**, implying that he would have many of them, in opposition to the lonely state of the harsh philosopher.

SATIRE IV

A Defence of Horace's Satires from the charge of malevolence. DATE, 38 B.C.

This Satire was written by Horace for the purpose of defending himself and Satire from the charge of malevolence. He claims the same right to castigate vice that the Greek poets of the Old Comedy arrogated to themselves, 1-5; the same right that Lucilius enjoyed, 6. The mention of Lucilius introduces a slight digression, in which his rugged verse and diffuse and unpolished style are blamed. It is easy to write empty nothings, like Crispinus, 14: or Fannius, the popular idol, 21. But satire is feared, hence the satirical poet is not popular, 23-38. But, in the first place, it is wrong to call him a poet: indeed it is doubtful whether the writer of comedy deserves this title, 38-62; in the second place, you have got no right to charge my writings with malevolence. I do not write for publication, 73; my object is not to give pain, 77; I have as good a right to have a hearty laugh at the follies of my neighbours as a wit at a dinner-table, 87. The scandal-monger, the backbiter, are odious characters, 94-100: I have nothing in common with them. My father taught me to mark other men's faults, for the purpose of avoiding them, 106-126; I still carry on the practice, hence my immunity from the more serious vices. I have faults of less heinousness; one of them is wasting paper by writing, but you must allow me that privilege, or I and my brother poets will make a proselyte of you by force.

1. Eupolis 446-410, Cratinus 519-422, Aristophanes 448-380 B.C., are also mentioned together as true satirists by Horace's imitator, Persius 1. 123 *audaci quicumque afflate Cratino | iratum Eupolidem praegrandi cum sene palles.* 2. **alii.** Among the other most famous poets of the old comedy are Crates, Pherecrates, Teleclides, Hermippus, Amipsias, Phrynichus, and Plato. The old comedy dated from 460 to 404; its characteristic was the most unsparing exposure of public characters. **alii quorum virorum** stands for *alii viri quorum;* cf. 1. 10. 16 *illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est.* 3. **dignus** with inf., cf. Od. 1. 3. 25 n. **malus** is several times used as a subst. by Hor.; cf. 1. 3. 59; Epod. 6. 11.

6. **hinc omnis pendet Lucilius,** 'Lucilius is entirely derived from them.' The satire of Lucilius certainly discharged the same function among the Romans as the Old Comedy did among the Greeks, the function of public criticism on public men which in our days is discharged by the press. But as Quintilian says that Roman satire is wholly original (10. 1. 93 *satira tota nostra est*), Sellar considers (Roman Poets p. 219) that Horace here only points out this parallelism. Palmer, however (see his Preface), holds that Horace clearly describes Lucilius as copying the Old Comedy, and that Quintilian's words must refer to the outward form rather than to the inward substance of Roman satire. C. Lucilius was a Roman knight, of good family and fortune, great-uncle of Pompey the Great: he served under P. Africanus in the Numantine war, and was the intimate friend of that general and Laelius; he died 103 B.C. He wrote thirty books of Satires: the first twenty and the thirtieth in hexameters; the twenty-second apparently in elegiacs; the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh in trochaics; the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth in iambics, trochaics, and hexameters. We possess about 1100 lines of his in fragments. 7. **mutatis tantum pedibus.** Hor. here ignores those of Lucilius' satires which were written in iambics and trochaics, and what is more important, ignores the absence of the dramatic form. **facetus,** 'humorous.' Cf. Cic. Leg. 2. 15. 37 *Aristophanes facetissimus poeta veteris comoediae.* It seems to be applied to Virgil in a different sense, 1. 10. 44. 8. **emunctae naris,** 'of sarcastic power'; properly one with a well-wiped nose, hence, one who has that organ in a fit state for appreciating the ludicrous. Cf. the use of ἀπομύττειν, Plat. Rep. 343 A. See on 1. 3. 29; 6. 5. For the omission of *poeta* or *vir*, see on 1. 1. 33. **durus componere,** rugged in the composition of his verse; for the inf. cf. Od. 1. 3. 25 n.

9. **hoc,** abl., 'on this account.' **in hora,** 'within an hour': the preposition is especially used with numerals, Madvig 276. 3. 10. **stans pede in uno:** a proverbial expression for doing anything with facility. 11. **cum flueret lutulentus,** 'as he flowed muddily along, there was always something you would wish to have removed.' Cf. 1. 10. 50; Quintil. 10. 1. 94 *ego ab Horatio dissentio qui Lucilium fluere lutulentum, et esse aliquid, quod tollere possis, putat.* As far as we can judge from the fragments preserved, perhaps most people now would agree with Horace, not with Quintilian, on the literary question. 12 **garrulus,** of dictating, as *loquax* 1. 1. 13. This line naturally follows the train of thought interrupted by the three lines, 9-11, *garrulus* taking up *facetus, emunctae naris,* and *durus.* Every conceivable plan for bringing the verse into more strict syntax has been reverted to by German critics. Schütz puts a comma at *erat,* making it personal: *erat (quod tollere velles), garrulus:* destroying the sense. He wisely does not

quote Quintilian's words, *esse aliquid, quod tollere possis.* Bothe puts a full stop at *velles,* and makes *garrulus* and *piger* go with *Crispinus*: the position of *ecce* is against this. Probably 13 should be struck out, and 12 placed after 8 or 9, if any alteration is made. **13.** This has all the signs and tokens of a spurious verse: the epanalepsis of *scribendi*: the solecistic construction of *nil moror*: the ease with which the line may be omitted without damaging the sense, and the obviousness of a hypothesis to account for its invention, are points all of which are in favour of its excision. It seems likely that it was inserted owing to the scribe not seeing that *scribendi* by itself is right; the lazy bard will not write himself, but merely dictate. The usual construction of *nil moror* is an acc. or an infinitive: here we have *ut,* and not only so, but the verb, *scribat,* is understood. It is true, as Schütz says, the transition from the infinitive to *ut* with subj. is not a violent one; he compares *concedo* so used Cic. Am. 5. 18; *probo* Tusc. 3. 3. 5; *assentior* Leg. 2. 5. 11. It would be impossible to take *ut multum* = *quam multum* or *quantum.*

14. **Crispinus**: 1. 1. 120 n. **minimo,** 'at long odds.' Crispinus offers heavy odds that he can write more than Horace. So Palmer with Acron: *minimo provocare dicuntur ii qui in stipulatione plus ipsi promittunt quam exigunt ab adversario.* Surely, however, the man who lays 'long odds' challenges with a great sum and not 'with a very little,' and therefore we may perhaps accept the explanation of the other scholiasts, *minimo digito solent provocare qui volunt ostendere plus esse virium in suo digito minimo quam in alterius toto corpore.* Bentley read *nummo.* **15. accipiam**: an infinitely better reading than *accipe iam*: in fact *iam* is utterly inconsistent with *hora,* which is yet to come, and Crispinus's statement of his own readiness to enter the lists is necessary. **tabulas,** sc. *ceratas,* for writing on with the *stilus.* **17. di bene fecerunt**: an expression of thanks: cf. καλῶς ποιεῖν, εὖ ποιεῖν. **19. hircinis follibus,** 'goat-skin bellows'; windbags, a man who prides himself in the quantity he writes, produces empty nothings, mere wind. **21. ut mavis**: like *ut facis,* 'according to your preference for so doing.' **beatus,** because he got many readers.

21. **Fannius,** called *Quadratus* by the schol., was, as we may judge from this passage, a bad poet, though a wordy one; he was a great card with Horace's *bête noire* Hermogenes Tigellius, and a frequent guest at his table, where they ran down Horace together: 1. 10. 80. **ultro delatis capsis et imagine.** Probably some admirer or admirers of Fannius had made him a presentation of a set of ornamental bookcases, together with a bust of himself. For *ultro deferre,* of giving something to an individual unasked, cf. Ep. 1. 12. 22; Cic. ad Fam. 4. 13. 2 *quod non ultro mihi Caesar detulerit;* ad Fam. 13. 55. 1 *ultro ei detulerim legationem.* The scholiasts give other explanations. They tell us that Fannius was childless, and that his *heredipetae* (legacy-hunters). without his orders, sent his poems and busts to the public libraries. That does not suit the use of *ultro delatis,* and is historically impossible: for in the first public library at Rome, that founded by Asinius Pollio in 38 B.C., the only one existing at this time, the writings of living authors were not admitted; the sole exception being made in the case of M. Varro (Plin. H. N. 7. 30. 115). Another scholastic explanation is that Fannius had left in his will a direction. that he should be burnt with his own writings; but this is a confusion with the account given (1. 10. 62) of Cassius, and Fannius was now living (1. 10. 80). **22. imagine**: cf. Juv. 7. 29 *ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra,* Mayor's note. **mea . . . timentis**: cf. Cic. Phil. 2. 43. 111 *tuum hominis*

simplicis pectus vidimus; Ov. Her. 5. 45 *nostros vidisti flentis ocellos;* Mart. 7. 51. 7 *sic tenet absentis nostros cantatque libellos.* A genitive is contained in the possessive, and the partic. agrees with it: Roby, S. G. 441b, note.

24. **sunt quos**, with ind., denoting a simple fact, as 2. 4. 47; Od. 1. 1. 3 n. **genus hoc**: sc. *scribendi*, satire. **plures**, 'most people,' acc. attracted to *quos*. People fear satire, knowing their own weak points. 25. **elige**, 'pick out any one you please.' Some object to *elige* as inconsistent with *quemvis*: but even in picking at random some degree of choice exists. 28. **argenti . . . aere**: one dabbles in plate, another in bronzes, for which latter Corinth was especially famous. **stupet**: a very strong word like *torpes*, 2. 7. 95, both used of the mania of art connoisseurs. **Albius** is unknown. 29. **mutat**, 'barters.' **surgente . . .**, from east to west, not 'from morning till evening.' Pers. 5. 54 *mercibus hic Italis mutat sub sole recenti | rugosum piper.* 30. **tepet**, 'is moderately warmed.' The west is here spoken of as cooler than the east. 31. **fertur**, 'rushes.' φέρεσθαι has the same sense. **pulvis**: the comparison is to the dust-cloud of a tornado. 31, 32. **ne quid . . . rem**, 'fearfully anxious lest he should loose aught from his total, or not add to his estate.' A good example of the difference between *ne* and *ut* after verbs of fearing. Schütz takes *ut* as final 'in order to,' which is weak, and all but makes nonsense of the passage.

34. **faenum . . . cornu.** A satirist is like a vicious ox, to whose horns a wisp of hay was tied as a warning that he was dangerous. According to Plutarch, Sicinius, when asked why he refrained from assailing only Crassus, χόρτον αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἔφησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος. 35. **sibi**, *i.e.* at his witticisms, a dat. commodi. 36. **inleverit**, 'scrawled,' used, with some contempt, of hasty writing. 37. **furno**: a baking oven, where the poorer classes got their loaves and pies baked. **lacu**: one of the public tanks whence the people drew their water. Agrippa is said to have made 700 of these in the city. 38. **pueros et anus**, 'slaves and old women,' the former carrying the loaves of bread, the latter water for washing. 39. **poetis**: attracted into the same case as *quibus*: 1. 1. 19 n. Most MSS. have *poetas.* 40. **concludere versum**, 'to confine a verse within metrical limits'; cf. 1. 10. 59; 2. 1. 28. 42. **sermoni propiora**, 'nearer to prose,' the language of talk, *sermo quotidianus*, *sermo pedester*. Horace calls his satire *Musa pedestris*, 2. 6. 17, and speaks of the satires as *sermones repentes per humum*, Ep. 2. 1. 250.

45. And so not only cannot the satirist be called a poet, but it is doubtful whether his predecessor, the writer of comedy, can. The construction is *quidam quaesivere* (*utrum*) *comoedia poema esset, necne.* *utrum* is usually omitted when *necne* is used; cf. line 63. 47. **verbis**, 'dialogue'; **rebus**, 'subjects'; both belonging to common life. 48. **differt** with dat., as words compounded with this prefix generally, like *discolor*; cf. Od. 2. 2. 18 *dissidens plebi.* **sermo merus**: in apposition to *comoedia* in line 45. There is no asyndeton; 'comedy being, in fact, absolute prose, save that it differs from prose by having a regular beat.' **at pater ardens.** An objector may say comedy has '*acer spiritus*,' pointing to the rage fathers in the play exhibit when scolding their prodigal sons; cf. A. P. 93, 94. 49. **saevit**, 'storms.' **nepos**, 'prodigal.' **insanus amica**: a rare construction; *amica* is an instrumental ablative, 'maddened by,' 'madly in love with a harlot mistress.' Cf. Od. 3. 9. 5 n. 51. **magnum quod dedecus.** It was customary with wild young men to revel through the streets at night, with their slaves carrying torches, to their mistresses' doors or else-

where (κωμάζειν, *comissari*). To begin this masquerading before night set in was scandalous.

52. numqui Pomponius. The reply of Horace. The dissolute Pomponius, if his father were alive, would be rated by him in just the same terms as the prodigal in the play; proving that the language of every-day life and of comedy are the same. Pomponius is not mentioned elsewhere. **qui**: the use of this form with comparatives is so common that Keller rightly prefers it to *quid* of many MSS.; cf. Plaut. Aul. Prol. 16 *ecqui maiorem filius mihi honorem haberet.* **54. puris . . . verbis**: plain, simple language. Quint. 8. 3. 14 *purus sermo et dissimilis curae.* **56. personatus . . . pater**, 'the father in the play,' wearing the mask of a father. **58. tempora certa modosque**, 'a regular beat and rhythm.' **60. non**, with *invenias* line 62, 'you would not find the limbs of the dismembered poet, as you would if you were to take to pieces "*After foul discord brast the iron-bound posts and gates of war.*"' The line is from Ennius and imitated by Virgil, Aen. 7. 622 *belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postes.* In both passages the opening of the temple of Janus in time of war is referred to. **62. etiam**, to be joined to *disiecti*, 'tossed in different places,' which rather refers to *membra* than to its noun *poetae.* Horace seems to have had the fate of Orpheus pictured to his mind through the similar fate of Pentheus. Eur. Bacch. 1135 seq. πᾶσα δ' ᾑματωμένη | χεῖρας, διεσφαίριζε σάρκα Πενθέως. | κεῖται δὲ χωρὶς σῶμα, τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ στύφλοις | πέτραις, τὸ δ' ὕλης ἐν βαθυξύλῳ φόβῃ, | οὐ ῥᾴδιον ζήτημα.

65. Sulcius and **Caprius** were two informers (*quadruplatores*, not *delatores*, as the schol. calls them, for the *delatores* belong to later times), who are here depicted as carrying in their hands their informations (*libelli accusatorii*), hoarse with speaking and declaiming in the actions they bring: the highwaymen are afraid of them, but a quiet man of spotless character need have no fear of either. **68. puris manibus**, 'with hands pure from guilt,' *i.e.* from blood-guiltiness. Cf. καθαρὸς χεῖρας Her. 1. 35; καθαρὰς χεῖρας Aesch. Eum. 313. **69. ut sis tu**, 'even supposing *you* are.' **70. non ego sim**, which has much more MS. authority than *sum*, is borne out by Horace's usage of the potential, especially with negatives: 'I never can be like an informer.' Cf. next line: *nulla taberna habeat;* 1. 6. 89 *nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius.* It is a mistake to regard these as optatives.

71. taberna: a general name for a shop, here a book-shop. **pila** = *taberna*; cf. Mart. 7. 61. 5 *nulla catenatis pila est praecincta lagoenis*, of a wine-shop; Catull. 37. 2 *a pileatis nona fratribus pila*, where Ellis says *pila* 'was the pillar or column in front of the *taberna*, used to indicate the occupation of the possessor.' *columnae*, A. P. 373, means the same thing. Books (*volumina*) were, in the case of a bookseller's shop, probably tied to these *pilae*, and it was there that the vulgar turned over and thumbed them. Horace, at the time of writing this satire, one of his earliest, had not the intention of publishing his writings, which Maecenas probably afterwards persuaded him to do. He wrote for writing's sake, and for the appreciation of his friends; cf. line 73. **72. Hermogenes Tigellius.** Cf. 1. 2. 3; 3. 3. Does Horace hint that Hermogenes was too mean to buy books, and got what he could by turning them over at the *pilae*? **73. recito**: to recite was a necessary preliminary to publication at Rome, and a sort of publication in itself. By such recitations Horace's fame was first created, and reached the ears of Maecenas. But Horace did not, when he wrote this satire, intend to go beyond reciting, and he did not even recite *vulgo*, line 23. For

the best account of literary recitations, which formed such a striking feature of Roman life, see Mayor on Juv. 3. 9. Ovid heard some of Horace's recitations, some of the Odes probably; cf. Trist. 4. 10. 49 *et tenuit nostras numerosus Horatius aures,* | *dum ferit Ausonia carmina culta lyra.* **idque,** *καὶ ταῦτα.* **coactus,** 'after much pressing.' **75. lavantes.** Martial 3. 44. 12, complaining of a *recitator,* says *in thermas fugio, sonas ad aurem.* For the horror with which reciters were looked upon, see Mayor on Juv. 1. 17 and 3. 9. **77. illud,** *ἐκεῖνο,* 'this,' referring to what follows. **sensu,** 'good breeding,' 'tact' = *communi sensu,* 1. 3. 66.

79. inquit, 'quoth one': *aliquis* understood. Some one says that Horace takes pleasure in wounding, and, bad-hearted man as he is (*pravus*), wounds (*hoc facit*) from pure love of wounding (*studio*). For **studio** = *con amore* cf. Cic. Rosc. Am. 32. 91 *ut omnes intellegant me non studio accusare, sed officio defendere.* **unde petitum . . . iacis,** 'where have you found this reproach to throw at me?' *iacere probra* is a common expression. **80. denique,** 'in short, is any one of my intimates your authority for it?' *denique* means 'I will not say "is this man or that man of my friends your authority"; but I will cut the matter short by grouping all my friends together, and asking you whether any one of them would support such a charge.' **81. rodit,** 'backbites,' like *carpere, vellicare.* **82. defendit:** cf. 1. 5. 90 n. **85. niger,** 'black-hearted,' 'bad'; Cic. Caecin. 10. 27 *Phormio, nec minus niger nec minus confidens quam ille Terentianus est Phormio.* **Romane:** as a true son of Rome, of the old, honest Roman stock. The Romans liked the sound of their name, and were proud of the character it connoted; cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 851.

86. tribus lectis: cf. 2. 8. 20 n. **quaternos:** four on each couch, twelve in all. The usual number was nine. The fourth side of the table was open for the slaves to approach. **87. unus,** 'one of the guests.' Some MSS. have *imus* = the guest occupying the last seat on the *lectus imus*; cf. 2. 8. 20 n. The host often invited, for the amusement of himself and the rest of the company, *scurrae,* men whose wits were sharpened by their appetites, who were expected to say smart things in return for their dinner. These poor wits (*quibus sunt verba sine penu et pecunia,* Plaut. Capt. 3. 1. 12) had seats on the third or *imus lectus.* Cf. Ep. 1. 18. 10 *imi* | *derisor lecti.* **amet,** 'is wont' (*φιλεῖ*), the reading of one of the Blandinian MSS. is better than *avet* of other MSS. **quavis,** 'in any way,' not used adverbially elsewhere, though *qualubet* occurs twice in Catullus, 40. 6; 76. 14. **adspergere:** sc. *sale,* 'to banter,' 'to chaff.' **88. qui praebet aquam:** a colloquial expression, perhaps derived from an *ἔρανος,* for the host who supplied the water for the guests to wash their hands in before dinner. Cf. 2. 2. 69; Od. 3. 19. 6. This was a regular practice of the Greek banquets, and is often referred to in the Comedians as *ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρός.* Others explain of water for the feet, Plaut. Pers. 5. 2. 14 *fer aquam pedibus;* or of the hot and cold water for mixing with wine, Juv. 5. 63 *quando rogatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister?* **89. condita . . . Liber:** cf. Ep. 1. 5. 16 n. **92. Rufillus,** a fop who ate comfits to give his breath a sweet smell, and **Gargonius,** a clownish fellow, were satirised 1. 2. 27: for the former habit, cf. Mart. 1. 87 *ne gravis hesterno fragres, Fescennia, vino,* | *pastillos Cosmi luxuriosa voras.*

93. si quae: restored by Holder, with best MS. authority, for *si qua.* Cf. 2. 6. 10 *si . . . fors quae mihi monstret;* Kennedy, Public Sch. Gr. p. 289, note. **94. Petillius Capitolinus** was accused of peculation, tried, and acquitted,

although the evidence was strongly against him; cf. 1. 10. 26. **96. amicoque**: the only other hypermetric hexameter in Horace is 1. 6. 102 *peregreve.* Cf. Virg. G. 1. 295; Aen. 1. 332. **100. hic sucus; haec aerugo**: notice the Latin idiom to attract the pronoun into the gender of the substantive in such cases; as *hic labor, hoc opus est.* **lolligo** or *sepia*, the cuttle-fish, said to emit a black, inky fluid to discolour the water when it was pursued: Plin. H. N. 9. 29. 84. **101. aerugo**, malice, properly the rust of copper; cf. Mart. 10. 33. 5 *viridi tinctos aerugine versus.* The 'malice' of course is in the 'but still I *do* wonder' with which the pretended friend concludes. **102. ut si quid.** The construction is *ut* (*promitto*), *si quid aliud vere de me promittere possum ita promitto afore.*

105. insuevit here takes a double acc., 'accustomed me to this.' *adsuescere* takes acc. and abl. 2. 2. 109. **106. ut fugerem**, epexegetic of *hoc.* **vitiorum quaeque**, 'the several vices,' to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ both with *fugerem* and *notando.* **109. Albi**: unknown. **male vivat**: not 'lives a bad life,' but as the context demands, 'scarcely keeps himself alive,' 'lives wretchedly,' the opposite of *bene vivere*, not of *recte vivere.* **110. documentum**, 'a lesson.' **116. causas reddet**, 'will explain': the two words make up a single verbal idea, on which *quid melius vitatu petituque* depends.

122. auctorem, 'an example.' **123. iudicibus selectis**, 'the special jurymen' empanelled annually by the praetor for the trial of criminal cases, and usually men of high character; cf. Cic. pro Cluent. 43. 121 *praetores urbani qui iurati debent optimum quemque in selectos iudices referre.* **obiciebat**, 'held up to me': a rare use of the word, when an example is held up, especially an example for imitation, in which sense *proponere* is usual, Ep. 1. 2. 18. **124.** The construction is *an addubites* (*utrum*) *hoc inhonestum et inutile sit factu, necne?* *utrum* before *hoc* must be supplied. *an* is not used as correlative to *necne*, but either *utrum* or *ne*; but these are more idiomatically omitted; cf. line 45. **126. avidos**, 'gluttons'; cf. 1. 5. 75. **127. sibi parcere**, *i.e.* not overload their stomachs.

129. ex hoc, 'owing to this,' my early training. Supply *sum* before *sanus.* Many make the sentence go on to *teneor*, but that makes Horace thank his early education for his small faults. **132. liber**, 'outspoken'; μετὰ παρρησίας νουθετῶν. **133. consilium proprium**, 'my own reflections.' **lectulus**: sc. *lucubratorius*, a couch for reclining on while reading or reflecting. Suet. Aug. 78 *a cena in lecticulam se lucubratoriam recipiebat.* **134. porticus**, 'a colonnade'; cf. Ep. 1. 1. 71 n. The Romans used to stroll in them, and Kiessling refers to the *porticus Pompeii* near his theatre as popular at this time, see Catull. 55. 6; Prop. 2. 32. 11. **136. hoc quidam non belle**, sc. *fecit*, 'this was not nice of so and so.' **137. inprudens**, ἄκων, 'without intending it.' **olim**, 'at any time.'

139. inludo chartis, 'I mock paper,' by scribbling on it, and so disappoint as it were the paper, when I tear up my abortive attempts. Orelli renders *quasi ludens conicio in chartas*, but this use of *inludo* is unsupported, and with dat. it is regularly = 'make a mock of,' 'spoil.' So *inludere rebus humanis* 2. 8. 62; *pecuniae inludere* Tac. Hist. 2. 94; *cui* (*frondi*) . . . *silvestres uri assidue capreaeque sequaces | inludunt* Virg. G. 2. 373. **hoc**: this fault, sc. writing poetry. **140. concedere**, 'to pardon,' 'make allowance for.' Cf. Cic. Verr. 2. 3. 96. 223 *quos alienis peccatis concessuros putes.* **141. multa poetarum** . . . The large number of poets, or would-be poets, has both in ancient and modern times been made a subject for hyperbolical

jesting: see Ep. 2. 1. 117 *scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim*, and Bon Gaultier Ballads describing the tournament to decide the succession to the Laureateship on Southey's death:—*Eight hundred minstrels slunk away, two hundred stayed to draw.* **142. multo plures** means that the majority of men are poets. Orelli reads *veniet*: if so **nolis** should be *noles*, cf. 2. 1. 20 n. **143. Iudaei.** The proselytising spirit of the Jews is referred to. Cf. Matt. xxiii. 15 *περιάγετε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν ποιῆσαι ἕνα προσήλυτον*. There were numbers of Jews at Rome, cf. Cic. Flacc. 28. 66 *scis quanta sit* (*Iudaeorum*) *manus, quanta concordia, quantum valeat in concionibus.*

SATIRE V

SUBJECT:—*A Journey to Brundisium.* DATE, 38 or 37 B.C.

Horace gives an account of a journey to Brundisium in company with Maecenas, Cocceius, Fonteius Capito, Virgil, Plotius Tucca, Varius, and the rhetor Heliodorus. Of these the first three joined Horace and Heliodorus at Anxur: the others at Sinuessa. The poem is interesting, but on the whole disappointing: considering the company he was travelling in, it is wonderful how little Horace has told us worth remembering. It is written in imitation of Lucilius, who in his third book described a journey from Rome to Capua, and thence to the Sicilian strait. The occasion of Horace's journey was an embassy on which Maecenas and Cocceius were sent (line 29), probably that of Maecenas to Athens, in the autumn of 38 B.C., to meet Antony there. In that year Octavian had suffered two severe defeats from the fleet of Sex. Pompey, and the people were becoming unruly, and refused to pay taxes. Accordingly he sent Maecenas to Antony to arrange the subjects in dispute between them. Appian 5. 92 *δεινὸς δὲ ὢν ἀεὶ τὸ συμφέρον συνιδεῖν, ἔπεμπε Μαικήναν ἐς Ἀντώνιον, μεταδιδάξοντα περὶ ὧν ἔναγχος ἐπεμέμφοντο ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐς συμμαχίαν ὑπαξόμενον.* Maecenas was successful in his attempts at conciliation, and in the following spring (*ἀρχομένου ἦρος*) Antony set sail from Athens to Tarentum with 300 ships, to give Octavian the help he had asked for. The embassy here mentioned cannot refer to the negotiations which Maecenas carried on between Octavian and Antony at the so-called peace of Brundisium, B.C. 40, for (1) it is certain that Horace was not known to Maecenas at that time (2. 6. 40); (2) the treaty of Brundisium, which was arranged by Maecenas, Cocceius, and Pollio, is referred to in line 29 as a thing of the past—*aversos soliti componere amicos.*

1. magna. The Romans were much impressed with the size of Rome, in this respect the London of the ancient world. Its population has been estimated at over a million at the beginning of the empire. With mighty Rome and its tumult is contrasted Aricia with its little inn. *excepit* and **accepit** are both well-supported and good readings. *accepit*, 'entertained,' is, however, made more likely by the addition of *hospitio*; cf. 2. 6. 80, 81; Cic. ad Att. 2. 16. 4 *te in Arpinati videbimus et hospitio agresti accipiemus. excipere* is joined with *hospitio* sometimes, but not so commonly. **Aricia,** *La Riccia*, 160 stadia = 20 Roman miles distant from Rome, according to Strabo, was celebrated for the worship of Diana, her priest being a runaway slave, who had slain his predecessor; cf. Macaulay, Lays of Ancient Rome 'From the still, glassy lake that sleeps | Beneath Aricia's trees; | The trees in whose dim shadow | The ghastly priest doth reign: | The priest who slew the slayer, | And shall himself be slain.' **2. hospitio modico,** 'in a little inn.' For this use of *hospitium*, cf. Cic. Sen. 23. 84 *ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex*

hospitio non tamquam ex domo. It more commonly means 'a lodging'; cf. Juv. 3. 166; 7. 69. For **modico** cf. Ep. 1. 5. 2 *modica patella.* Heliodorus, the rhetor, is not mentioned elsewhere. **3. Forum Appi**: sc. *me accepit.* This town was in the Pomptine marshes, 20 Roman miles from Aricia. It was named after Appius Claudius Caecus, who built the Appian road, see line 6 n. Here St. Paul was met by friends from Rome; cf. Acts xxviii. 15. **4. differtum nautis,** 'crammed with sailors,' *i.e.* boatmen, because a canal began here, and ran through the Pomptine marshes as far as the temple of Feronia, near Anxur; cf. line 12. **malignis**: they gave short measure; cf. 1. 1. 29.

5. hoc iter, 'this stage,' *i.e.* from Rome to Forum Appi. **divisimus,** 'we broke into two.' **altius praecinctis,** 'to smarter travellers.' *εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί* is regular in Herodotus to describe a fairly quick walker. The expression here ought naturally to mean that Horace and Heliodorus went on foot as far as Forum Appi. That is scarcely likely, and probably the words refer to the *lecticarii,* the slaves who carried the litters. So *umeris,* line 90, though said of the traveller himself, really refers to the slaves. **6. minus est gravis Appia tardis,** 'the Appian way is the less tiring to those who travel slowly': the Appian road is not meant to contrast with other roads in this respect. If the travellers were in carriages, these, having no springs, would cause much jolting: if in litters, it is sufficient to suppose the tediousness of the journey made the way seem **gravis.** *via* is often omitted with *Appia*: cf. Epod. 4. 14 *Appiam mannis terit.* The Appian way was built by the Censor Appius Claudius Caecus, from Rome to Capua, in 312 B.C. It was continued at a later date to Brundisium, it is not known exactly when, or by whom, but certainly before Horace's time; cf. Ep. 1. 18. 20 *Brundisium Minuci melius via ducat an Appi.* Strabo describes the reverse journey to Rome (cc. 282, 283): *δύο δέ εἰσι (ὁδοὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην), μία μὲν ἡμιονικὴ διὰ Πευκετίων, οὓς Ποιδίκλους καλοῦσι, καὶ Δαυνίων καὶ Σαυνιτῶν μέχρι Βενεουεντοῦ, ἐφ' ᾗ ὁδῷ Ἐγνατία πόλις εἶτα Καιλία καὶ Νήτιον καὶ Κανύσιον καὶ Ἑρδωνία· ἡ δὲ διὰ Τάραντος μικρὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ὅσον δὴ μιᾶς ἡμέρας περίοδον κυκλεύσαντι, ἡ Ἀππία λεγομένη, ἁμαξήλατος μᾶλλον· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πόλις Οὐρία τε καὶ Οὐενουσία, ἡ μὲν μεταξὺ Τάραντος καὶ Βρεντεσίου, ἡ δ' ἐν μεθορίοις Σαυνιτῶν καὶ Λευκανῶν. συμβάλλουσι δὲ ἄμφω κατὰ Βενεουεντὸν καὶ τὴν Καμπανίαν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου. τοὐντεῦθεν δ' ἤδη μέχρι τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀππία καλεῖται διὰ Καυδίου καὶ Καλατίας καὶ Καπύης καὶ Κασιλίνου μέχρι Σινοέσσης· ἡ δὲ πᾶσά ἐστιν ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς Βρεντέσιον μίλια τριακόσια ἑξήκοντα.* From Beneventum, as we thus see, there were two routes to Brundisium: one, the continued Appian way by Venusia and Tarentum; the other, stretching eastwards across the mountains to the valley of the Aufidus, by Canusium, to the coast of the Adriatic, and thence southward by Rubi, Barium, and Egnatia to Brundisium. The latter was the route taken by Maecenas on this occasion, and it is probably identical with the *via Minuci* of Ep. 1. 18. 20, where see notes.

7. aquam. Bad water was the curse of travelling in Italy. It is four times referred to in this poem: at Forum Appi; at the place with the unmetrical name; at Canusium; and at Egnatia. **9. comites**: Heliodorus and the slaves, or the rest of the passengers about to travel by the canal-boat. **iam nox**: a sort of epic solemnity occasionally affected by Horace, cf. line 51; 2. 6. 100. **12. huc appelle**: sc. *lintrem,* 'put in here'; *τὴν ἄκατον παραβάλλου* Arist. Eq. 762; *παραβαλοῦ* Ran. 180. They are the words of a slave on the bank carrying some luggage to the boat. **trecentos inseris**

may be a complaint of the same slave to the skipper for allowing his boat to be overcrowded, or with Orelli we may take it and *ohe iam satis est* as exclamations of other *pueri.* **trecentos**, of a large number like *ducenti, sexcenti.* Of this canal Strabo gives the following account (233): πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ταρρακίνης (he is taking the route towards Rome) βαδίζοντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης παραβέβληται (runs parallel) τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ διῶρυξ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τόπους πληρουμένη τοῖς ἑλείοις τε καὶ τοῖς ποταμίοις ὕδασι· πλεῖται δὲ μάλιστα μὲν νύκτωρ ὥστ' ἐμβάντας ἀφ' ἑσπέρας ἐκβαίνειν πρωίας καὶ βαδίζειν τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν· ῥυμουλκεῖται δὲ δι' ἡμιόνων. The canal-boat was used at night, because passengers slept on board, and so saved time: hence most people tried to reach Forum Appi in one day so as to take the boat at night. **13. aes**, the fare (ναῦλος, ναῦλον).

15. ut, 'while,' joined by Bentley to the preceding words as in the text. This is an unusual sense of *ut*, and in the two passages referred to by Bentley in support of it *ut forte* is the phrase (Ter. Ad. 3. 3. 53; Plaut. Men. prol. 63). The passage is still more difficult, however, if *ut* is joined to what follows, and *ut* may be spurious. It is omitted in some MSS., and without it the asyndeton *avertunt, cantat, incipit* is graphic and vigorous. **16. prolutus**, 'soaked'; cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 739: so *madidus, uvidus, inriguus* are used, cf. 2. 1. 9. **vappa**: 1. 1. 104 n. The sailor who had charge of the boat kept up a singing match with a passenger, as drunk as himself, until the latter went to sleep; then he coolly went to sleep himself, having first tethered the mule that drew the boat. **19. religare**, 'to moor to'; cf. Od. 1. 32. 7. **20. nil procedere**, 'was making no way.' **21. cerebrosus unus**, 'a choleric party.' The unfortunate passengers woke up at dawn to find themselves stock-still, and the mule tethered. This was more than a *cerebrosus* could stand; cf. 1. 9. 11 *o te, Bolane, cerebri | felicem*: accordingly he administers a sound drubbing (*dolat*) with a willow cudgel to the sleeping conductor.

23. quarta: somewhere about 10 o'clock. There is some uncertainty, when these numbers are used, whether the beginning or the end of the hour is meant: see Becker's Gallus p. 317. But when the hour is mentioned absolutely without any word which denotes its beginning or progress, the completed hour is probably intended. There must, however, have been considerable vagueness in such expressions, owing to the length of the hour varying with the seasons, and the want of accurate clocks. **exponimur**: to land, opp. to *inponere*, to embark. **24. lavimus**, of dipping the hands in the spring and laving the face, is much better than the neutral *lavimur* of Bentley, which would rather suit the notion of a bath. This would be a profanation: the laving the hands and face would be a religious ceremony and mark of respect. **Feronia**: an ancient Italian goddess, consort of Jupiter Anxurus; Virg. Aen. 7. 799 *quis Iuppiter Anxurus arvis | praesidet, et viridi gaudens Feronia luco.* **25. repimus**, 'we crawl': for **Anxur**, the old Volscian name of Tarracina, was on a mountain, with white limestone cliffs (*candidus Anxur* Mart. 5. 1. 6). It was twenty miles from Forum Appi. Here the Appian Way first touches the sea-coast. **28. Cocceius**: M. Cocceius Nerva, great-grandfather of the emperor Nerva. **29. aversos . . .** See Intr. at end.

30. collyria: perhaps derived from κολλύρα, a roll of bread; 'eye-salve,' probably a sort of doughy paste. **31. inlinere.** Horace is fond of the historical or narrative infinitive: cf. 1. 9. 10, where it has the first person, as

here; 1. 9. 66; 2. 3. 316; 6. 113; 8. 35, 59. **32. Fonteius Capito**: legate of Antony in Asia, and consul suffectus 33 B.C. Comm. Cruq. states that he had acted as Antony's commissioner in arranging the peace of Brundisium. **ad unguem factus homo**, 'a polished gentleman': the metaphor is from workers in marble or wood, who test the smoothness of the material by passing their nail over it. Cf. A.P. 294; Pers. 1. 64 *ut per leve severos | effundat iunctura ungues;* Colum. 2. 12. 13 *materiem roboream dolare ad unguem;* Apul. Flor. 23 *lapis ad unguem coaequatus.* **33. Antoni non . . .** 'a friend of Antony, so that no other is more so,' 'Antony's bosom friend.' Corn. Nep. Epam. 2 *eruditus sic ut nemo Thebanus magis;* Cic. Fin. 1. 4. 11 *scripta multa sunt* (*nobis*) *sic ut plura nemini e nostris.*

34. **Fundos**: Fondi, twelve R. miles from Tarracina. **Aufidio Lusco praetore**, 'in the praetorship of Aufidius Luscus': as if he was grand as a consul, and gave a date to the year. We learn from the Corp. Inscr. L. (1. 1187) that Fundi was governed by three *aediles*, but Horace is scoffing at the assumed magnificence of Luscus. Cf. Cic. Agr. 2. 34. 93, where the *duumviri* of Capua call themselves 'praetors.' **libenter**: they were glad to get rid of Fundi and its 'praetor,' whose attentions must have been as boring to the illustrious travellers as the addresses read by modern corporations to distinguished visitors. **35. praemia**, 'the decorations.' **scribae**: he had been a treasury clerk, a profession not held in very high honour. Horace himself was a *quaestorius scriba;* cf. 2. 6. 36 n. **36. praetextam et latum clavum.** To do honour to the visitors Aufidius dressed himself in a robe with purple border, *praetexta*, usually worn by high magistrates, and a tunic with the *latus clavus*, or broad purple stripe, to which senators only had a right. **prunaeque vatillum**, 'and his pan of coals,' which he had carried before him to sacrifice (a ceremony which he could not omit on such an important occasion) or on which he offered incense. **37. Mamurrarum urbe.** Formiae, near Molo di Gaeta, 13 Roman miles from Fundi. The Mamurrae are said to have had large estates here. Catullus calls Mamurra, Caesar's notorious friend, and his *praefectus fabrum*, 'the bankrupt of Formiae,' *decoctor Formianus*, 43. 5. **38. Murena.** See Od. 2. 10 Intr. He does not seem to have been at Formiae, but merely to have lent his house in his absence.

40. **M. Plotius Tucca** and **L. Varius**, who edited the Aeneid after Virgil's death, are twice mentioned by Horace in the same line with Virgil, here and 1. 10. 81. **Sinuessa**, on whose site is Vagnoli or Bagnoli, was 18 Roman miles from Formiae. It was famous for its baths, from which its modern name is derived. **41. quales neque candidiores**: exactly the same construction is found Epod. 5. 59 *quale non perfectius.* It seems a mixture of *quibus non candidiores* and *quales candidissimos.* **42. quis**: dative. **44. sanus**: cf. 1. 6. 89 *nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius.* **45.** The **pons Campanus** was a bridge over the Savo (Saona), 3 R. miles from Sinuessa, now Molino Ceppani. The *villula* near it was, probably, a *villa publica* set apart for the use of those travelling on state affairs. **46. parochi**, 'commissaries,' whose duty was to supply (παρέχειν) those travelling on the public service with wood, hay, salt, and shelter. Cicero ad Att. 5. 16. 3 boasts of the little he accepted from the *parochi* on his way to his province.

47. **hinc**, 'next,' as in line 50. **Capua** was 22 R. miles from Pons Campanus. The village of Santa Maria di Capoa is on the site of ancient Capua. Modern Capua is on the site of Casilinum, 3 miles farther on. **clitellas**, 'their packsaddles.' **tempore**, 'early,' 'betimes': more fre-

quently in the form *temperi* or *tempori*, comparative *temperius*. **48. lusum**, to play ball (*pila*): a game of which the great minister was fond; 2. 6. 49. **49. crudis**: the dyspeptic, as Virgil. **50. plenissima**, 'well stocked.' Cf. Juv. 8. 100 *plena domus tunc omnis;* the opposite is *exilis*, shabbily furnished. **51. super**, 'above,' *i.e.* on higher ground, looking down on the shops of Caudium. **Caudium** was 21 R. miles from Capua, and famous for the 'Caudine forks' *furculae Caudinae*, the pass where the Roman army surrendered to the Samnites, B.C. 321.

52. Sarmentus and **Messius Cicirrus** were probably two *scurrae* in the train of Maecenas. Cicirrus is a nickname derived from κίκιρρος, which, according to Hesychius = ἀλεκτρυών, a cock; perhaps from the sound of its crow. The scholiast on Juvenal 5. 3, *quae nec Sarmentus iniquas | Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Galba tulisset*, tells us that Sarmentus was a slave of M. Favonius, who was put to death by Octavian after the battle of Philippi, on the sale of whose property he came into the possession of Maecenas, who manumitted him, and obtained for him a post as a *scriba quaestorius*. He pushed his way *forma et urbanitate*, assumed the position of an *eques* in the theatre, and was tried for pretending to a rank to which he had no title, but acquitted. **53. Musa**: a parody of epic exordia: cf. Hom. Il. 1. 1, Od. 1. 1. **54. Messi** . . . 'the Oscans are the famous ancestry of Messius': ironical, for the Oscans were regarded with contempt by the Romans as an effeminate race. **55. domina**: possibly the widow of M. Favonius, cf. 52 n. **exstat**, 'is still alive.' **maioribus**: the Oscans are mentioned as the ancestors of Messius; Sarmentus was *nullis maioribus* as a slave.

56. equi . . . feri, 'the wild horse,' *i.e.* the fabulous unicorn. Cf. Plin. H. N. 8. 21. 76 *asperrimam autem feram monocerotem, reliquo corpore equo similem, capite cervo, pedibus elephanto, cauda apro, mugitu gravi, uno cornu nigro media fronte cubitorum duum eminente.* **58. accipio**, like ἐδεξάμην τὸ ῥηθέν, 'granted': and he shakes his head with a threatening gesture, as if the horn was there in reality. **59. quid faceres**: a regular expression, asking what greater things could be done in more favourable circumstances, when under the present (unfavourable) circumstances so much is actually accomplished. It is much more common in the elliptical form *quid si*. **60. mutilus** (κόλος) is especially used of animals which have lost one or both horns. **minitaris**, after *quid faceres*, is perhaps better than *miniteris* of some MSS., as is shown by Cic. Verr. 1. 10. 28 *quid faceres pro innocenti homine et propinquo, cum propter hominem perditissimum atque alienissimum de officio ac dignitate decedis et committis . . . ?* **at**, explanatory, like *autem*. Messius had a scar on his left brow: Sarmentus supposes a horn used to grow there. **62. Campanum morbum**: unknown. Some suppose it was a tendency to large warts, as in the case of Messius, whose wart was cut out. **63. saltare Cyclopa** is 'to dance the Cyclops,' *i.e.* to go through the dance which the Cyclops was represented dancing in some farce or play. Cf. Ep. 2. 2. 125 *nunc Satyrum, nunc agrestem Cyclopa movetur;* Juv. 6. 63 *Ledam saltante Bathyllo.* For the dance of the Cyclops, cf. Aristoph. Plut. 290. **64.** Messius was ugly enough to do without a mask; tall enough to do without buskins.

65. catenam. Messius retaliates by reminding Sarmentus of the time when he was a slave of the lowest type who had been kept at work in chains. On being manumitted he would dedicate them 'in accordance with a vow to the Lares,' cf. Od. 3. 26 Intr. **66. scriba**, cf. 52 n. Messius pretends to be ignorant of the fact of his manumission, and hints that he had run away

deterius nilo = nevertheless

from his mistress, who might yet claim her rights. **67. dominae.** Many MSS. have *domini* which might be = *dominii* or used as a general term. **69.** The daily allowance of slaves was usually as much as four or five pounds of corn or meal. According to the XII. Tables, at least one pound of meal was to be allowed by a creditor to a debtor whom he kept *vinctum.* **foret:** subj., because it gives the reason. **gracili sic tamque pusillo,** 'slender as he was, and so very tiny.' *sic* is by no means the same as *tam* here.

71. Beneventum: twelve miles from Caudium, formerly Maleventum, a Latinised form of the stem of Μαλόεις (like Tarentum from Τάρας, Agrigentum from Ἀκράγας); then the name was changed to avoid the evil omen (Plin. N. H. 3. 16. 105), as was the case with Epidamnus (Dyrrhachium), Segesta (Egesta). **sedulus,** 'officious.' **72. arsit,** 'had his house burned down'; cf. Virg. Aen. 2. 311 *ardet* | *Ucalegon;* Juv. 3. 201. **dum versat,** 'while he was turning'; for the present tense cf. Od. 1. 10. 11 n. **73. dilapso Vulcano** means that the fire fell in pieces, and the logs of which it was composed slipped out on to the kitchen floor. **75. avidos,** 'hungry.' **timentes:** the slaves were afraid they would be punished for the loss of the supper.

77. ex illo, 'next' = *ex illo tempore;* cf. Ov. Her. 14. 85 *scilicet ex illo Iunonia permanet ira,* | *cum bos ex homine est, ex bove facta dea.* **Āpūlia:** the regular scansion; but *Ăpŭlus,* the adjective, has the penult. short. *Ăpūliae* in Od. 3. 4. 10, and *Ăpūlicum* in Od. 3. 24. 4, are doubtful readings. **montes . . . notos:** there is a natural touch in this. Mount Voltur near Venusia is the chief of Horace's native hills here referred to. **78. Atabulus,** a hot parching wind or Sirocco, now called in Apulia *Altino*; cf. Sen. Q. Nat. 5. 17 *Atabulus Apuliam infestat, Calabriam Iapyx.* **79. erepsemus** = *erepsissemus*; cf. *surrexe* 1. 9. 73; *divisse* 2. 3. 169; *evasti, percusti,* etc. *erepere* takes an acc. as *evehi, egredi,* and other verbs compounded with *e*: this verb is especially used of crawling upwards, in this also resembling *evehi* and *egredi.* **vicina Trivici,** 'near Trivicum,' a town not mentioned elsewhere.

87. oppidulo, quod versu dicere non est. Porph. here tells us that Lucilius, speaking of the *Sigillaria,* had written *servorum est festus dies hic,* | *quem plane hexametro versu non dicere possis;* and Horace here directly imitates him, applying his words to a certain little town whose name he cannot accommodate to his verse. The scholiasts say this place was *Equus Tuticus* or *Equotutium,* a town which was on the route to Brundisium, cf. Cic. ad Att. 6. 1. 1 where he tells Atticus he has received all his letters, *praeter eas quas scribis Lentuli pueris et Equotutico et Brundisio datas.* It is mentioned in the Itinerary of Antoninus as on the road from Beneventum to Canusium, being 22 miles from the former and 62 from the latter. It cannot therefore be the unknown place referred to, for the place they stopped at was one day's journey from Beneventum + 24 miles, *i.e.* about 50 miles. **non est,** 'it is not possible,' οὐκ ἔξεστι: cf. 2. 5. 103; Epod. 17. 25. **88. signis,** 'by tokens,' which follow, namely, the bad water and the good bread; cf. Ov. Met. 15. 595 *signo non nomine dicam.* **venit,** 'is sold'; cf. line 7 n. Orelli quotes Plato, Euthyd. p. 304 B τὸ ὕδωρ εὐωνότατον ἄριστον ὂν ὡς ἔφη Πίνδαρος: the meaning, however, here does not seem to be 'water which is the cheapest thing in the world,' but 'the worst water in the world,' *vilissima* being contrasted with *pulcherrimus* applied to the bread.

90. callidus, 'knowing.' **soleāt umeris:** the quantity of the third person was originally long, and in arsis is often made long in Augustan writers.

Horace restricted this caesural lengthening to this case of verbs ending in *-t*, while Virgil is much more lax. Horace, in the Odes, lengthens *arāt* 3. 16. 26; *ridēt* 2. 6. 14; *figīt* 3. 24. 5; *perrupīt* 1. 3. 36; *timēt* 2. 13. 16: *perirēt* 3. 5. 17 in thesis is doubtful. In the Satires we have *defendīt* 1. 4. 82; *subiīt* 1. 9. 21; *velīt* 2. 3. 187; *agīt* 2. 3. 260; *erāt* 2. 2. 47; *condiderīt* 2. 1. 82; perhaps *agerēt* 2. 3. 174. **umeris** is literally 'on his own shoulders,' but the shoulders of the slaves are meant: cf. line 5 n.; 1. 1. 47. **91. lapidosus,** 'hard as a stone'; others render 'gritty,' and *lapidosus* means both 'full of stones,' as *l. terra* Varr. R. R. 1. 9, and 'hard as a stone,' as *l. corna* Virg. G. 2. 34. **Canusium** (Canosa) was 84 miles from Beneventum. **urna** is abl.: 'which place, not richer in water by a pitcher (or not richer by a pitcher of water), was founded.' Diomede is said to have been the founder of Beneventum and Equus Tuticus also.

93. flentibus . . . amicis may be abl. abs., but more probably is the ethical dative, 'to the grief of his weeping friends.' **hinc,** 'at this point,' viz. Canusium. Varius probably went back to Rome. **94. Rubi** (Ruvo) in one Itinerary 24, in another 30 miles from Canusium. **95.** *carpere iter, viam,* are common phrases, 2. 6. 93; Od. 2. 17. 12; Prop. 1. 6. 33 *seu pedibus terras seu pontum carpere remis.* **carpentes,** present part. shows the poverty of the Latin language: a perfect would be expected. **96. postera tempestas** for *postridie tempestas,* 'the weather the next day.' **97. Barium** (Bari), 22 miles from Rubi, said to be a fishing station to this day.

97. Gnatia, a vulgar or local form for *Egnatia,* 37 miles from Barium; it is now Monopoli or Torre d' Anazzo. It was badly off for water, hence **lymphis iratis exstructa,** 'built in the anger of the water nymphs.' *lympha* is the same word as *nympha,* and the words are often confounded in MSS. In Varro, R. R. 1. 1. 6 *Lympha* is a water goddess, and Horace here appears to use the word in that sense. Cf. 2. 3. 8 *iratis natus paries dis atque poetis;* 2. 7. 14 *Vertumnis natus iniquis.* **99.** A different version of the miracle is given by Pliny, H. N. 2. 107. 240 *reperitur apud auctores . . . in Salentino oppido Egnatia inposito ligno in saxum quoddam ibi sacrum protinus flammam exsistere.* **100. cupit:** sc. *Gnatia.* The town was proud of its miracle. **Iudaeus Apella:** the Jews were regarded as specially superstitious by the Romans; cf. Juv. 14. 96-106. *Apella,* a name of Greek origin, perhaps corrupted from *Apollodorus,* often borne by slaves and freedmen; Cic. ad Fam. 7. 25. 2. **101. namque deos didici:** copied from Lucr. 5. 82 *nam bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevum.* For this belief of the Epicureans and their attribution of miracles to natural causes, see Od. 1. 34 Intr. **102. nec, si quid miri . . .** 'and if nature does any wonder, it is not the gods who, in their anger, send it down from their high home in the sky.' **104. Brundisium** (Brindisi), then, as now, the Dover of Italy, with Dyrrhachium for the Calais of Greece, 44 miles from Egnatia.

According to Orelli, the whole journey took fifteen days, or seventeen days, if we suppose the long stages between Barium and Egnatia, and between Egnatia and Brundisium to have been broken at two places not mentioned by Horace. According to E. Desjardins, who went over the route himself in 1852, the journey was completed in 13 days, but he supposes the travellers not to have spent a night either at Capua or at Beneventum, but to have continued their journey in the afternoon to Caudium and Trivicum. Gibbon only allowed 12 days for the entire journey. He does not suppose a night to have been spent at Anxur. The following Table may be useful for reference :—

Day	Place	Distance in R. miles	Day	Place	Distance in R. miles
1	Aricia	16	9	Trivicum	? 25
2	Forum Appi	20	10	*Oppidulum*	24
3	Fanum Feroniae, Anxur	17 + 3 = 20	11	Canusium	? 35
4	Fundi, Formiae	12 + 13 = 25	12	Rubi	30
5	Sinuessa, Pons Campanus	18 + 3 = 21	13	Barium	22
6	Capua	22	14	Egnatia	37
7	Caudium	21	15	Brundisium	44
8	Beneventum	12			374

SATIRE VI

Horace, the Freedman's Son. DATE, ? 36 B.C.

The intimacy between Maecenas and Horace, a freedman's son, exposed the latter to jealousy. The last Satire especially, wherein he figured as one of Maecenas's chosen companions in the journey to Brundisium, made people say that the minister was making too much of a parvenu. This Satire is written in reply to these *obtrectatores*. It has a double scope: a defence of Maecenas, and a defence of Horace himself. Maecenas is praised (1-18) for not looking down on those of humble birth; and those who censure him are reminded first, parenthetically, that Maecenas did not extend his intimacy except to those of free birth; and secondly, that all history supplies precedent for his behaviour. From 20 ad fin. the Satire is a most clever deprecation of censure levelled at the poet himself. Horace in effect says: 'I know my place; I am not going to thrust myself forward like Tillius, the upstart (24-44). I am a freedman's son; I am not ashamed of it; and if, as I hope and believe, I won Maecenas's esteem by merit, it is to my freedman father that I owe all the merit I possess (65-99). I repeat, I am not going to thrust myself into stations beyond my place: I have neither the ostentation nor the meanness of Tillius (103-109). My life and habits are those of a quiet Roman gentleman; and I have no ambition for anything beyond' (111-131). The only indications for fixing the date are the fact that his friendship with Maecenas, which began about 38 B.C., is now of pretty long standing (*olim*, line 54). On the other hand, he is not yet in possession of his Sabine farm, which he received about 34 or 33.

1. 'Maecenas, you do not look with scorn on the lowly born, because your ancestors were the noblest among the Lydians who colonised Etruria.' **Lydorum.** Herod. 1. 94 relates that after a famine had lasted 18 years half the Lydians emigrated with the king's son Tyrsenus and settled in Italy, in the territory called after him Τυρσηνίη, Etruria. **Lydorum quidquid**: cf. Epod. 5. 1 n. For the Etruscan lineage of Maecenas cf. Od. 1. 1. 1 n.; 3. 29. 1. **3. avus . . .** As we do not know that any of Maecenas's ancestors held the consulship, we must take *legionibus* of the Etruscan hosts. *legiones* is used not only of the Roman legions but of foreign armies: Sall. Cat. 53; Liv. 10. 5; 8. 24. In **maternus** some see a reference to the Etruscan custom of giving pedigrees with the mother's, not the father's name. **4. imperitarent**, which has the best authority, makes the statement more

general than *imperitarunt.* The word is heroic, cf. Lucr. 3. 1027 *inde alii multi reges rerumque potentes | occiderunt, magnis qui gentibus imperitarunt.* **5. naso suspendis adunco**: cf. 2. 8. 64 *Balatro suspendens omnia naso;* Pers. 1. 40 *rides, ait, et nimis uncis | naribus indulges;* Plin. 11. 37. 158 *novi mores subdolae inrisioni dicavere nasum:* cf. *μυκτηρίζειν.* **6. ignoto aut, ut me, . . . natos,** 'those born from an unknown, or, like myself, from a freedman sire.' Most read *ignotos ut me l. p. natum,* where *ignotos* = *ignobiles,* cf. lines 24, 36, but *ignoto* is Palmer's emendation and accounts for the readings *aut* in many MSS., *aut ut* in two, *at ut* in one, *et ut* in one, together with their variation between *natum* and *natos.*

7. cum referre negas. This is the protasis; the apodosis is **persuades.** **8. ingenuus,** 'freeborn.' Maecenas drew the line at slaves and freedmen, in this following the example of Augustus; cf. Suet. Octav. 74 *Valerius Messalla tradit, neminem umquam libertinorum adhibitum ab eo cenae, excepto Mena, sed asserto in ingenuitatem.* Maecenas would not, for instance, have associated with Horace's father. **vere,** 'sincerely.' **9. Tulli**: cf. Juv. 8. 259 *ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini | et fasces meruit, regum ultimus ille bonorum.* Servius Tullius himself was a notable proof of the vanity of long descent; but before even his time there were many other instances.

12. contra . . . licuisse, 'on the other hand Laevinus, though a descendant of Valerius Publicola, was never held of higher value than the worth of a single *as.*' Of this Laevinus, we are told by Porph. that he was of such utterly abandoned character that he never attained a magistracy higher than the quaestorship. **Valerius** Publicola was consul with Brutus after the expulsion of the Tarquins, B.C. 509. **genus**: often, as here, of a single individual, in apposition with a name, with the meaning 'of the race of': cf. 2. 5. 62 *iuvenis . . . ab alto | demissum genus Aenea;* Cat. 61. 2 *Uraniae genus* (Hymen). **unde** = *a quo* 1. 12. 17 n. **13. fugit**: the present is used of remote events, after relatives, both in Greek and Latin; cf. Eur. Bacch. 2 *ὃν τίκτει ποθ' ἡ Κάδμου κόρη*: Virg. Aen. 9. 266 *cratera antiquum quem dat Sidonia Dido.* *fuit* of some MSS. is hardly Latin; see 2. 8. 6 n. **14. licuisse,** 'was valued at.' *licere* = 'to be valued at,' cf. Cic. ad Att. 12. 23. 3 *de Drusi hortis quanti licuisse tu scribis; liceri* = 'to bid for': cf. Pers. 3 ad fin. *et centum Graecos curto centusse licetur.* The construction is *pluris pretio unius assis,* 'at more than the value of a single *as.*' Cf. Pers. 5. 76 *non tressis agaso.* **notante . . . nosti.** The construction is *quo iudice notante nosti* (*nempe*) *populo,* 'and you know well who was the judge that so rated him, (namely) the people.' *populo* is in apposition to *quo iudice.* Most take the passage as an instance of attraction, i.e. *quo populo* = *quem populum*; cf. Ter. Heaut. 1. 1. 35 *hac quidem causa, qua dixi tibi.* See Palmer's 'Additional Notes,' where Madvig on de Fin. 1. 8. 29 is quoted at length. **15. honores**: especially the public offices of consulship, praetorship, curule aedileship. **17. stupet in,** 'is lost in admiration of'; cf. Virg. Aen. 10. 446 *stupet in Turno, corpusque per ingens | lumina volvit.* **titulis et imaginibus**: the busts of a long line of ancestors (*cerae* or *imagines*), with the inscriptions thereon recounting their deeds. **18. nos**: men of education and philosophic judgment like you and me, and our literary circle. The argument is *a fortiori.*

19. esto, 'let us grant, suppose for argument's sake, that the *people* would have preferred Laevinus to Decius' (which they certainly would not, for Laevinus never got beyond the quaestorship, whereas Decius Mus was elected

consul), and that Appius the censor would have turned me out of the senate, for my ignoble birth' (which he would not have done, for he admitted the sons of freedmen to the senate). So far all is sensible and consistent. But the natural conclusion that we expect does not follow. We should expect 'granting such to be the judgment of the multitude, surely our judgment is different, and we men of culture at any rate should see no reason why a man of low birth should be excluded from the senate.' Instead of this, quite παρὰ προσδοκίαν, the words **vel merito** are introduced, wrenching the satire into a different theme. Up to line 22 the subject is the vanity of long descent; from line 22 the subject is the folly of a *novus homo* seeking public office. **esto**: a concessive particle, frequently used by Horace (cf. 2. 2. 30) when passing from a point which he is willing to concede for argument's sake, to a point which cannot be conceded. Orelli[4] punctuates *namque esto: populus . . .*, explaining 'for grant (that I sought office): the people would prefer a Laevinus to a *novus homo* even if he were a Decius, and the censor would degrade him, quite rightly too, for I ought to have kept in my place.' So too Kiessling.

20. **Decio.** Decius Mus, consul 340 B.C., in which year he devoted himself at the battle of Mt. Vesuvius in the Latin war, was the first consul of his family; hence he was a *novus homo*. **movere** was the regular phrase for degradation from the senate by the censors: cf. also *tribu movere*. 21. **Appius.** The explanation given above demands that this should refer to Appius Claudius Caecus, censor 312 B.C. It is generally taken to refer to the severe censorship of Appius Claudius Pulcher, 50 B.C., of which Caelius writes to Cicero (ad Fam. 8. 14. 4) *scis Appium censorem hic ostenta facere ... acerrime agere? persuasum est ei censuram lomentum aut nitrum esse: errare mihi videtur; nam sordes eluere vult, venas sibi omnes et viscera aperit.* But as the example of Decius is taken from antiquity, the example of Appius ought to be ancient likewise; and as the supposition in the case of Decius and Laevinus is an impossible one, the supposition in the case of Appius should be an impossible one also, and it would not be an impossible one if it referred to Appius of 50 B.C. For he would have rejected the low-born; Appius Caecus would not, and did not. Livy tells us 9. 46 that he in his censorship *senatum primus libertinorum filiis lectis inquinaverat.* Horace has this historical fact in his mind's eye, and he gives his *obtrectatores* a gentle reminder, that if he did aim at senatorial rank he would not be the first freedman's son who had attained it. 22. **vel merito**: *vel*, like γε, intensifies the word it is joined to: 'ay, and I should have deserved degradation.' **in propria pelle**: a proverbial expression, derived from the fable of the Ass in the Lion's Skin; cf. 2. 1. 64 *detrahere et pellem.* Horace often refers to the fables of Aesop: as the Fox and the Crow, 2. 5. 56; the Frog and the Ox, 2. 3. 314; the Two Wallets, 2. 3. 299; the Fox and the Old Lion, Ep. 1. 1. 73. 23. **sed fulgente.** This truth, however, does not commend itself to the crowd of nobodies, whom we see struggling after office and honour. Cf. Ep. 2. 1. 177 *quem tulit ad scaenam ventosa Gloria curru.*

24. **quo tibi . . .** Cf. Ov. A. A. 1. 303 *quo tibi, Pasiphae, pretiosas sumere vestes?* Am. 3. 8. 47 *quo tibi turritis incingere moenibus urbes?* **Tilli**: *Tillius hic senatu motus est a Caesare quasi Pompeianus; occiso vero Caesare recepit latum iterum clavum, id est, senatoriam dignitatem, et tribunus militum factus est:* Comm. Cruq. He is supposed to have been brother of Tillius Cimber, one of Caesar's murderers. 25. **clavum**: the broad purple

stripe on the tunic of a senator. **tribuno**: the military tribunes of the first four legions had senatorial rank. For the case of **tribuno**, cf. 1. 1. 19. 27. **ut**=*simul ac*, 'as soon as.' **nigris . . . pellibus**: the upper part of the senatorial shoe was composed of four *corrigiae*, or bands of black leather (*nigra aluta* Juv. 7. 192) wrapped crosswise across the calf; on the ankle was an ivory crescent (*lunula*); the shoe was white or purple. **medium**, 'up to the middle.' 28. **pectore**, 'on (or down) his breast.' The stripe (in the tunic) began at the neck.

31. **et cupiat**: *et* as well as the other reading, *ut*, explains *morbus*. **et**, however, has a great preponderance of MS. authority. 34. **promittit**: Orelli takes this to refer to the promises of a candidate for office. It more likely refers to the form of oath taken by elected magistrates. 35. **imperium**, 'the empire' external to Italy; properly, the sway held by Rome over conquered countries. The omission of *et* before *delubra* better contrasts things profane and sacred than if the copula were present. 36. **ignota matre**: cf. line 6. **inhonestus**, 'dishonoured by'; cf. *honestos* with abl. line 96.

38. **Syrus, Dama, Dionysius** are names of slaves taken at haphazard. *Dama* is a Latinised form of *Δημᾶς*, which is a shortened form of *Δημόδωρος*: cf. *Apella*, 1. 5. 100. 39. **deicere**: three syllables; cf. *reice*, two syllables, Virg. Ecl. 3. 96. **saxo**: the Tarpeian rock. Cic. ad Att. 14. 15 *o mirificum Dolabellam meum!...de saxo, in crucem*: Dolabella was consul and acting with great severity. **Cadmo**: Cadmus is supposed to have been the name of a public executioner; Porph. says: *Cadmus carnifex illo tempore fuisse dicitur*. The *carnifex*, however, executed slaves or foreigners, not citizens, and probably Cadmus was the name of a gaoler. This would suit *tradere* as well or better; see many instances in Dict. of *tradere* used of handing a person over *in custodiam*. 40. **at**: the reply of the *ignobilis*. The name **Novius** is selected by Horace with some reference to *novus*: 'New-man.' **gradu . . . sedet**, 'takes his seat one grade behind me,' a metaphor from the theatre and the rows there allotted the spectators, of whom the knights were entitled to the front fourteen rows next to the orchestra, which was occupied by the senators; Ep. 1. 1. 62 n. 43. **tria funera, magna sonabit**. So Heind., Holder in his larger edition, Dill., L. Müller, Schütz, etc. point. Orelli, Fritzsche, Holder ed. min., and others join *magna* to *funera*; *magna*, however, so applied, seems to weaken rather than strengthen the expression; *plaustra* has no epithet denoting size. It is the number of the waggons, and of the funerals, not their size, that is referred to. *magna sonare* is a stock phrase, used of fluent spouters: cf. 1. 4. 43 *os | magna sonaturum*; Juv. 7. 108 *ipsi magna sonant*. Hence *magna sonabit* is, in fact, equivalent to a single word, so that there is no difficulty in *quod*. Translate, 'he will bawl loud enough to drown the horns and trumpets.' Aristophanes, enumerating the qualifications for a popular leader, says, Eq. 217 *τὰ δ' ἄλλα σοι πρόσεστι δημαγωγικά, | φωνὴ μιαρά, γέγονας κακῶς, ἀγόραιος εἶ.* 44. Horns and trumpets were used at funerals, the latter especially. Cf. Prop. 4. 11. 9 *sic maestae cecinere tubae*; Pers. 3. 103 *hinc tuba, candelae*.

45. **nunc ad me redeo**, a reminiscence of Lucil. 1092 *nunc ad te redeo*. 47. **sim**, which has decidedly better MS. authority than *sum*, is supported by **pareret**. The subjunctive assigns the reason, from the point of view of those who ran Horace down. **convictor** (*vivo*) implies close familiarity; one who is admitted within the inner circle of domestic life. Ov. Ep. 4. 3. 15 *ille*

ego convictor densoque domesticus usu. **49. forsit**: the only place where this word, contracted for *fors sit*, occurs. **52. ambitione procul**: sc. ὄντας, 'those who are far removed from base self-seeking'; for the ellipse cf. Ov. Met. 1. 19 *frigida pugnabant calidis . . . | mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus.* Others wrongly refer the words to Maecenas who selects his friends 'apart from any respect to persons,' *i.e.* uninfluenced by their rank and station: but no one could suppose that Maecenas showed *prava ambitio* in choosing his intimates.

53. sortitus: sc. *sim.* The omission of the auxiliary verb is common in the Satires: see on 2. 8. 2. **casu** is emphatic. **55. quid essem,** 'what sort of a man I was,' 'what I was made of'; cf. Ov. Her. 12. 31 *tunc ego te vidi, tunc coepi scire, quid esses.* **57. infans,** 'tongue-tied.' Note the stammering alliteration of the line. **59. Satureiano** = *Tarentino*; cf. the oracle given to Phalantus Strab. vi. 3 Σατυρίον τοι δῶκα Τάραντά τε πίονα δῆμον | οἰκῆσαι: Diod. Sic. Exc. Vat. 12 (Dind.) Σατύριον φράζου τὸ Τάραντός τ' ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ. The first syllable was long in Greek, as these passages show. **caballo,** 'a hack': from this unpoetic word, which would not be admissible in lyrics or heroics, and so is especially appropriate to the *Sermones*, came *cheval, cavalier.* **63. turpi, honestum**: probably masculine.

65. atqui, 'but after all' it is to this very freedman father of mine I owe everything good about me. **68. sordes,** 'meanness': cf. line 107; 2. 5. 105. **neque . . . neque . . . aut**: this seems to have been quite a favourite syntax with Horace. Bentley, accepting *aut* from Porph. against *nec* of *vet. Bland.* and *ac* of most MSS., quotes Od. 3. 12. 1; 23. 5; S. 2. 2. 22; 1. 9. 31; 2. 1. 13. **mala lustra,** 'haunts of vice'; Lucr. 4. 1136 *desidiose agere aetatem lustrisque perire.* **70. ut me collaudem,** 'to blow my own trumpet.' **72.** The school of Flavius was at Venusia. **magni**: centurions and their sons were looked on as great people in the little country town. **74. laevo . . . lacerto,** 'having their satchel and slate hanging on their left shoulder.' **loculi** (in this sense always in plur.) is the same as the *capsa*, or receptacle for holding books, etc. Cf. Juv. 10. 116 *quisquis adhuc uno partam colit asse Minervam | quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae.* Horace hints that these great centurions' sons, in spite of their greatness, carried their own satchels, having no *paedagogi* or *capsarii* to carry them for them. **suspensi** is a direct translation of ἐξηρτημένοι, 'having hanging to them': cf. Aristoph. Eccl. 494 πώγωνας ἐξηρτημέναι: Roby, L. G. 1126, S. G. 471. **tabulam**: strictly a tablet of wood or metal covered with wax, for doing writing lessons or arithmetic on. **75. octonos . . . aeris**: sc. *asses*, 'eight asses,' the monthly stipend (δίδακτρον). Acron had this reading (which has strong MS. authority), as his comment shows *octonos asses aeris;* cf. Plin. N. H. 14. 14. 95 *censores edixerunt ne quis vinum Graecum octonis aeris singula quadrantalia venderet;* Orell. Inscr. Lat. 7115 *municipes praesentes acciperent aeris octonos;* Cic. Rosc. Com. 10. 28 *merere per se non amplius poterant duodecim aeris.* **Idibus**: cf. 1. 3. 87 n. The old reading, *octonis . . . Idibus aera,* could only mean on eight Ides in the year, four months of the year (from July to Oct., cf. Mart. 10. 62) being supposed to have been holidays. **76. est ausus,** 'had the face'; he did not shrink from being considered pushing for the sake of his boy. **77. artes,** i.e. *liberales*, all the branches of a gentleman's education.

79. in magno ut populo. Cf. Ov. Trist. 1. 1. 17 *si quis, ut in populo, nostri non inmemor illic;* Ep. 4. 5. 11 *si quis, ut in populo, qui sitis et unde*

requirat. The full construction would be something of this sort, *ut in populo (fieri potest)*: 'if my dress and slaves had attracted the gaze of any one, as may or may not happen in the throng.' **80. crederet**: cf. 1. 3. 4 n. The imperf. subj. both in prose and verse is frequently used where the pluperfect might be expected: cf. Virg. Aen. 8. 643 *at tu dictis, Albane, maneres*, 'you should have stood by your word'; Plaut. Pseud. 1. 3. 53 *iam haberes: invenires mutuom*, 'you should have had it by this time: you should have borrowed.' **81. ipse.** Horace's father would not trust him to any *paedagogus*, but acted in that capacity himself.

85. olim, 'one day,' 'bye-and-bye.' **86. praeco.** It would seem from this passage that Horace was originally intended to become an auctioneer. **coactor**, 'a collector,' either of taxes or of money bid at auctions. See Intr. p. viii. **87. at hoc nunc**, *i.e.* because he might have made me a *praeco* or *coactor*, I owe him, as matters stand (*nunc*), all the more gratitude. **89. nil me paeniteat**, 'I never can be ashamed of such a father, while in my senses': *paeniteat* is potential, not optative, equivalent to a future, and the words are a strong denial. **90. dolo suo**=*culpa sua*, a juristic use. **92. istis**: dat., cf. 1. 4. 48; Od. 2. 2. 18.

94. a certis annis, 'beginning at some fixed year' (for instance, let us suppose, five, or six). **95. ad fastum**, 'to suit his pride.' **quoscumque** is best joined to **optaret**, and so most editors print. Holder and Fritzsche, placing a colon at *parentes*, take *optaret sibi quisque* separately: 'each man might choose for himself'; but a parallel to *alios quoscumque*, taken absolutely, is hard to find. **96. honestos**=*decoratos*: cf. line 36. **97. fascibus.** The consuls and praetors had the right to the *fasces*: they and the censors and curule aediles had the **sella** *curulis*, an ivory chair without back or arms. **98. sanus [iudicio] tuo**: *egregie hoc dixit quia Maecenas eques Romanus permansit contempto senatorio ordine*—Acron.

101. salutandi. This includes calling on others, and receiving their calls. The best commentary on the words is furnished by Jerome, Ep. 43 *pudet dicere frequentiam salutandi qua aut ipsi quotidie ad alios pergimus aut ad nos venientes ceteros exspectamus.* The duty of attending morning levees became a great burden, repeatedly referred to by Juvenal and Martial. **ducendus et**=*et ducendus.* **102. peregreve**: for the hypermeter, cf. 1. 4. 96; Virg. G. 1. 295; 2. 344; 3. 242, 449. **peregre** is 'to foreign parts,' or, elsewhere, 'from foreign parts.' *peregri* is 'abroad.' **103. calones**, 'grooms.' **104. petorritum** is a four-wheeled carriage, especially used by servants, *pilenta vehicula matronarum sicut petorrita famulorum* Comm. Cruq. on Ep. 2. 1. 192. This suits **ducenda** here well; the meaning being, 'I should have to bring along with me a train of waggons carrying the slaves and luggage.' The word, like *reda* and *essedum*, is of Celtic origin, from *petor*=*quattuor*; *rit*=*rota.* **curto**: sometimes explained 'bobtailed,' *curtata cauda*, but better humble, unpretending; cf. *curta supellex, curta res.* **105. ire mulo.** So *ire pedibus, equis, curru*, etc. **106. mantica**, 'portmanteau' (*manus*). **armi** nearly always in good Latin the shoulders of a beast: *umeri*, of a man. When Ovid says, Met. 12. 396, *ex umeris medios coma dependebat in armos*, one might guess he was speaking of the Centaurs who had both. Porph. observed that Horace is here copying Lucilius (1023 Lach.) *mantica cantheri costas gravitate premebat.*

107. Tillius having re-acquired senatorial rank (line 24 n.) and obtained the praetorship, exhibits ostentation and meanness combined. His ostentation

appears in the fact that he will not go as far as Tibur (Tivoli, 16 miles NE. of Rome) without a train of slaves: his meanness appears in his having so few as five, whereas a praetor, if he had any train with him, should have a handsome one: and also in the fact that these slaves carry with them necessary articles to avoid the expense of putting up at inns. **108. Tiburte**: nom. *Tiburs.* **109. lasanum**, λάσανον, 'a commode.' **111. milibus atque aliis**: parallel to *hoc*, 'in this and in thousands of other things.' **113. fallacem circum**: the *circus* was the haunt of fortune-tellers, astrologers, and such-like impostors. Cf. Cic. de Divin. 1. 58. 132 *de circo astrologos;* Juv. 6. 582. **114. adsisto divinis**, 'I stand beside the fortune-tellers,' who carried on a busy trade with the lower orders in superstitious Rome: cf. *divina*, 1. 9. 30.

116. pueris tribus: when an abl. of the agent without *a* or *ab* is used, the circumstances or result, rather than the agent, are called attention to. Here the fact that the slaves were three in number is called attention to; but see Od. 1. 6. 1 n. That three was not a large number of slaves to wait at dinner, we may perhaps infer from 1. 3. 11 *habebat saepe ducentos, | saepe decem servos:* on the other hand, it is not meant for a small number. Horace kept the mean a gentleman should between ostentation and meanness. **lapis albus**, a table consisting of a slab of white marble, supported on three legs: see 1. 3. 13 n. **117. pocula duo**: a pair of cups are put on the table because such articles were generally in pairs, cf. Cic. Verr. 2. 2. 19. 47 *scyphorum paria complura.* A second clean cup might be wanted for a fresh sort of wine. **cyatho**, 'a ladle,' containing $\frac{1}{12}$th of the sextarius. **echinus**: an unknown vessel somewhat in the shape of a 'sea-urchin.' ἐχῖνος, χύτρας εἶδος Erotianus p. 170; Pollux 6. 13. 91. **118. cum patera gutus**, 'an oil-flask with its saucer,' for dropping oil on the salad. *gutus* is any flask with a narrow neck for pouring liquids, especially oil *guttatim*: cf. Gell. 17. 8. 5. It would naturally have a saucer (*patera*), to prevent drops running down on the table. **Campana supellex**, i.e. *fictilis*, of cheap pottery (cf. 2. 3. 144), not silver.

120. Marsya: statues of Marsyas, or Silenus, the attendant of Bacchus, were erected in the market-place of many free towns, as a symbol of liberty. The statue had the hand uplifted (Serv. on Aen. 4. 58 *Marsyas . . . in foro positus libertatis indicium est, qui erecta manu testatur nihil urbi deesse*), and Horace here comically explains the uplifted hand as a gesture of disgust at the face of the younger of the **Novii**, usurers, who carried on their business in the Forum. **122. ad quartam iaceo**, 'I lie until the fourth hour,' not sleeping; for though Horace was *somni benignus*, yet he considered sleep to the first hour as a long night's sleep, Ep. 1. 17. 6; but, after waking and probably taking his *ientaculum*, or light breakfast, still lying in bed reading or meditating; cf. Ep. 1. 2. 35 *posces ante diem librum cum lumine.* **vagor**, 'stroll.' **lecto** and **scripto** are abl. absolute. Horace after rising either takes a walk or continues his studies more methodically than he could in his bed. **123. unguor olivo**, preparatory to engaging in athletic exercises, as the game of ball; cf. Od. 1. 8. 8. **124. Natta**, unknown elsewhere, used lamp oil to rub himself with, thus cheating his lamps.

125. lavatum: the usual hour for bathing was the eighth, one hour before dinner *cena* (Becker's Gallus p. 396). But Horace's hours seem to have been differently arranged from those usual in Martial's time. For we find him taking his bath before luncheon (*prandium*), probably about one o'clock, while his ordinary dinner hour seems to have been much later than the ninth hour;

cf. lines 113 and 115, and *supremo sole* on the 23rd September, Ep. 1. 5. 3, *i.e.* 6 o'clock. **126. campum,** the Campus Martius, where games and manly exercises were carried on: cf. Od. 1. 8. 4. **lusumque trigonem,** 'and the game of ball I have now done playing': *lusum* is part. passive. The word is necessary here, and intentionally inserted to supply the omission of any previous mention by Horace of his playing the game. *ludere* often takes an acc. in the active voice; cf. *ludum ludere* Od. 3. 29. 50; *ludere par inpar* S. 2. 3. 248; *lūdas opus* 2. 3. 252. Against the ordinary interpretation of *lusumque trigonem,* viz. 'the game of ball,' it is to be urged that *ludum trigonis* would be expected. **trigon,** a sort of three-cornered game of hand ball, from τρίγωνος. This is the only passage where the word occurs in Latin before Martial, who several times uses it. For this reading, which is that of *vet. Bland.*, other MSS. give *fugio rabiosi tempora signi,* and this is explained to mean (1) the season of the dog-star; (2) the meridian heat of the sun. The first explanation cannot stand, for it was not in Horace's power to avoid the *tempora* of the dog-star, and his habits during the whole year, not only during the month of the dog-star, are described. And one's whole feeling revolts against the idea that Horace could have called the sun *rabiosum signum.* **127. pransus,** 'having eaten at lunch,' **quantum . . . interpellet,** 'enough to prevent me going fasting the whole day': *interpellare* in this sense in prose has *quin, quominus* or *ne.* **128. domesticus** simply = *domi,* at home. **131. quaestor.** Horace contemptuously chooses the lowest rung in the ladder of public offices. **fuisset:** for the singular verb after more than one singular nominative cf. Od. 2. 13. 38 n.

SATIRE VII

A repartee made in Brutus's Court at Clazomenae. DATE, 43 or 42 B.C.

Apparently the earliest of all the extant compositions of Horace. The event it describes happened in the year 43 or 42 B.C., at which time M. Brutus, the tyrannicide, was acting as propraetor in Asia, and it seems to have been composed at the time, or shortly after; certainly before the battle of Philippi. This is probable for several reasons. There is no allusion to the sad fate of Brutus: the murder of Caesar would be an unhappy subject to joke about if the power of Octavian, his heir, was established at Rome: the mention in line 18 of Brutus's usurpation as a regular praetorship looks as if his power was as yet not overthrown. Besides this, though the poor pun celebrated might at the time it was uttered be deemed worthy of a poetic dress—jokes in court always excite unbounded admiration—to recur to it after years would show weakness and silliness of mind.

1. proscripti: in 43 B.C. P. Rupilius Rex, of Praeneste, had been elected praetor in 43 B.C., but was proscribed by the triumvirs and fled to Brutus in Asia. The intentional juxtaposition of *proscripti* and *Regis* is to be noted. **pus atque venenum,** a periphrasis like *virtus Catonis,* etc., 'the foul-mouthed and venomous.' **2. hybrida,** 'cross-breed': the scholiasts say his father was an Asiatic, his mother a Roman. The word *hybrida* (also spelt *hibrida, ibrida*) is generally connected with ὕβρις, but Kiessling refers to a gloss of Philoxenus *iber* ἡμίονος, and to *imbri* the name of cross-bred sheep in Pliny (8. 49. 199), cf. Gk. ὕβρια. **3. lippis:** patients with sore eyes, a common complaint in Italy, would collect and talk in the apothecaries' shops (*medicinae*). Barbers' shops (*tonstrinae*) were proverbially the place for gossip. These places are joined together by Plautus, Amph. 4. 1. 5 *in medicinis in tonstrinis apud*

omnes aedes sacras | sum defessus quaeritando. Among the Greeks likewise barbers' shops, *κουρεῖα*, served the same purpose of gossip: Ar. Plut. 338.

4. **negotia** as a money-lender. 5. **Clazomenis**: Brutus was holding a *conventus* or circuit court here. **lites**: Cicero (ad Fam. 13. 9. 2) mentions P. Rupilius as *magister in societate publicanorum* in Bithynia. This is probably the same person as our Rex, and it is easy to imagine a farmer of the taxes having a lawsuit with a money-lender. 6. **qui posset**, 'the sort of man to.' **odio**, 'tediousness,' 'importunity.' Ter. Phorm. 5. 6. 9 *numquam tuo odio me vinces.* 7. **confidens** has a bad sense: Lucil. 334 (Lach.) *inprobus confidens nequam malus ut videatur*: 'self-reliant' in a good sense is *sibi fidens.* **tumidusque**: the variant *tumidus* is unlikely, for though both Virgil and Ovid sometimes lengthen *us* in arsis, Horace does not, but only avails himself of caesural lengthening in the case of verbs in *-t*: see on 1. 5. 90. 8. **Sisennas, Barros**: Sisenna and Barrus were men of bitter tongue, elsewhere unknown. The names of individuals taken as types of a class are made plural in Latin as in Greek and English, and probably all languages. **equis albis**, 'with white steeds,' because white horses were considered the swiftest, cf. Plaut. Asin. 2. 2. 12 *nam si se huic occasioni tempus subterduxerit, | numquam edepol quadrigis albis indipiscet postea;* Virg. Aen. 12. 84, of the horses of Turnus *qui candore nives anteirent, cursibus auras.* We might paraphrase, 'he could give weight to,' 'could beat in a canter.'

9. **nihil . . . convenit**, 'no terms were come to,' no compromise. **hoc sunt iure**: arrogate to themselves the same right of action, as doughty champions. From **hoc** in line 10 to **missis** in line 18 is parenthetical. **molesti**, 'those at loggerheads.' 11. **inter, inter**: for the double preposition cf. Ep. 1. 2. 12 n. 12. **animosum**, 'fiery,' a regular epithet of Achilles: cf. Ov. Her. 8. 1 *Pyrrhus Achillides animosus imagine patris.* 13. **capitalis**, 'deadly, so that death (and death alone), which ends all things (*ultima*), could part them.' Horace had in mind the fierce words of Achilles Il. 22. 261 *Ἕκτορ, μή μοι, ἄλαστε, συνημοσύνας ἀγόρευε . . . | ὡς οὐκ ἔστ' ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ φιλήμεναι, οὐδέ τι νῶϊν | ὅρκια ἔσσονται πρίν γ' ἢ ἕτερόν γε πεσόντα | αἵματος ἆσαι Ἄρηα ταλαύρινον πολεμιστήν.* 15. **inertes**=*ignavos*, cowards; so *pigrior* in 17; cf. Od. 3. 5. 36 n. 17. **Glauco**: the meeting of Glaucus and Diomede, where Glaucus declines to fight, and exchanges armour with him *χρύσεα χαλκείων*, is finely told Il. 6. 119 seq. **ultro** denotes doing something beyond what may be expected of a person, 'into the bargain,' 'to boot.' 18. **Brutus** was *praetor urbanus* in 44 B.C., the year of Caesar's assassination. The next year he would naturally be *propraetor* with a provincial government; and in that capacity he took possession of Macedonia, which had been allotted to him along with Bithynia, but taken away from him by the Senate under the influence of Antony and Octavian. He also overran Asia, and treated it as part of his province. 19. **par**, 'the pair': especially applied to a pair of gladiators. 20. **compositum**: the construction is *ut non melius compositum* (*fuerit par*) *Bacchius cum Bitho.* *par*, understood, is in apposition with the words *cum Bitho Bacchius.* Bithus and Bacchius were famous gladiators. **componere**=*ξυνιέναι*, to pit together, a technical word for matching combatants; Cic. ad Fam. 2. 8. 1 *gladiatorum compositiones;* Sen. Prov. 2. 9 *ecce par deo dignum, vir fortis cum adversa fortuna compositus.* 21. **spectaculum**, 'a sight to see.'

23. **conventu**, 'the court,' properly the judicial assembly in a circuit town of a provincial governor. **cohortem**, 'the staff,' of a provincial

governor; cf. Ep. 1. 3. 6 n. **25. Canem**: Sirius, 'the dog-star,' considered an evil constellation; Hom. Il. 22. 30. **27. fertur quo rara securis**, 'where the woodcutter's axe is seldom carried,' one of the few poetical touches in the Satires. In many countries trees are chiefly found on river banks, especially in mountain ravines; cf. 2 Kings vi. 4.

28. multo fluenti, 'on him (Persius) so witty and so glib the Praenestine retorts with abuse, true essence of the copse, like some tough and invincible vine-dresser, by whom the passer-by on the road shouting "cuckoo" at him, must have often owned himself beaten.' *multo fluenti*, a common use of ῥεῖν with πολύς and μέγας: cf. Dem. de Cor. § 136 πολλῷ ῥέοντι καθ' ὑμῶν: Eur. Hipp. 443 Κύπρις γὰρ οὐ φορητὸς ἢν πολλὴ ῥυῇ: Thuc. 2. 5. 2 ὁ Ἀσωπὸς ποταμὸς ἐρρύη μέγας. Cf. 1. 4. 11 *flueret lutulentus*. **29. expressa**, lit. 'squeezed out of,' and so here 'the true essence of,' 'extract of,' words such as would naturally suggest the rough repartees used by vine-dressers to passers-by, who ventured to make them a butt for their witticisms. **30. vindemiator**, four syllables: cf. 2. 8. 1 n. **31. cucullum**: passers-by used this epithet to jibe at vine-dressers, who were behindhand with their pruning, which ought to be finished before the cuckoo is heard; Plin. H. N. 18. 66. 249 . . . *exprobrationem foedam putantium vites per imitationem cantus alitis temporarii quem cucullum vocant*. **34. reges**: the plural adds to the absurdity. Brutus had only slain one who could be called a king, Caesar, but Persius addresses him as if he were a habitual regicide. **consueris** (*consueveris*): the subj. assigns a reason why Brutus should slay another 'Rex.' The poor pun was also made by Cicero in a retort on Clodius in the senate: Cic. ad Att. 1. 16. 10. Puns (*ambigua*) were popular at Rome, and Cicero was an inveterate punster. **35. tuorum** agrees with *operum*.

SATIRE VIII

A statue of Priapus describes how he witnessed the nocturnal witch-work of two hags, Canidia and Sagana. This satire is distinctly referred to three times in the 17th Epode, lines 47, 58, 77. DATE:—about 35 B.C.

1. ficulnus . . . the wood of the fig-tree was considered useless, because it was easily broken; hence the proverb συκίνη ἐπικουρία = 'a broken reed'; so σύκινοι ἄνδρες Theocr. 10. 45 'good-for-nothing men'; γνώμη συκίνη Luc. adv. Indoct. 6. **2. Priapum**: the worship of Priapus came originally from Lampsacus. His statue was set up in gardens, to frighten birds and thieves away, and his outstretched hand held a wooden sickle; cf. Virg. G. 4. 110 *et custos furum atque avium cum falce saligna* | *Hellespontiaci servet tutela Priapi*. **3. maluit esse deum**: note the sarcasm and cf. Is. xliv. 16, 17 'and the residue thereof he maketh a god.' **7. novis in hortis**, 'the new park.' So Propert. calls the same place *novi agri* 4. 8. 2. The reference is to the new gardens of Maecenas on the Esquiline both on (cf. line 15) and outside the *agger* of Servius Tullius.

8. This place had once been a miserable burying-ground for the poorest of the people. The language here is very forcible. **eiecta**, 'cast contemptuously out.' **angustis cellis**, 'from their narrow cells'; the small bed-chambers they used to occupy. Cf. Cic. Phil. 2. 27. 67 *servorum in cellis*. **9. conservus**, a pathetic touch. No one cared for the dead slave's body; his 'fellow slave' was assigned the duty of seeing it disposed of; he made a

bargain (*locabat*) with the *vespillones* or *sandapilarii* to carry the body to the wretched graveyard in a cheap shell (*arca*, or, as elsewhere, *sandapila*). Orelli[4] quotes an inscription which shows that slaves had burial-societies. **10. stabat,** 'was fixed by fate,' seems to be the meaning. **commune sepulchrum**: a reminiscence of Lucr. 5. 259 *omniparens eadem rerum commune sepulchrum.* 11. **Pantolabus** (=παντολάβος) is said by Porph. to have been a nickname for one Mallius Verna, from his habit of borrowing sums of money from his friends, when reduced to penury. This line is nearly repeated 2. 1. 22. Observe the power with which Horace briefly notices the fact, that a slave's burial is the destined end of the rake and spendthrift. **13. hic,** 'here.' **cippus,** a pillar, with an inscription on it (*e.g.* IN · AG · P · XII · IN · FR · P · XXIV ·—Corp. Ins. 4374) stating the limits of the cemetery, which were a frontage (*in fronte*) of 1000 feet, a depth (*in agrum*) of 300. **heredes monumentum ne sequeretur,** '(with an injunction) that the monument was not to descend to the heirs.' It was customary to inscribe on monuments of the dead the letters H · M · H · N · S ·, i.e. *hoc monumentum heredes non sequitur*, or H · M · AD H · N · TRANS · (*ne transito*). Horace dwells with humorous pathos on the amplitude of the poor man's resting-place, and represents special pains being taken to prevent its alienation should his heirs part with the rest of his property.

14. nunc licet Esquiliis. Maecenas somehow or other came into possession of this burial-ground and other waste land lying on the Esquiline outside the walls. He cleared the spot, beautified and improved it, and built there a handsome mansion, which men called *turris Maecenatiana* (Od. 3. 29. 10 n.). **salubribus**: before this time, owing to bad drainage and malaria from the cemetery, the Esquiline was unhealthy. **15. aggere**; the agger of Servius Tullius, who included the Esquiline and Viminal in the city, heightened by Tarquinius Superbus: it ran from the Esquiline Gate to the Colline Gate. **quo**=*in quo* and so 'where,' the preposition not being repeated after *in aprico.* So most, but Palmer accepts Peerlkamp's *qui.* **16.** Note the spondees. **17. cum** refers back to *nunc* line 14. **suëtae**: cf. Lucr. 1. 60 *appellare suëmus;* 2. 903 *sentire suëti.* **19. carminibus . . . atque venenis,** 'spells and potions.' **versant,** 'practise on.' **21. vaga**: so Virg. Aen. 1. 742 *hic canit errantem lunam:* 'the moving moon went up the sky,' Coleridge. **22. protulit os**: Virg. Aen. 8. 589 *qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda . . . extulit os sacrum caelo;* G. 4. 232 *Taygete simul os terris ostendit honestum.* **legant**: *legere* is properly used both with *ossa* and *herbas*: it is the regular word for gathering bones from the ashes of the funeral pyre: cf. Propert. 2. 24. 50 *vix venit extremo qui legat ossa die.*

23. vidi egomet . . . As remarked by Comm. Cruq., these lines *habent aliquid tragicae descriptionis;* cf. Virg. Aen. 3. 623 *vidi egomet duo . . .* **succinctam,** 'with her robe tucked up': cf. Epod. 5. 25; Ovid, Met. 7. 182 of Medea, the arch-witch *egreditur tectis vestes induta recinctas,* | *nuda pedem, nudos umeris infusa capillos.* **24. Canidiam**: see Epod. 5 Intr. **25. Sagana** mentioned also Epod. 5. 25 as an accomplice of Canidia. Probably the word is a pseudonym invented by Horace, and connected by him with *sāga*, 'a witch,' in spite of the difference in quantity, and so too Canidia *a canitie.* **maiore**: either 'the elder' (she had a younger sister according to Comm. Cruq.), or 'more powerful' than Canidia herself, or 'taller' than Canidia. **ululantem,** 'whooping her witch-chant.' *ululatus* is nearly always of females, and often used of chants in sacred rites; so Medea Ov. Met. 7. 190

ternis ululatibus ora | solvit. **utrasque**: either *utramque* or *utrasque* is good Latin. **27. pullam,** 'black' (cf. πελλός, πελιτνός), seems to have been especially used to denote dark colour of fleeces and wool. **mordicus,** ὀδάξ. **28. cruor** . . . In the νέκυια of Ulysses Od. 11. 36 seq., the pouring of blood into a trench is the means whereby the spirits are called from the vasty deep; undoubtedly the original idea was that they actually came to drink the blood. **inde**: from the pit or trench they had scraped out. **29. animas** in apposition to **Manes.**

30. lanea et=*lanea effigies erat et altera cerea*—Porph. The image of wool is of Canidia: the waxen one is that of the man whom she proposes to torture for his falseness by her witch-charms: cf. Epod. 17. 76 n.; Virg. Ecl. 8. 81; Ov. Her. 6. 91 *devovet absentes, simulacraque cerea fingit,* | *et miserum tenues in iecur urguet acus.* See Theocr. Idyll. 2; Lucian, Dial. Mer. 4; Plat. Legg. 11 p. 933; Ov. Am. 1. 8; Rossetti's ballad of *Sister Helen,* for more about ancient and modern φαρμακεύτριαι. **32. ut quae,** probably elliptical: *ut quae iam peritura* (*stat*). **servilibus modis**: as if about to be crucified, or beaten to death. **35. infernas,** χθονίας: cf. Apoll. Rhod. 3. 1216 ἀμφὶ δὲ τήν γε (*i.e.* Hecate) ὀξείῃ ὑλακῇ χθόνιοι κύνες ἐφθέγγοντο: Virg. Aen. 6. 257 *visaeque canes ululare per umbram,* | *adventante dea;* 'the misbegotten dogs of hell,' Scott, *Wild Huntsman.* **rubentem**: the moon blushed and hid her face behind the highest monuments.

41. umbrae: the ghosts who answered the call of the witches. **cum**: join with *loquentes.* **resonarint**: if *resonarent,* which has more MSS. support, is sound, it means 'kept up all along' a sad, shrilly sound. **acutum**: τετριγυῖα is used by Homer, Il. 23. 101, of a departed spirit's voice, like the shrill chirping of a bird. **42. variae,** 'spotted.' Cf. the ingredients in the witches' cauldron in *Macbeth,* among which are the 'fillet of a fenny snake . . . scale of dragon, tooth of wolf.' Pliny tells us that a wolf's muzzle (*rostrum*) was a counter-charm against witchcraft, and was often nailed up on the gates of country houses for this reason. The witches bury it here to overcome its influence. **43. cerea**: dissyllable, as *ostrea* 2. 2. 21, *aureo* Virg. Aen. 10. 116. **imagine cerea** is instrumental: 'and how a fire was kindled, made larger by the waxen image' which they held over it, or threw into it. **45. Furiarum**: the witches are called Furies on account of their ugliness and cruelty. **48.** The midnight hags are frightened by hearing a noise made by Priapus in his fright, and run away, leaving their false teeth, hair, and charms behind them. **caliendrum,** 'a chignon' of false hair: probably corrupted from κάλλυντρον or καλλυντήριον, 'ornament.' **49. lacertis** goes with *excidere.* **incantatus** and *cantatus* are used in the same sense, 'enchanted.' **50. vincula**: generally taken as *licia,* magic threads which were tied to the *rhombus,* the witches' wheel; cf. Ov. Fast. 2. 575 *tum cantata ligat cum fusco licia rhombo;* Am. 1. 8. 7; Virg. Ecl. 8. 73. But as the witches carried these *vincula* on their arms, and as there is no mention of a *rhombus* in the satire, perhaps it is better to suppose a sort of magic bracelets or armlets: 'love-knots.'

SATIRE IX

An Encounter with a Bore. DATE:—about 35 B.C.

Horace describes how he was encountered by a pushing fellow, who vaunted his learning and accomplishments, and asked the poet for an introduction into

the circle of literary men whom Maecenas had gathered about him; how Aristius Fuscus met them, and enjoyed Horace's discomfiture, and would not help him to get rid of the bore, from whom at last he was saved by the accident of his adversary in a lawsuit falling in with him, and taking him off to Court.

Vulpius guessed that this bore was Propertius, the young Umbrian poet; and it is pointed out that Propertius never mentions Horace by name, nor Horace Propertius, though Horace repeatedly mentions Virgil, Varius, Tibullus, and other contemporary poets, while Propertius mentions Virgil with admiration; cf. Ep. 2. 2. 100, where *quis nisi Callimachus* is probably a sneer at Propertius, and see separate edition. Chronology, however, is decidedly against this, for Propertius could not have been born before 52, probably not earlier than 49; while this Satire can hardly be later than 34.

1. **ibam forte**: a fragment of Lucilius begins with the words *ibat forte aries.* **via Sacra**: the principal street in Rome: it ran through the Forum on to the Capitol. 2. **meditans**, 'composing'; cf. Od. 3. 25. 5 n. **nugarum**, 'some poetic trifle'; cf. Catull. 1. 4 *meas esse aliquid putare nugas;* Mart. 5. 80. 3 *dum nostras legis exigisque nugas.* **totus in illis**, 'quite absorbed in it.' Cf. Ep. 1. 1. 11 *omnis in hoc sum;* 1 Tim. iv. 15 *ταῦτα μελέτα, ἐν τούτοις ἴσθι.* 3. **accurrit** and **arrepta**: stronger than *occurrit* and *prehensa*, denote the forwardness of the man at once. 4. **quid agis**, 'how are you?' a common formula of greeting; cf. Mart. 2. 67 *occurris quocumque loco mihi, Postume, clamas | protinus et prima est haec tua vox 'quid agis?'* **dulcissime rerum**, 'dearest in the world'; cf. Ov. Her. 4. 125 *pulcherrime rerum;* 9. 107 *maxime rerum.* Acron joined *quid rerum* together: and *quid rerum* is often used, but much more often with *gerere* than *agere*; *e.g.* Catull. 28. 4 *quid rerum geritis?* 5. **ut nunc est**, 'at present.' Cf. Cic. ad Att. 15. 5. 3 *ut nunc quidem est.* **cupio omnia quae vis** is a neutral form of polite address; cf. Plaut. Pers. 5. 1. 14 *omnia quae tu vis, ea cupio.* Having said which, Horace walks on.

6. **numquid vis**: a broader hint that he wants no more of the intruder's company, for *numquid vis* is the regular form for parting company: 'have you any commands?' **occupo**, 'I break in,' before he had time to begin. 7. **noris nos**, 'yes; I want you to make my acquaintance': in answer to Horace's question, *numquid vis*, which he refuses to take as the close of the interview. It was common enough to reply to this formula by a statement of what was desired. Cf. Plaut. Capt. 1. 2. 82 *numquid vis?* Heg. *venias temperi;* Mil. Glor. 2. 6. 92 *numquid nunc aliud me vis?* Pe. *ne me noveris.* **docti**: the epithet of *doctus* was assumed by those who were versed in Greek literature and mythology, and especially by those poets who imitated the learned style of the Alexandrine school. Hence the word constantly is = 'poetic,' cf. Od. 1. 1. 29. 10. **puero**, i.e. *pedisequo*, a page. 11. **Bolane**: a choleric man, *cerebrosus*, who would have told such a bore to go *ἐς κόρακας*, without more ado. So the *cerebrosus*, 1. 5. 21, belabours the sleeping sailor. **cerebri felicem**, 'happy in thy hot temper,' a usage common in Greek; *e.g.* Arist. Eq. 186 *ὦ μακάριε τῆς τύχης.*

15. **iamdudum video**, *πάλαι ὁρῶ*, 'I have noticed this long time': *iamdudum* in this sense always takes a present. **nil agis**, 'it's no use,' a common phrase. 16. **prosequar**, 'I will escort you,' has less MS. authority than *persequar*, 'I will stick to you'; but Horace's reply is in favour of *prosequar*, as it is a polite declining of an offer of company. 17. **circumagi**, 'go out of your way.' **visere**, 'to call on a sick friend.'

visere, or *visere ad*, often has this meaning; cf. Ep. 2. 2. 69. **18. cubat,** 'keeps his bed,' from illness. Cf. 2. 3. 289 *mater ait pueri menses iam quinque cubantis;* Ep. 2. 2. 68; Ov. Her. 20. 164 *haec cubat, ille valet.* **hortos**: Caesar's gardens, left in his will to the people as a public park, were on the Janiculum, close to the Tiber. **21. dorso,** 'with his back'; cf. Virg. Aen. 2. 708 *ipse subibo umeris.* **subiit**: cf. 1. 5. 90 n. **onus**: accusative.

22. si bene me novi: so Circe, Ovid Met. 14. 356 *si modo me novi.* **Viscum**: cf. 1. 10. 83. The two Visci, sons of Vibius Viscus, a Roman knight, were literary men, and intimate friends of Horace. **23. plures**: cf. 1. 4. 16 *videamus uter plus scribere possit.* **25. mollius,** 'more lightly,' in the dance. *mollis* in this sense preserves a reference to its assumed derivation, *mobilis.* Cf. Lucr. 4. 980 *cernere saltantis et mollia membra moventis;* Ov. A. A. 1. 595 *si vox est, canta; si mollia bracchia, salta.* **membra**: see Munro on Lucr. 4. 790, where he shows that the motions of the arms were of more importance in ancient dancing than the legs. **26. est tibi mater...** Why does Horace ask this? Schütz and Kiessling think it is a hint that the stranger was mad, and wanted some one to look after him; Orelli that he wishes to turn the subject, and to stop the bore's account of himself. Others make other suggestions, but the real reason why the question is asked is to introduce the excellent point which follows. **28. composui,** 'I have laid them all to rest.' *componere* is properly to lay the bones of the dead together in the urn, after they have been gathered from the pyre (cf. Prop. 2. 24. 35 *tu mea compones et dices* '*ossa, Properti,* | *haec tua sunt*'; Ov. Met. 4. 157); but is also used of arranging the limbs of the dead together on the bier, or bed of death (cf. Ov. Met. 9. 504 *toroque* | *mortua componar;* Pers. 3. 104 *alto* | *compositus lecto*), and it is in this sense Pope writes, 'By foreign hands thy decent limbs composed'; but that is not the meaning here. **felices**: from this word to **aetas**, in 34, is to be taken as spoken aside, or rather as the unuttered expression of Horace's thought: 'lucky they' (in being beyond the reach of your tongue). **nunc ego resto**: sc. *tibi componendus*, 'my turn next!' cf. Pers. 3. 97 *iampridem hunc sepeli, tu restas.*

29. confice, 'despatch me!' **Sabella**: the Sabellian tribes were noted for witchcraft, especially the Marsi and Peligni; cf. Epod. 17. 28, 29, 60; 5. 76. **30. divina,** 'fortune-telling'; cf. Od. 3. 27. 10. Palmer, holding that *divinā motā anus urnā* jars harshly on the ear, accepts Bentley's transposition *mota divinā anus.* **mota**: she shook her lots in an urn, and then drew out some, from which she told Horace's fortune; cf. Od. 2. 3. 26; 3. 1. 16. **32. laterum dolor**: pleurisy. **tarda podagra,** 'halting gout'; cf. Prop. 2. 1. 59 *tarda Philoctetae sanavit crura Machaon.* **33. quando ... cumque,** 'some time or other.' *quandocumque* generally means 'whensoever': *quandoque,* 'some time or other'; but they interchange in meaning with each other. Cf. Ov. Met. 6. 544 *quandocumque mihi poenas dabis,* and for the reverse, Od. 4. 1. 17; A. P. 359.

35. ad Vestae: sc. *templum*; so in Greek εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος, εἰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ: in English 'to St. Paul's,' etc. Vesta's fane was near the Forum between the Capitol and Palatine. **quarta iam parte**: it was about 9 o'clock, which was Horace's usual hour for a morning stroll. This was the time when business went on in the law-courts, Mart. 4. 8. 2 *exercet raucos tertia causidicos.* **36. respondere**: a technical word, 'to put in an appearance in court.' Varr. ap. Gell. 11. 1. 4 *M. Terentio, quando citatus neque respondit neque excusatus est, ego ei unum ovem multam dico.* **vadato** is an impersonal

abl. abs. like *intestato, auspicato*, 'having been held to bail'; cf. Cic. ad Att. 16. 6. 3 *hoc quod satisdato debeo.* Others take *vadato = illi qui eum vadatus erat*, 'the man who had summoned him'; cf. Livy 3. 13 *tot vadibus accusator vadatus est reum:* but *respondere* is always in this sense used absolutely. **38. si mĕ amas**: hiatus in the first thesis of the dactyl; cf. 2. 2. 28 *cocto num adest;* Virg. Ecl. 8. 108 *credimus? an, quĭ amant;* Aen. 6. 507 *tĕ, amice, nequivi.* This hiatus is common in Lucretius and Catullus: see Munro on Lucr. 2. 404. **hic**, in the forum, close to which they were. **ades**, 'give me your help in court,' *i.e.* give me the support of your presence, as an *advocatus.* **39. valeo stare**: (1) 'if I am able to appear as an advocate in court.' *stare = adesse*, cf. Plaut. Men. 5. 2. 47 *hinc stas illinc causam dicis;* Rud. 4. 4. 57 *atque nunc abs te stat: verum hinc cibit testimonium.* (2) 'if I am strong enough to stand so long in court.' So Comm. Cruq. **41. rem**, 'my case.' **sodes**, 'if you please' (*si audes*); cf. Ep. 1. 1. 62 n.

43. Maecenas quomodo tecum: sc. *vivit* or *agit*, 'how does Maecenas stand with you?' **44. repetit**, 'he resumes' at the point he left off, line 25. Orelli, Schütz, and others give all that follows, down to *omnes* in 48, to the stranger: Fritzsche, with most of the older edd., prints as in the text, making *paucorum hominum . . . usus* the answer of Horace. That *paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanae* are the words of Horace seems clear; but it would give equally good sense whether we assign *nemo . . . usus* to the stranger or to Horace. **paucorum hominum**, 'a man of few acquaintances'; cf. the play in Ter. Eun. 3. 1. 19 *immo sic homo est perpaucorum hominum.* Gn. *immo nullorum arbitror, si tecum vivit.* Horace gives the intruder a hint there is no use in *his* trying to force his way into the narrow circle. **bene sanae**: of thoroughly sound mind (not to be taken in by every pushing fellow).

45. nemo dexterius fortuna est usus, 'no one ever dealt more adroitly with Fortune,' or 'no one ever employed his high position more happily' than Maecenas. Horace seems to mean that Maecenas is not carried away by his high position, but that he soberly and discreetly chooses his friends, not ready to listen to every flatterer. Those who assign these words to the intruder are divided between supplying *quam Maecenas* and *quam tu*; if the latter is right, we are again embarrassed by two rival interpretations: 'there never was a cleverer fellow than you,' *i.e.* in making your way into the society of one whom you describe as so exclusive: or, 'never was a man luckier than you in meeting me.' **46. secundas**: sc. *partes*: play second fiddle to you: act as δευτεραγωνιστής—*partes* is often left out with *primas, secundas, tertias.* **47. hunc hominem**, τόνδ' ἄνδρα, 'me,' δεικτικῶς: Ter. Heaut. 2. 3. 115 *tibi sunt parata verba, huic homini verbera.* **tradere**, 'introduce,' i.q. *commendare*: cf. Ep. 1. 9. 3 *scilicet ut tibi se laudare et tradere coner;* 18. 78 *fallimur et quondam non dignum tradimus.* **48. summosses**: 'clear out of your way': cf. Od. 2. 16. 10. The pluperf. is much stronger than *summoveres*: the action is contemplated as at once performed: so rapidly that it is a thing to be looked back upon.

50. malis, abl., 'a greater stranger to vices like these.' **inquam**, emphatic, 'I can tell you,' much better than *umquam* of some MSS. **53. sic habet**, οὕτως ἔχει, for *sic se res habet.* **accendis quare** is pregnant: 'you kindle higher my desire (giving additional reasons) why I should try to win his friendship.' **55. expugnabis**, 'you will carry him' as if he were a fort to be stormed. **56. aditus**, 'approaches,' 'outworks.' **58. tempora**, 'the auspicious moments'; not so much 'opportunities,' as the

moments when Maecenas should be in a suitable humour. So Virg. Aen. 4. 423 gives *aditus* and *tempora* together: *sola viri molles aditus et tempora noras.* **59. deducam,** 'escort him' from his house into the forum; Cic. Mur. 34. 70 *si domus nostra celebratur, si interdum ad forum deducimur.* **nil sine . . .** Cf. Hesiod, Works and Days 287 τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν: Epicharm. fr. ap. Xen. Mem. 2. 1. 20 τῶν πόνων πωλοῦσιν ἡμῖν πάντα τἀγάθ' οἱ θεοί: Soph. El. 945 ὅρα, πόνου τοι χωρὶς οὐδὲν εὐτυχεῖ.

61. Fuscus Aristius: see Ep. 1. 10 Intr. **62. qui pulchre nosset,** 'who knew the fellow through and through.' Cf. Cic. ad Fam. 10. 23. 1 *Lepidum enim pulchre noram,* where it is implied, as here, that the character was a bad one. *pulchre*=*bene* is common in Plautus and Terence; it belonged to the 'language of talk.' **nosset,** not *norat,* is used here, because there is an implied reason why Horace was glad of the meeting with Fuscus: he was in the first place *mihi carus*; secondly, he knew the character of the bore: hence Horace expected he would help him to get rid of him. **unde venis et quo tendis**: cf. 2. 4. 1 *unde et quo Catius?* **63. respondet**: sc. Fuscus, in his turn, to me, when I asked him the same questions. **vellere,** 'pinch': Virg. Ecl. 6. 3 *Cynthius aurem | vellit et admonuit;* Copa 38 *mors aurem vellens 'vivite' ait 'venio.'* **64. pressare**: many MSS. give *prensare.* **lentissima,** 'unfeeling.' **65. male salsus,** 'witty out of season.' **66. dissimulare,** 'pretended he did not see what I wanted.' **bilis**; cf. Od. 1. 13. 4 *fervens difficili bile tumet iecur.*

69. tricensima sabbata: probably there was no such Jewish festival or fast; and Fuscus knew there was not, but invented it for the occasion. The Jewish sabbath is often referred to by Roman poets; Ov. A. A. 1. 76 *cultaque Iudaeo septima sacra Syro;* Juv. 14. 96 *quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem.* Other explanations make *tricensima sabbata* to be either, (1) the feast of trumpets; or (2) the day of atonement; or (3) the feast of tabernacles, which fell on the 1st, 10th, and 15th of the 7th Jewish month, respectively, Levit. xxiii. 24, 27, 34; either of which may be by different computations made out to be the 30th sabbath from the beginning of the Jewish year. **vin tu** simply asks a question; *vis tu* is a command or exhortation: see on 2. 6. 92. **71. religio,** 'religious scruple.' **infirmior,** 'a weak brother.' **73. surrexe**: cf. 1. 5. 79 n. **74. sub cultro,** *i.e.* like a victim, with the knife ready to descend.

75. adversarius, 'the plaintiff who had summoned him to appear.' The plaintiff was on his way to court, and finds his man strolling away from it. **76. inclamat,** 'shouts *at* him,' stronger and better supported than *exclamat.* **licet antestari,** 'may I have you as a witness to the arrest?' A fragment of the XII Tables has SI IN IVS VOCAT NI IT ANTESTATOR IGITVR EM CAPITO: 'if he summons a party into court, and he refuses to go, let him appeal to a witness and forthwith seize him.' The word is probably from *ante* and *testor.* *licet antestari?* was the regular question put to a bystander to know whether he would be willing to become a witness to the seizure. In case he assented, the prosecutor touched the tip of his ear. The ceremony existed without change from early times. Cf. Plaut. Pers. 4. 9. 8 seq.; Curc. 5. 2. 23 Ph. *ambula in ius.* Th. *non eo.* Ph. *licet antestari?* Th. *non licet.* **78. sic me servavit Apollo,** a reminiscence of Homer, Il. 20. 443 τὸν δ' ἐξήρπαξεν Ἀπόλλων.

SATIRE X

Horace's Criticisms of, and his Relation to, Lucilius. DATE, ? 35 B.C.

The criticisms Horace had made on Lucilius and his style (4. 6-13) had given offence to some of the admirers of the old bard. Horace defends his remarks, does not retract them, in this Satire. He allows that Lucilius was caustic, 4, and farcical, 8 ; but that is not enough. Terseness is essential, 9 : the mixture of fun and gravity, of poetry, rhetoric, and wit, which the poets of the old comedy possessed, ought to belong to the satirist, 11-18. Lucilius' use of Greek words was a positive blemish, 20-30. Satire was the only branch of poetry left open for Horace, and he has had fair success in it, though he avows himself inferior to Lucilius ; but still he claims the right to point out the obvious defects in Lucilius, which he himself would be the first to acknowledge if he were alive, 56-71. Care and revision are necessary for the production of poetry which shall win the approbation of the select few : the fit audience that he himself has found in Virgil, Varius, Maecenas, and others, whose approval is more to be valued than that of the multitude.

The eight verses in brackets are to be condemned as spurious on both external and internal evidence. They are not found in the best MSS. ; the scholiasts are silent about them ; the fourth verse has a false quantity *vĭr*, which it is not easy to emend ; *ut redeam illuc* in 8 has no meaning.

2. **tam** is separated from **inepte**, to which it belongs, as from *dives*, 1. 1. 95. **fautor** : technically a claqueur in the theatre, used by Horace for a literary partisan, 'admirer' : cf. *fautor veterum* Ep. 2. 1. 23. 3. **sale** : both in its literal sense and its derived sense of wit, sarcasm ; cf. Ep. 2. 2. 60 *sale nigro*. 4. **defricuit**, 'scoured the city with plenty of salt' : *defricare* is properly used of scouring with some liquid. Catullus uses it of brushing the teeth, 37. 20. Salt mixtures were used for scouring ; cf. Aristoph. Nub. 1237 ἁλσὶν διασμηχθεὶς ὄναιτ' ἂν οὑτοσί. 5. **sic**, 'in that case,' 'on the same principle.' 6. D. **Laberius**, a Roman knight constrained by Julius Caesar to act in his own mimes on the stage, 45 B.C., in a dramatic contest with Publilius Syrus. On this occasion Laberius had the courage to insert the well-known lines *porro Quirites ! libertatem perdimus* and *necesse est multos timeat quem multi timent*. **mimi** were lax farces : *mimos obscena iocantes* Ov. Trist. 2. 497.

7. **risu diducere rictum**, 'to make the audience grin from ear to ear.' *rictus* (*ringi*) is the drawing back of the lips so as to show the teeth. 11. **et sermone . . .** 'Happy who in his verse can gently steer From grave to light, from pleasant to severe,' Dryden *Art of Poetry* 1. 75, imitated in Pope's line 'From grave to gay, from lively to severe' *Essay on Man* 4. 379. 12. **defendente vicem**, 'taking the place of' ; cf. A. P. 193 *actoris partes chorus officiumque virile | defendat* : for **vicem** cf. A. P. 304 *fungar vice cotis*. **rhetoris** here simply = *oratoris*. 13. **urbani**, 'a polished talker' : Domitius Marsus ap. Quintil. 6. 3. 105 *urbanus homo erit qui . . . in sermonibus, circulis, conviviis, item in concionibus, omni denique loco ridicule commodeque dicet*. 15. **secat**, 'decides' ; cf. Ep. 1. 16. 42 *quo . . . secantur iudice lites*.

16. **comoedia prisca** : cf. 1. 4. 2 n. 17. **stabant**, 'succeeded' ; *stare* is regularly used of a successful play, cf. Ep. 2. 1. 176 n. **pulcher**, with some contempt : 'the pretty youth,' 'the fop' ; cf. Cic. ad Att. 1. 16. 10 *surgit pulchellus puer*. 18. For Tigellius **Hermogenes** see 1. 3. 129 ;

4. 72; 9. 25. **lēgit**, perf. **simius iste**: according to the scholiasts this was M. Demetrius, a musician (*modulator*), who is joined with Hermogenes line 90. They say he is here called a monkey, on account of his ugliness and small stature; cf. the contrast with *pulcher*; and Arist. Ran. 707 ὁ πίθηκος οὗτος ὁ νῦν ἐνοχλῶν | Κλειγένης ὁ μικρός. Others take *simius* to mean 'the ape,' *i.e.* imitator of Hermogenes. **19.** C Valerius **Catullus** (86- ?54 B.C.), and C. Licinius **Calvus** (82-47) contemporaries and friends, who wrote poetry of the same sort, chiefly erotic, and epigrammatic; the former one of the greatest poets of his time: it is difficult to account for Horace's want of appreciation of him. He violently lampooned Julius Caesar, and his poems may, for this reason, have found little favour with Octavian; but Horace, who attacks Tigellius, the friend, and speaks without censure of Brutus, the murderer of Caesar, is not likely to have been prevented praising a poet through fear of the disapprobation of Octavian. He imitates Catullus in one or two passages, however: cf. 2. 1. 43.

20. Graeca: the fragments of Lucilius contain a good deal of Greek. **21. o seri studiorum**: ὀψιμαθεῖς: Cic. ad Fam. 9. 20. 2 ὀψιμαθεῖς *homines scis quam insolentes sint.* **quine**: *qui* is the nom. plur.; cf. Ter. Ad. 2. 3. 8 *festivum caput,* | *quine omnia sibi post putarit esse prae meo commodo;* Plaut. Rud. 2. 6. 54 C. *optimo me iure elavisse arbitror.* L. *qui?* C. *quine auderem tecum in navem ascendere.* *ne* keeps its interrogative force, though it is latent. 'O you late learned (for are you not so to be named?), you who think that a wonderful thing which even the Rhodian Pitholeon achieved.' **22. Pitholeonti**: Pitholeon is put for Pitholaus; so Τιμολέων is derived from Τιμόλεως, Τιμόλαος. He is said by Suetonius, Caes. 75, to have lampooned Julius Caesar, and is probably the M. Otacilius Pitholaus mentioned by Macrobius, Saturn. 2. 2. 13. This would make him out to have been the slave of one Otacilius, whose name he prefixed to his own on manumission. He was by birth a Rhodian probably. **23. concinnus**, 'happily blended.' **24.** The Chian wines were sweet: Falernian was dry (*austerum*). **nota**, 'brand,' cf. Od. 2. 3. 8 n. **25. cum . . .** Horace asks: 'Is this admixture of Greek allowable in poetry only, or in speeches in the forum as well?' (*et*). The supposition would be absurd to a Roman. **26. Petilli**, 1. 4. 94.

27. oblitus with **malis. patriaeque patrisque**: the language of your fatherland and forefathers is Latin. **Latine**, 'in Latin,' cf. *Latine loqui;* and *Latine c. exsudare* is satirical for *Latine c. orare.* *Latini* (so Orelli[4], Kiessling) has better authority and then the reference is to *pater Latinus* (cf. Virg. Aen. 7. 61, 92 and the mention of Quirinus in line 32), who is referred to as the eponymous hero of Latin speech. **28. Pedius** Poplicola supposed by some to have been a brother of the Messalla Corvinus here mentioned, and to have been adopted by J. Caesar's nephew or great-nephew Q. Pedius, who was consul suffect. with Octavian 43 B.C., and died that year. **29. Corvinus**: cf. Od. 3. 21 Intr. The scholiasts tell us he was such a purist, that he refused to employ the Greek word σχοινοβάτης, and was the first to use the term *funambulus* instead for a rope-dancer. **30. foris**=*peregre*, 'abroad.' **Canusini bilinguis**, the inhabitants of Canusium, in Apulia, had a population partly Greek and partly Oscan, and spoke both languages. Lucilius and Ennius both have *Bruttace bilingui.*

33. somnia vera: Moschus 2. 5; Ov. Her. 19. 196. **34. in silvam . . . ligna**: γλαῦκ' ἐς Ἀθήνας (an owl to Athens, whose patron goddess was γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη): ἰχθῦς εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον (from whence half the world was

supplied with fish): 'Coals to Newcastle' are parallel proverbs. **ac si**, 'than if.' **36. turgidus**, 'bombastic,' = οἰδῶν Arist. Ran. 940. **Alpinus**: so Horace nicknames M. Furius Bibaculus of Cremona. He had written a poem on Caesar's Gallic wars, in which occurred the bombastic line *Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuit Alpes* (see 2. 5. 41): hence his nickname *Alpinus* here. He had also composed an *Aethiopis*, perhaps translated from Arctinus, in which he introduced the slaying of Memnon by Achilles. **iugulat**, 'cuts the throat of,' 'murders,' refers both to Achilles and to the bad poetry of Bibaculus.

37. defingit, 'botches,' 'disfigures'; for this bad sense of *de* cf. *deformare*, *describo* Ep. 2. 1. 154 n. **luteum**: the epithet 'muddy' may have been introduced by Bibaculus himself, and been laughed at as out of place in an epic. **caput**, either the source, as often, or the mouth, as Caes. B. G 4. 10; Livy 33. 41; or, more probably, the head of the Rhine, described as personified in the poem of Bibaculus (as rivers were personified in triumphal processions: Pers. 6. 47; Prop. 2. 1. 31; Ov. A. A. 1. 223). **38. aede**: *in aede Musarum ubi poetae carmina sua recitabant*: Porph. This is very vague. Horace probably means a temple, where dramatists, who were seeking the privilege of having their plays acted, rehearsed them before Tarpa. **iudice Tarpa**: Sp. Maecius Tarpa was a public licenser of plays. He had been appointed to discharge this duty by Pompey in 55 B.C. Cic. ad Fam. 7. 1. 1 *nobis autem erant ea perpetienda quae Sp. Maecius probavisset.*

40. arguta, 'tricky,' 'sly': cf. *calo argutus* Ep. 1. 14. 42. Davus is the accepted type of a clever slave (*e.g.* in the Andria of Terence) and Chremes (cf. A. P. 94 n.) of an old man. Fundanius is only known from this passage and 2. 8. 19. **41. comis**, nominative; not, as many = *comes*. *comis* is always of persons, or of personal qualities. **garrire**, of the *sermo quotidianus* of comedy: 'write chatty plays,' cf. below **canit** of tragedy, **ducit** of epic poetry. **42. Pollio**, one of the most remarkable figures of the age—soldier, orator, tragedian, historian; see Od. 2. 1. 9 seq. **43. pede ter percusso**, *i.e.* in Iambic trimeter verse, in which the ictus occurs thrice. *pede* is here 'metre,' and does not refer to the beat of a musician's foot accompanying the metre, as it is taken by Orelli: translate, 'in metre thrice accented.' **44. ut nemo**: ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος. **Varius**: see on 1. 5. 40. Varius was considered as the epic poet of Rome until Virgil eclipsed him. **ducit**, 'draws out'; the metaphor is from spinning, and *deducere* is more common, cf. Ep. 2. 1. 225 n. **molle atque facetum**, 'tenderness and grace.' Quintil. 6. 3. 19, struck by this attribution of *facetum* to Virgil, says: *facetum quoque non tantum circa ridicula opinor consistere. neque enim diceret Horatius facetum carminis genus natura concessum esse Virgilio. decoris hanc magis et excultae cuiusdam elegantiae appellationem puto.* The reference is to the Eclogues which were published B.C. 37, and Sellar (p. 165) explains the two adjectives as denoting '(1) the yielding susceptibility to outward influences and (2) the vivacity which gives them back in graceful forms.' Palmer takes *facetum* of 'humour' or 'gaiety,' and refers to Virgil's early writings, *e.g.* the *Copa* and *Culex*; see his note. **45. adnuĕrunt**: so *vertĕrunt* Epod. 9. 17; *dedĕrunt* Ep. 1. 4. 7. **rure** points clearly to the Bucolics.

46. erat: satire was the only branch of literature left for one to take up. P. Terentius **Varro**, surnamed **Atacinus**, from Atax, a *vicus* or town, as well as a river of Gallia Narbonensis, was about seventeen years senior to Horace, 82-37 B.C., not to be confounded with his namesake, the famous polymath M.

Terentius Varro Reatinus, among whose numerous writings were the so-called Menippean Satires, a medley of verse and prose. **48. inventore**: Lucilius 2. 1. 63. **51. tollenda,** 'to be done away with,' cf. 1. 4. 11.

52. doctus, *i.e.* does not your learning lead you to criticise mighty Homer? **53. comis,** 'without acerbity'; perhaps ironical, for Lucilius was noted for his sarcastic attacks on preceding poets; Gell. 17. 21. 49 *clariorque tunc in poematis eorum* (*i.e.* of Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius, etc.) *obtrectandis Lucilius fuit.* **mutat,** 'alter,' 'propose to emend,' 'censure.' **Acci**: Accius, the famous tragedian, born 170 B.C. (*altus senex* Ep. 2. 1. 56). **54. ridet**: as for example at the line of Ennius *at tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit* (Serv. on Aen. 9. 503), and at his *sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret*, where Lucilius sarcastically proposed *horret et alget* (Servius on Aen. 11. 602). **gravitate minores,** 'in dignity inferior' to the demands of epic poetry. **55. cum de se loquitur,** 'without speaking of himself as superior to those whom he has criticised.' The sense is—'Does he not criticise Ennius and Accius without claiming to be their superior, just as I make no such claims when criticising him?' Palmer, with Heindorf, takes **non**=*nonne* (and parallel to *nil, non* above) 'when he speaks of himself is it not as greater than . . . ?'

57. illĭus, only here in Horace: *illīus*, eleven times. **rerum,** 'his subjects.' **58. factos,** 'highly wrought'; Cic. de Or. 3. 48. 184 *oratio polita et facta quodam modo.* **59. ac si,** 'than if.' The construction is: *ac si quis contentus hoc* (ablat.) *tantum, pedibus quid claudere senis, amet*, etc., 'than if any one content with this alone, namely, confining his subject in hexameter verses, were to choose,' etc. **claudere**: 2. 1. 28. **62. Cassius Etruscus,** of whom we know nothing beyond this passage, wrote so much bad poetry, that it was said his manuscripts and their cases served for fuel for his funeral pile. He must not be confounded with Cassius Parmensis of Ep. 1. 4. 3, who was alive much later: he may have been a relative of his. **64. ambustum** generally='scorched,' is here=*combustum*, cf. Od. 4. 11. 25; Tac. Hist. 5. 12 *magna vis frumenti ambusta.*

64. fuerit, 'grant that Lucilius was pleasant and witty.' **65. limatior,** 'more polished.' **66. quam rudis . . . auctor,** 'than an inventor of a new branch of poetry unattempted by the Greeks (might be expected to be).' *auctor* can only be Lucilius himself, who is called the *inventor* of Satire line 48 (cf. 2. 1. 63). Many, however (*e.g.* Orelli[4], Kiessling), considering that Lucilius cannot be compared with himself, take *auctor* to refer to Ennius or to someone unknown to Horace whom he regards as the author of satire. In that case Lucilius can only be spoken of in line 48 as the 'inventor' of 'satire' in a special sense, which excludes the loose 'medleys' (*saturae*) of Ennius and other poets. **rudis** is 'new,' 'unworked,' as *rudis terra*, 'virgin soil,' Varr. R. R. 1. 27. 2; *rudem Amphitriten*, the ocean as yet unsailed on, Catull. 64. 11. **Graecis intacti**: Quintil. 10. 1. 93 *satira quidem tota nostra est.* **67. ille,** Lucilius. **68. dilatus,** 'if his life had been postponed.' Most MSS. have *dilapsus*, which should mean 'falling in pieces.' **69. detereret**: sc. *lima*, 'would file off many asperities.' **70. traheretur,** 'trailed.' **71. scabo,** which smacks of the vernacular, is twice quoted from Lucilius, 296 (pluperf. *scăberat*), and 800 (*caput scabit*). **vivos,** 'to the quick' proleptic, cf. Pers. 1. 106 *nec pluteum caedit nec demorsos sapit ungues.*

72. stilum vertas, the reverse end of the *stilus* was flat for the purpose of smoothing the wax on the tablet, and obliterating what had been written; cf. Cic. de Or. 2. 23. 96 *luxuries* (*orationis*) *stilo depascenda est.* **saepĕ,**

before **stilum**: see 3. 44 for a short vowel before *st* in the second foot of a dactyl; in the third foot see 2. 3. 43; 3. 296. So also before *sc* 1. 5. 35; 2. 2. 36. **74. paucis lectoribus**: cf. Milton, Par. L. 7. 30: 'Still govern thou my song, | Urania, and fit audience find though few.' **75. vilibus in ludis**: Horace prophesied this fate for his books, Ep. 1. 20. 17; and this was his fate: cf. Juv. 7. 226 *quot stabant pueri cum totus decolor esset* | *Flaccus, et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.*

76. equitem, 'the stalls': the knights occupied the first 14 rows in the theatre next to the orchestra, which was occupied by the senators according to the law of Roscius Otho 67 B.C., Juv. 3. 159 *sic libitum vano qui nos distinxit Othoni.* **77. Arbuscula**: a *mima*, or actress, famous about twenty years before this satire was written; Cic. ad Att. 4. 15. 6 *quaeris nunc de Arbuscula: valde placuit.* She was hissed (*explosa*) apparently by the groundlings of the pit on one occasion. **78. Pantilius**: the name is found in inscriptions. Horace, however, evidently selects it here because it seems to suggest the derivation he assigns to it. For, as he compares the man to a bug, he evidently connects *Pantilius* with πᾶν . . . τίλλειν. Who was the person intended is unknown. **79. Demetrius**, line 18 n. **80. Fannius** (Quadratus), 1. 4. 21. **81. Plotius** (Tucca), 1. 5. 40. **82. C. Valgius** Rufus (probably consul in 12 B.C.) was a poet-friend of Horace; *amice Valgi* Od. 2. 9. 5. **Octavius**, not Octavian, whom Horace always calls either Caesar, or, later, Augustus, but probably the poet and historian, whose death is referred to, Virg. Catal. 14 *scripta quidem tua nos multum mirabimur et te* | *raptum et Romanam flebimus historiam.*

84. ambitione relegata, 'without flattery': *repudiata assentatione*, Schol. Cruq. It might look like adulation to say he only cared for their good opinion. One of the commonest meanings of *ambitio* is a desire to please by paying compliments: cf. Cic. ad Att. 15. 1 *b*. 2 *Brutus noster misit ad me orationem suam . . . petivitque a me ut eam ne ambitiose corrigerem.* **85. fratre**, Pedius Poplicola, cf. line 28. **86. Bibule**: probably L. Calpurnius Bibulus, who may have been a fellow-student with Horace at Athens, and a comrade in military service; for he went to Athens in 45 B.C., and afterwards joined Brutus, who was his step-father. **Servi**, voc. sing., perhaps Servius Sulpicius Rufus the younger, praised by Cicero ad Fam. 4. 3; 4. 5; 13. 27. **candide**, 'open-hearted,' opposite of *niger*. **Furnius**, probably the C. Furnius, distinguished as an orator, who is mentioned by Plutarch, Ant. 58, as δεινότατος εἰπεῖν Ῥωμαίων. **91. discipularum**, 'your lady pupils,' to whom Demetrius and Tigellius gave music and singing lessons. **cathedrae** are properly comfortable chairs for ladies: cf. Juv. 6. 91; Mart. 3. 63. 7 *femineas . . . cathedras.* **iubeo plorare**: κλάειν κελεύω, οἰμώζειν λέγω. **92.** Addressed to an amanuensis. **haec**: this satire, which Horace orders to be added to the preceding, cf. Prop. 3. 23. 23, where, after penning a sort of poetical advertisement respecting his lost tablets, he adds: *i puer, et citus haec aliqua propone columna.*

BOOK II

SATIRE I

Horace's Mission as a Satirist. DATE:—about 30 B.C.

This Satire forms a sort of general apologetic preface to Book II, and though prefixed to that collection, was perhaps the last composed. Horace

found that his Satires had made him unpopular, as we have seen before (1. 4). He had probably been advised to abandon them, and to take to some other branch of poetry; and this poem may be regarded as an answer to those who advised him so. Keeping to the dramatic form, which he has cultivated all through the second book, he represented himself as consulting the famous jurist C. Trebatius Testa on the point. This wiseacre at first advises him to give up writing, line 5; then to compose an epic poem in honour of Augustus, 11; or at any rate a eulogium on his virtues, 16; Satire makes enemies, 23. To this Horace replies that he cannot rest from writing, 7; that epic poetry is beyond him, 13; that Caesar is a dangerous theme for a man to handle, 20, and that it is his bent to be a satirist, 25-56. Lucilius did not lose the friendship of his great patrons Scipio and Laelius by castigating the vices of the day; and Horace follows in his steps, not only as a satirist, but as the welcome friend of great men, 62-79. To Trebatius's warning to beware of the penalties to which lampoons are subject he replies with a joke, 80-86. As regards the date, it is clear from the beginning that Horace had not yet done much in lyric poetry; so the date could not have been much after 30. On the other hand the direct and marked praises of Octavian (*invicti* line 11) shows that the poem was written after his power had received its final confirmation, *i.e.* after Actium.

1. **satura**: not used in Book I; in Book II here and 2. 6. 17. 2. **legem**: like *operis lex* A. P. 135; cf. line 63 *operis morem*. **sine nervis**: cf. *delumbe* Pers. 1. 104, 'nerveless stuff.' 4. **deduci**, 'turned out'; but the metaphor is from spinning, cf. Ep. 2. 1. 225 n. **Trebati**: C. Trebatius Testa was a famous jurisconsult, formerly a friend of Cicero's. Seventeen of the letters of the 7th book ad Fam. are addressed to him, and the 5th of that book is a letter introducing him to Caesar, in Gaul. In this letter (about B.C. 55) Cicero speaks highly of his character and also says that he was the greatest lawyer of the day (*familiam ducit in iure civili*) while freely chaffing him as a good-natured old fellow. 5. **praescribe**: very generally used of advice given by any person in authority. **quiescas**, i.e. *praescribo ut quiescas*: 'be still.' **ne faciam**, i.e. (*praescribis*) *ne faciam*; cf. Cic. ad Att. 16. 3. 6 *quum ei praescriptum esset, ne quid sine Sestii nostri sententia ageret.*

6. **peream male** = κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην. **si . . . erat**, 'if it would not have been best.' The imperfect implies that Horace sees difficulties in the way of following the advice of Trebatius, as it denotes that he has not hitherto acted as he suggests. For this imperfect of neglected duty cf. Ov. Her. 1. 112 *in patrias artes erudiendus erat*; and perhaps Od. 1. 37. 4 *tempus erat*. So *poteras* line 16. 7. **verum . . . dormire**: of course the excuse is pure invention (cf. 2. 3. 3 *somni benignus*). He sleeps badly, he says, and finds making verses a sedative. Trebatius takes him seriously and prescribes hard exercise. **ter** with *transnanto*: the objection that if a man swam thrice across a river he would find himself on the far side from his clothes did not occur to Trebatius. For **ter**, which was a favourite number with physicians and witches, cf. Od. 1. 28. 36; 3. 22. 3; Ep. 1. 1. 37; Juv. 6. 523. So in all modern fairy tales and legends, the third time is the charm. The forms **transnanto, habento**, are used by Trebatius as having a legal sound, such forms being always used in statutes. **transnanto**: Trebatius was himself very fond of swimming, as we learn from Cicero ad Fam. 7. 10. 2, where he thus writes to Trebatius joking him on his unwillingness to face the British campaign: *qui neque in Oceano natare volueris studiosissimus homo natandi.*

9. inriguumque mero: to go to bed βεβρεγμένον, 'soaked' with wine, seems really to have been believed by the Romans to be a cure for sleeplessness; Prop. 3. 17. 13 *quod si, Bacche, tuis per fervida tempora donis* | *arcessitus erit somnus in ossa mea.* Trebatius himself, like many lawyers, was fond of wine, cf. Cic. ad Fam. 7. 22. Trebatius and Cicero were supping together, and Trebatius made fun of Cicero over their cups for ignorance on a certain legal point (*illuseras heri inter scyphos*). Cicero looked up the authorities when he went home *etsi bene potus seroque;* and finding he was right, sent Trebatius a note next day to tell him so.

10. **rapit**, 'hurries you along,' with an irresistible impulse. 11. **Caesaris**: he did not take the title of Augustus until 27 B.C. **res**: sc. *gestas*, martial exploits. 12. **praemia**: the approbation of Caesar and the applause of men, according to Orelli, but Trebatius certainly had also more substantial *praemia* in his mind. **pater**: a title of respect and familiarity; cf. Ep. 1. 6. 54. Old Trebatius was about twice Horace's age, and calls him *puer* line 60. 13. **horrentia pilis agmina**: the Roman legions whose special weapon was the *pilum.* They are contrasted with **fracta . . . Gallos**, 'the Gauls perishing with broken lance': cf. a similar contrast in Byron, Childe Harold 2. 90 'The flying Mede, his shaftless, broken bow; | The fiery Greek, his red pursuing spear.' *cuspis* is explained by Orelli and others of the *Roman* javelins, reference being made to a plan devised by Marius by which the head was partly broken off the shaft after striking its mark, so that it could not be hurled back by the enemy, Plutarch, Marius c. 23; but such a recondite reference is out of place in these brilliant and vivid lines. 14. **Gallos**: Octavian had carried on various wars against Gallic tribes since 40 B.C.; Agrippa defeated the Aquitani in 38; M. Valerius Messalla triumphed over the Gauls after the Battle of Actium. 15. **labentis** with simple abl., as *lapsum temone* Virg. Aen. 12. 470. **describit** and *describat* are both excellent readings, equally supported by MSS. For the indicative cf. A. P. 263; Ep. 1. 17. 36. On the other hand, Horace is fond of the potential with negatives: 1. 4. 70, 71; 6. 89. **Parthi**: cf. Od. 1. 19. 11 n.

16. **poteras**: like *erat* line 7, 'you might have': if you could not tell of his exploits you might have described his virtues. 17. **Scipiadam**: an irregular patronymic used by Lucilius, Lucretius, and Virgil, for *Scīpionem*, which could not be brought into a hexameter. A true patronymic would be *Scipionides.* The Scipio was Scipio Africanus the younger. **sapiens** is 'knowing,' 'worldly wise'; see on 1. 1. 38 (*sapiens formica*). Horace hints that Lucilius showed his *savoir faire* in selecting a theme which would repay him. 18. **cum res ipsa feret**, 'when circumstances of themselves shall prompt,' 'when opportunity shall permit': cf. Cic. ad Fam. 10. 21. 6 *si occasio tulerit;* Virg. Aen. 2. 34. 20. **si palpere, recalcitrat**: the indicative present, unexpectedly following a subjunctive, perhaps describes the suddenness and unexpectedness of a horse's kick.

22. Cf. 1. 8. 11. 24. **quid faciam**, 'how can I help it,' *excusandi formula.* I must follow my bent, says Horace, like Milonius and others; Pers. 1. 12 *quid faciam? sed sum petulanti splene cachinno.* **Milonius**: unknown. **ut semel**, 'as soon as ever,' stronger than *simul ac.* **icto**: cf. Plaut. Cas. 3. 5. 16 *haec meraclo se uspiam percussit flore Liberi;* Tib. 1. 2. 3 *multo percussum tempora Baccho.* 25. **numerusque lucernis**: 'drunken men see double'; cf. Juv. 6. 304 *vertigine tectum* | *ambulat et geminis*

exsurgit mensa lucernis; Ov. A. A. 3. 764. Pentheus under the influence of Bacchus sees two suns and a double Thebes, Eur. Bacch. 918. **26.** Even twins like Castor and Pollux follow divers pursuits: Il. 3. 237 Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πὺξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα. **27.** Pers. 5. 52 *mille hominum species et rerum discolor usus;* | *velle suum cuique est, nec voto vivitur uno;* Ter. Phorm. 2. 4. 14 *quot homines tot sententiae.* **29. nostrum melioris utroque:** a great compliment to Lucilius; not only his poetical faculty but his high social position is referred to: cf. line 75.

30. sodalibus: so Southey of his Books: 'My never-failing friends are they, | With whom I converse day by day.' **31. cesserat**=*evenerat,* 'if matters had gone ill with him.' *cedit* is sometimes impersonal like *procedit,* especially with *bene, male,* etc., cf. Ov. Met. 10. 80 *seu quod male cesserat illi.* **33. votiva . . . tabella:** sailors saved from shipwreck often hung pictures of the storm in a temple; cf. Od. 1. 5. 14; Cic. Nat. Deor. 3. 37. 89; Juv. 12. 26 *pars dira quidem, sed cognita multis,* | *et quam votiva testantur fana tabella* | *plurima: pictores quis nescit ab Iside pasci?* **34. senis:** probably literally and not because Lucilius belonged to ancient times (cf. 1. 10. 67 *poetarum seniorum*). Jerome, in the chronicle of Eusebius, says that he died in 103 B.C. aged 46, but Haupt and L. Müller show that he was born in 180 B.C., Jerome confusing the consuls of that year, A. Postumius and C. Calpurnius, with Sp. Postumius and L. Calpurnius who were consuls in 148 B.C.

34. anceps: masc., cf. Liv. 31.12 *incertus infans natus masculus an femina esset, not* 'I am uncertain,' *but* 'a man about whom men may be uncertain,' etc. Some take *anceps* as neuter, like Liv. 31. 41 *clauserant portas, incertum vi an voluntate.* But *anceps est* is not used impersonally, like *incertum* and *dubium.* **35. sub,** 'close to,' 'up to.' Venusia was colonised 291 B.C. **36. ad hoc . . . quo ne . . .** 'for this purpose . . . that thereby (*quo*=*ut eo*) the foe might not . . .' Palmer objects to this use of *quo ne* as unparalleled, and renders 'To the intent that the foe might not break in on Roman territory through a space unguarded by him,' *i.e.* by the Venusian *colonus,* joining *quo vacuum* together; cf. Ov. Met. 7. 653 *vacuos cultoribus agros.* **37. Romano:** collective for *Romanis,* as Epod. 7. 6; cf. *Venusinus* line 35. **38. quod**=*aliquod,* agreeing with *bellum.* **39. incuteret,** 'threatened'; *incutere* regularly joined with *metum, formidinem,* etc., the metaphor being taken from shaking a whip at a person. **stilus:** there is an allusion to the double sense of *stilus*—(1) a dagger, (2) a pen. Cic. Phil. 2. 14. 34 *et si meus stilus ille fuisset, ut dicitur, . . . non solum unum actum sed totam fabulam confecissem;* Cic. Cluent. 44. 123. **ultro,** 'unprovoked'; cf. 2. 7. 40; Od. 4. 4. 51 n. **42. tutus,** 'so long as I am unassailed,' like *sanum* 1. 6. 89.

43. Iuppiter, ut pereat . . . telum: both in form and sentiment directly imitated from Catullus 66. 48 *Iuppiter ut Chalybon* (nation of steel-workers) *omne genus pereat,* who there translates Callimachus Ζεῦ πάτερ, ὡς Χαλύβων πᾶν ἀπόλοιτο γένος. **ut**=*utinam.* **positum,** 'laid aside,' disused. **45. melius non tangere, clamo:** parenthetical. 'Let sleeping dogs lie' is my advice. **46. flebit,** οἰμώξεται, κλαύσεται. **cantabitur,** *i.e.* his name shall be bandied from mouth to mouth, as men repeat my satire on him; cf. Aesch. Sept. c. T. 7 ὑμνοῖθ' ὑπ' ἀστῶν φροιμίοις πολυρρόθοις.

47. Cervius, an informer (*quadruplator*), or *rabula,* i.e. a low *causidicus,* given to dragging people into court. **urnam:** the judge's urn, in which the voting tablets were put. **48. Canidia,** Epod. 5 Intr. **Albuci** goes with **venenum.** Porph. tells us that Albucius took off his wife by poison. It

seems, however, to weaken Horace's words to make him kill two birds with one stone, making out that two poisoners are mentioned; and more probably he hints that Canidia or some one else had poisoned Albucius. Acron's interpretation that *filia* or *uxor* is understood is most unlikely. **49. Turius:** evidently a corrupt judge, who threatened *grande malum*, severe punishment or heavy damages, to those of his enemies who might come into his court. **50. ut . . . terreat**, 'how every one menaces the objects of his dislike (*suspectos*) with that in which his strength lies.' **51. collige**, 'gather,' 'infer.' **52. intus**, 'from within,' 'by instinct.' *intus*, in this sense of 'from within,' probably belonged to the *sermo quotidianus*, as it is chiefly found in Plautus and Terence; its general meaning is rest within; *intus ire* for *intro ire* is unclassical. **53. Scaevae:** a prodigal, who, we may judge from the text, poisoned his mother. **vivacem:** for the sentiment, cf. Juv. 14. 250 *iam torquet iuvenem longa et cervina senectus.* **54. pia**, 'filial,' 'dutiful,' ironical; he would not cut her throat, or strangle her, being a poisoner by nature, not a cut-throat. **mirum . . . bos:** ironical and parenthetical = (it's a wonder, how that the wolf does not kick, nor the ox bite!) For *mirum ut* cf. Od. 3. 4. 13 *mirum quod foret omnibus . . . ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis | dormirem;* Tac. Hist. 1. 79 *mirum dictu ut sit omnis Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipsos.* Generally in Plautus and Terence the ironical phrase is *mirum ni* or *mirum quin.* **56. vitiato**, 'drugged.' **melle:** here = *mulsum*, 'mead,' a drink generally made with wine and honey.

58. circumvolat, 'is at this moment hovering round my head.' A heroic line, cf. Virg. Aen. 5. 866. **60. scribam:** for an equally strong hyperbaton used to emphasise the word, cf. 2. 3. 211 *Aiax inmeritos cum occidit desipit, agnos.* **color**, 'complexion'; cf. Ep. 1. 17. 23 *omnis Aristippum decuit color et status et res.* **ut sis**, 'I fear you won't be long-lived'; Hom. Il. 18. 95 ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι οἷ' ἀγορεύεις. **61. maiorum**, i.e. *potentiorum*, 'from among the great'; Epod. 2. 8. Maecenas or Augustus is referred to. **62. frigore te feriat**, 'strike you with a deadly chill.' *frigus* is used metaphorically of the coldness of his patrons. Cf. Sen. Ep. 122. 11 *Montanus Iulius . . . et amicitia Tiberii notus et frigore;* Pers. 1. 108 *vide sis ne maiorum tibi forte | limina frigescant.*

64. pellem, 1. 6. 22. Cf. Ep. 1. 16. 45. **nitidus**, 'bedight.' **per ora**, 'before the faces of men,' a common phrase; cf. Sall. Jug. 31. 10 *incedunt per ora vestra magnifici;* Ennius's Epitaph *nemo me lacrimis decoret, neque funera fletu | faxit. cur? volito vivus per ora virum.* **65. cederet**, 'moved,' 'stalked,' which meaning belongs usually to *incedere*; but *cedere* in this sense probably belonged to the *sermo quotidianus*, cf. Plaut. Cas. 2. 8. 10 *at candidatus cedit hic mastigia;* Pseud. 1. 3. 74; 4. 1. 45. C. **Laelius**, surnamed *Sapiens*, consul 140 B.C., the intimate friend of Scipio Africanus the younger, one of the patrons of Terence, and the chief interlocutor in Cicero's dialogue *de Amicitia.* **aut:** Bentley preferred *et*, arguing that the disjunctive *aut* would demand *offensus doluit*; but cf. Cic. de Off. 1. 41. 148 *nec quemquam hoc errore duci oportet, ut, si quid Socrates aut Aristippus . . . fecerint*, where Holden says '*aut* loses its disjunctive force in a negative clause.' **66. duxit . . .** Cf. Od. 4. 8. 18 n. **67. ingenio**, 'by his wit.' Q. Caecilius **Metellus** Macedonicus triumphed over the usurper Andriscus in 146 B.C. He was a bitter enemy of Africanus, but he was greatly moved by the sudden death or murder of the latter, and said to his sons: *ite filii, celebrate exsequias, numquam civis maioris funus videbitis* Plin.

H. N. 7. 44. 144. **68. famosis**, 'libellous'; cf. Ep. 1. 19. 31 n. **Lupo**: L. Cornelius Lentulus Lupus, consul 156 B.C. Lucilius attacked him fiercely; cf. Pers. 1. 114 *secuit Lucilius urbem,* | *te, Lupe, te, Muci, et genuinum fregit in illis.* **cooperto**, 'overwhelmed with,' as with a volley of stones or javelins. **atqui** still belongs to Horace; 'and yet' he was unsparing in his satire. **69. tributim**: properly 'tribe by tribe,' *i.e.* he made no distinctions; cf. *vicatim* Epod. 5. 97.

71. a vulgo et scaena, 'from the throng and theatre of public life.' For *scaena* in this metaphorical sense, cf. Cic. Lael. 26. 67 *in scaena, id est, in concione.* **72. virtus Scipiadae . . . sapientia Laeli**: cf. Od. 3. 21. 11 *Catonis . . . virtus;* Juv. 4. 81 *Crispi iucunda senectus.* **mitis**: Laelius was always regarded as the personification of 'mild,' or 'mellow' wisdom. Sen. Ep. 11 fin. contrasts him with the strict Cato as *remissioris animi virum.* **73. nugari**, 'fool'; like *dulce est desipere in loco* Od. 4. 12. 28. Cicero tells us (de Or. 2. 6. 22) how Laelius and Scipio used to become boys again (*repuerascere*), when they had scampered off to the country from town, as if from bondage, how they picked shells on the shore, and stooped to every method of relaxing the mind: *ad omnem animi remissionem ludumque descendere.* **discincti**, lit. 'ungirt,' without the *cingulum* or *zona*: here metaphorically 'without restraint.' **donec . . . holus**, 'till the cabbage was boiled': *coquere* often = 'to boil,' as 2. 8. 48; so the German *kochen*. Whenever the Roman poets wished to sing the praises of a frugal diet, vegetables are the fare, *e.g.* Ep. 1. 5. 2. **75. censum**, 'fortune,' 'rank.' Lucilius was an *eques*, granduncle of Pompey the Great. **76. cum magnis**: so Ep. 1. 20. 23 *me primis urbis belli placuisse domique.* **78. offendet solido**: the metaphor is probably from unexpectedly coming on a grit in a piece of bread.

79. hinc, 'in what you have said.' **diffingere**, 'alter,' 'improve upon'; cf. the use of the word Od. 1. 35. 39; 3. 29. 47. MS. authority is equally good for *diffindere*, which is explained 'break off from'; cf. 2. 2. 127 *quantum hinc inminuet*, but this sense of the word (which = 'split open') is unexampled. **80. ut**, 'in order that,' belongs to *caveas*, not to *monitus*: after **legum**, in line 81, understand 'let me remind you of this,' *hoc scito.* So 2. 2. 112; Ep. 1. 1. 13; Cic. de N. D. 1. 7. 17 *sed ut hic qui intervenit me intuens inquit ne ignoret quae res agatur: de natura agebamus deorum.* **82. mala**: Horace plays on the double meaning of the word. In Trebatius' mouth it meant 'libellous': Horace uses it as simply 'bad,' *i.e.* poor poetry; perhaps 'scandalous verse' would preserve both meanings. **condiderit** was the very word used in the XII Tables. Cic. de Rep. 4. 10. 12 *nostrae XII tabulae cum perpaucas res capite sanxissent in his hanc quoque sanciendam putaverunt si quis occentavisset sive carmen condidisset, quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri.* For *condiderīt*, cf. 1. 5. 90 n. **84.** There is no necessity to take **Caesare** with *laudatus. iudice Caesare* may be abl. abs., as Orelli takes it. See Od. 1. 6. 1 n. **85.** Horace three times uses **latrare** for *allatrare* 'to bay at,' Epod. 5. 58; Ep. 1. 2. 66. So ὑλακτεῖν takes an accusative. **integer ipse** is not a new question, but 'while he himself is whole,' *i.e.* pure from vice; cf. Od. 1. 22. 1. **86. solventur risu tabulae**, 'the indictment will be laughed out of court.' *tabulae* is not elsewhere used for an indictment: but it is a word of very general use, and here would naturally denote the *tabulae ceratae* on which the indictment was written, at any rate in early times: cf. Aristoph. Nub. 770, where Strepsiades proposes to get a burning-glass to melt the letters out of

his summons (τὰ γράμματ' ἐκτήξαιμι τῆς ἐμῆς δίκης); and in *tabulae solventur* we probably have the words of a well-known legal formula, though only found here. Cf. Quint. 5. 10. 67 *cum risu tota res solvitur;* Cic. de Or. 2. 58. 236 *odiosas res saepe quas argumentis dilui non facile est ioco risuque dissolvit.* Others, as Schütz, understand, 'the very statutes themselves will melt with laughter,' *tabulae* being those of the XII Tables which prescribed penalties for libellous writing. Orelli took *tabulae* to mean the votes of the *iudices*, which he says *leniores fient risu*; but the voting tablets of the *iudices* are always *tabellae*, never *tabulae.*

SATIRE II

A Simple Diet. DATE (?) 33 B.C.

An essay on the advantages of simple fare. Horace says he learned the substance, or perhaps the very words of his discourse, from one Ofellus, a farmer of the old style, whose land had been taken from him, and assigned by Octavian to one of his veterans, named Umbrēnus (lines 114, 133). Ofellus probably was a neighbour of Horace, near Venusia, which, we are told by Appian (Bell. Civ. 4. 3) was one of the towns whose lands were taken for the reward of the soldiers after the battle of Philippi, 42 B.C.

1. **virtus**: worth, value, advantage. **boni**: voc., ὠγαθοί, 'sirs.' **parvo**, 'on a little,' an abl. of the means. 'Man wants but little' is the idea. Cf. Od. 2. 16. 13; Tibull. 1. 1. 25 *possim contentus vivere parvo;* Ep. 2. 1. 139 *agricolae prisci, fortes parvoque beati*, a class of whom Ofellus was a type. 2. **nec meus . . .** Cf. Eur. fr. Melanippe οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα, a phrase which had become proverbial for putting your own words in some one else's mouth: Plat. Symp. 177 A; Apol. 20 E. **quae**, 'the words which.' Probably Ofellus is the speaker all through down to line 112. 3. **abnormis sapiens**, 'an unschooled philosopher'; lit. 'not bound by the rules of any sect': many MSS. give *abnormi.* **crassaque Minerva**, 'of home-spun mother-wit' (Beare). **Minerva**, as the goddess of learning, is often put for a person's intelligence, stock of brains. But she was also patroness of spinning and weaving; and *Minerva* is sometimes used for spinning or weaving: cf. Virg. Aen. 8. 409 *tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva.* Both ideas seem to be combined in *crassa Minerva.* Similar phrases are *invita Minerva* A.P. 385; *pingui Minerva* Cic. Lael. 5. 19. 5. **stupet acies**, 'the eye is dazed'; see 1. 6. 17. **insanis**, 'extravagant,' used of things carried beyond proper bounds, as the *insanae substructiones*, 'outbuildings,' of Clodius, Cic. Mil. 20. 53. 6. **adclinis**, 'prone to'; generally in its literal sense 'leaning against,' Virg. Aen. 10. 835 *arboris adclinis trunco. adclinare* is used metaphorically by Livy, 4. 48. 7. **hic**: the scene is uncertain. Orelli says *in familiari nostro circulo*, i.e. Horace's own circle at Rome; but it is much better to understand *hic* to refer to some spot in Ofellus' farm, where rural simplicity offered a strong contrast to the splendours of the city. **inpransi**, 'fasting.' **hoc** refers to *inpransi.*

9. **corruptus**, 'bribed.' The judge in this case would have his judgment warped by the enjoyment of his food, if not *inpransus.* **sectatus**, past part., 'after tracking a hare.' 10. **lassus ab**, 'tired after riding an unbroken steed': cf. Ov. Her. 10. 138 *ab imbre graves. ab* with adjectives or intransitive verbs seems always to denote sequence or result rather than agency. **Romana militia**, 'Roman field-sports.' *militia* is used metaphorically of

severe manly exercises, especially hunting, which would seem regular hard service to the effeminate man of fashion. Cf. Ep. 1. 2. 67 *militat in silvis catulus.* We find another metaphorical use of *militia* when Cicero ad Att. 13. 22. 4 dreading the visit of certain parties, says: *a quibus sine te opprimi militia est*, i.e. it would be real hard campaigning to have to receive them. For manly Roman exercises contrasted with the effeminate sports of Greece, cf. Od. 3. 24. 53. **11. graecari**, lit. 'to live like the Greeks,' with a connotation of effeminacy: cf. *congraeco*, *pergraecor*; Plautus also has *graecissare.* **pila**: a Greek origin is assigned to the game of ball here; perhaps the *trigon* is especially referred to, 1. 6. 126. The game of ball, *σφαῖρα*, was common among the Greeks from early times. The first mention of it is in Homer, Od. 6. 100, where Nausicaa plays with her maidens. Herodotus 1. 94 tells us the Lydians invented it and all other games, save chess, to keep them from wishing for food during a famine. **12. austerum**, 'stern.' **studio**, instrumental abl., 'by its excitement.' **fallente**, 'baffling,' causing you to forget. Cf. 2. 7. 114 *somno fallere curam.* **13. discus** (δικεῖν, to throw), also of Greek origin, and often mentioned by Homer; cf. Od. 1. 8. 11. **agit**, 'occupies,' 'exercises.' There is a remarkable anacoluthon in the passage 9-16; *pete cedentem aera disco* being quite unexpectedly introduced; and not only so, but there is a similar clause, *lude pila*, to be supplied after *pila velox* (*te agit*): no wonder Lambinus says *totus hic locus videtur claudicare.* Kiessling makes *pete . . . disco* a parenthesis. **14. extuderit**, 'has hammered your daintiness out of you'; cf. Celsus 4. 4. 5 *frequens tussis sanguinem quoque extundit;* Phaedr. 1. 21. 9 *calcibus frontem extudit* (*asinus leoni*). **15. sperne**: *i.e.* if you can, a challenge. **nisi Hymettia**: refuse all but the very best mead, which, we are told by Macrobius, Sat. 7. 12, ought to be made, according to gourmets, of new Hymettian honey and old Falernian wine. Cf. 2. 4. 24.

16. foris est promus: the cellarer is out (and has the keys of the larder with him). **atrum**, black with tempest. **17. hiemat**, 'is stormy,' χειμάζεται: *hiemps* is often a tempest in poetry. The fishermen will not put out in a tempest, and the fish are safe. **cum sale panis**: often the fare of a poor man; 1. 3. 14. **18. latrantem**: cf. Lucr. 2. 17 *nil aliud sibi naturam latrare;* 2. 8. 5 *iratum ventrem.* **leniet**: so *placaverit* 2. 8. 5. **19. partum**, 'whence or how is this result obtained,' namely, that bread and salt will satisfy you. **caro nidore**, 'high-priced savours.'

20. pulmentarium, a lengthened form of *pulmentum*, which is a contraction for *pulpamentum* (though it is by others connected with *puls*, not *pulpa*), was the same as ὄψον, everything eaten with bread. The expression *pulmentaria quaere* is almost proverbial. The scholiasts tell us that Socrates, when asked why he was walking so long, replied ὄψον συνάγω. Cf. Plin. H. N. 31. 41 *sal pulmentarii vicem implet;* Cic. Tusc. 5. 32. 90 *pulpamentum fames.* **21. vitiis**, 'excesses'; cf. line 78. **album**, 'pale' with overfeeding; cf. Od. 2. 2. 15 *album corpus*, of a dropsical man; Pers. 3. 98 *turgidus hic epulis atque albo ventre lavatur.* **ostrea**, dissyllable: see 1. 8. 43. **22. scarus**, the most highly-prized fish among the Romans (Plin. H. N. 9. 17. 62; cf. Epod. 2. 50), chiefly found in the Carpathian sea. It has not been certainly identified. **lagois**: an unknown bird, perhaps grouse. **23. eripiam**=*prohibebo*, but stronger. **posito**, 'served up' at table, like *apponere.* **pavone**: Q. Hortensius, the orator, introduced the fashion of eating peacocks. **24. tergere**, 'to wipe,' 'tickle.' **25. vanis rerum**=

vanis rebus: cf. 2. 8. 83 *fictis rerum*; A. P. 49 *abdita rerum*, and see Ep. 1. 17. 21 n.; *rerum* is a partitive gen., but Propertius loses sight of this when he goes so far as to write *omnia rerum*, 3. 9. 7.

28. **nŭm adest**: a relic of the time when a syllable ending in *-m* was regarded as short, and as not cut off before a vowel, any more than a syllable ending in *-n*; cf. Lucr. 3. 1082 *sed dŭm abest quod avemus id exsuperare videtur;* Enn. Ann. 336, p. 51 (Vahlen) *insignita fere tum milia militŭm octo;* ibid. 486, p. 72 *dum quidĕm unus homo Romanus toga superescit;* Lucil. 19 (Lach.) *inritata canes quăm homo quod planius dicit.* 29. **carne tamen . . . petere**, 'nevertheless, though there is no difference in flesh, to think that you prefer the one (*illam*, the flesh of the peacock) to the other, taken in by disparity of outward appearance!' For the inf. of exclamation, cf. Epod. 8. 1 *rogare longo putidam te saeculo | vires quid enervet meas!* Porph. joined *esto* with *petere*, 'grant that you may prefer' (and so Kiessling, placing a colon after *esto*), and this explanation is also satisfactory, though Bentley objects that the concessive *esto* always begins a sentence, as Ep. 1. 1. 81 *esto aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri.* The reading *patet* found in some MSS. and *illa* found in many have caused much difficulty. Madvig suggests *carne tamen, quam vis, distat nihil hac magis illa. | inparibus formis deceptum te patet. esto . . .* taking *magis* (=μαγίς, cf. Pliny, H. N. 33. 11) as 'a dish,' *i.e.* in flesh however, not appearance, one dish does not differ from the other. High praise has been given to this suggestion, but the improbability of *magis* after an abl. having this strange meaning is immense. See Palmer. **quamvis distat**: for Horace's fondness for *quamvis* with ind. see Palmer.

30. **esto**, 'let that pass': concessive. Grant there is some reason why you should be taken in in the case of the peacock, what grounds have you for distinguishing between fishes? 31. **unde datum sentis**, 'where did you get your sense of perception': imitated by Pers. 5. 124 *unde datum hoc sumis?* **Tiberinus**, i.e. *Tiberinusne sit.* Lucilius calls the pike *Tiberinus catillo*, 'the lick-plate of the Tiber,' 1181 D *illum sumina ducebant atque altilium lanx | hunc pontes Tiberinus duo inter captus catillo*, and Macrobius, Sat. 3. 16, quotes from C. Titius, who lived in the time of Lucilius *lupum germanum qui inter duos pontes captus fuit.* What two bridges are meant in these passages is uncertain: but probably the expression means off the Insula Tiberina, which was commonly spoken of as *inter duos pontes.* 32. **hiet**, of the dead fish with its open mouth. **iactatus**: Columella, R. R. 8. 16. 4 *docta et erudita palata fastidire docuit (Marcius Philippus) fluvialem lupum nisi quem Tiberis adverso torrente defetigasset.* 33. **sub**, 'just outside': see on 2. 8. 43. **Tusci**, the Tiber, which rises in Etruria; Od. 3. 7. 28. **trilibrem mullum**: a mullet seldom exceeded 2 lbs., Plin. H. N. 9. 17. 64: a monster of 6 lbs. was bought by Crispinus for 6000 sesterces (£50); Juv. 4. 15; cf. Mart. 3. 45. 5; 10. 37. 7. 34. **quem . . . necesse est**: not mentioned as an advantage, or reason why the gourmet prefers a large mullet, but as an objection, as *necesse* shows. Horace says you may as well have small fish, for if you have a large one, you have to cut it into separate helps (*pulmenta*), which comes to the same thing as giving each person a whole small one.

35. **ducit**=*allicit*, 'attracts.' **species**, 'outward form,' as in the case of the peacock and the large mullet. 36. **proceros**, 'long': *proceris palmis* Cat. 64. 261. **quiă** before *scilicet*: see 1. 10. 72. 37. What is rare is prized: small pikes, large mullets. 38. **ieiunus raro** are to be closely joined.

39. **magno magnum**: the amplitude of the mullet is expressed in grand

epic language ; cf. Hom. Il. 16. 776 *κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί*. **40. Harpyiis gula digna**, a throat more fitting for such greedy monsters than for a man. **at vos** : *at* is properly a particle of transition, not necessarily of opposition. It is especially one of transition to an imprecation, as here, cf. Epod. 5. 1 n. **41. praesentes**, 'mighty' : *praesens* is regularly used of the present power of the gods ; cf. Od. 1. 35. 2 ; Juv. 3. 18 *quanto praesentius esset* | *numen aquae.* **coquite**, 'do ye be the cooks of,' *i.e.* 'taint.' **quamquam**, and yet what need is there for me to utter this prayer : for, to the sated appetite of the cloyed epicure, the freshest provisions are tainted already. **43. aegrum**, sick with over-feeding. **sollicitat stomachum**, 'makes the stomach turn' ; Cels. 1. Praef. *sollicitare stomachum vomitu.* **rapula**, some sort of radishes, 2. 8. 8. **44. acidas inulas**, 'tart elecampane' ; called *amaras* 2. 8. 51. The scholiasts say they are called *acidae* because dressed with vinegar.

45. pauperies, 'the poor man's fare.' **regum**, 'the rich,' 'the great.' **ovis**, 1. 3. 6 : the modern parallel would undoubtedly be potatoes, in the respect that they are served up alike to the peasant and the king. **46. haud ita** and *non ita* are nearly our own idiom : 'not so very' ; cf. 2. 6. 1 *modus agri non ita magnus.* **47.** Gallonius, the *praeco* or auctioneer, lived about eighty or a hundred years before this Satire was written. For him see Cic. de Fin. 2. 8. 24 who quotes from Lucilius, *o Publi o gurges Galloni, es homo miser, inquit.* | *cenasti in vita numquam bene, cum omnia in ista* | *consumis squilla atque acipensere cum decumano.* **48. infamis**, 'notorious,' because Gallonius was the first to serve up a sturgeon. He would not have been *infamis* in Horace's days, as the sturgeon had come to be held a luxury, Cic. Tusc. 3. 18. It had ceased to be so in Pliny's time : 9. 17. 60 *nullo in honore.* **rhombus**, the turbot ; or perhaps rather the skate, whose figure is really a rhomb ; the name of which figure is derived from the fish. Horace means, though there were just as many *rhombi* then as in his day, no one had ever set the fashion of eating them.

49. tuto nido, descriptive ablative. The young ones of the stork were safe. **50. auctor praetorius** : the man who first proposed the cooking and eating of young storks is variously called by the scholiasts *Plotius Plancus*, or *Rufus*, or *Sempronius Rufus*, or *Asellius*. He was a candidate for some office, and was defeated, hence the following epigram in scazons was written by him according to Porph. : *ciconiarum Rufus iste conditor,* | *hic est duobus elegantior Plancis :* | *suffragiorum puncta non tulit septem ;* | *ciconiarum populus ultus est mortem.* **51. mergos**, 'divers' ; Ov. Met. 11. 795 *aequor amat nomenque tenet quia mergitur illo.* **edixerit**, 'were to pronounce,' 'issue an edict,' as if he were praetor, like Plancus or Rufus. Cf. Ep. 1. 19. 10 *hoc simul edixi.* **52. pravi docilis** : for the gen. cf. Od. 1. 15. 24 n. For the sentiment, cf. Ep. 1. 19. 17 ; Juv. 14. 40 *quoniam dociles imitandis* | *turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus.* **Romana iuventus** : ironical, in reference to Ennius, *optima cum pulchris animis Romana iuventus.*

53. distabit : most MSS. have *distabat* which cannot stand, cf. *vitaveris.* For **Ofello iudice**, if Ofellus is still speaking, cf. Ov. Her. 4. 74 *pro rigido, Phaedra iudice, fortis erat*, where Phaedra is speaking, and Od. 1. 7. 27 *Teucro duce.* **55. pravum** : proleptic. **Avidienus**, a miser's name, probably connected by Horace, in spite of the long A, with *avidus*, as *Săgana* with *sāga*, 1. 8. 25. **56. Canis** : on account of his snarling temper : hence the Cynics got their name. **ex vero ductum**, 'based on fact' ; Plaut. Stich. 2. 1. 88 *nunc Miccotrogus nomine ex vero vocor ;* Ov. Fast. 2. 859 *ex vero*

positum permansit Equiria nomen. **ductum** is the reading of *vet. Bland.*, *dictum* of other MSS. **adhaeret**: we use the same figure when we talk of a nickname 'sticking.'

57. **quinquennes**: stale with keeping so long. 58. **nisi mutatum**, 'until it has turned'; been spoiled by keeping. **parcit**: used in prose also with inf., Livy 34. 32 *parce sis fidem ac iura societatis iactare;* but here in a stronger sense, 'is too sparing.' **defundere**: 'pour out'—into cups for drinking, or into the *cratera* for mixing; for *diffundere*, 'bottle,' which is in some MSS., cf. Ep. 1. 5. 4 n. 59. **olei**=*oleum*, attracted by *cuius* into its case, cf. Epod. 2. 37. **licebit**, 'although'=*licet*; cf. Ov. Met. 14. 355 *non tamen effugies vento rapiare licebit.* 60. **repotia**: marriage-feasts, held the day after the wedding at the house of the bridegroom, so-called, according to Festus, *quia quasi reficitur potatio.* **aliosve dierum**: like *vanis rerum* line 25. 61. **albatus**, in holiday attire, which was white, opp. *atratus*, in mourning: cf. Pers. 2. 40. **cornu**: the miser kept his oil in a common horn. **ipse**: he was too mean to trust a slave. **bilibri**: though it held the large quantity of two pounds, he brought it to table, being too economical to buy a neat flask for table use, or fearing some oil might be spilt in drawing it from the large horn. 62. **instillat**, 'pours drop by drop.' **veteris non parcus aceti**: probably, as Kiessling takes it, he is preparing a salad for which plenty of oil and only a little vinegar would be needed, but stints the oil and drenches it with vinegar instead.

64. **utrum**: Avídienus or Gallonius. **aiunt**, as the saying is, τὸ λεγόμενον. 65. **mundus erit, qua non . . .** The wise man will be refined (but only) so far as not to give offence by meanness. **qua** marks the point at which he will limit his refinement, and is much better than *qui* of many MSS. For even *munditia* may be in excess, and Horace's precept exactly agrees with Cicero, de Off. 1. 36. 130 *adhibenda praeterea munditia est non odiosa neque exquisita nimis, tantum quae fugiat agrestem et inhumanam negligentiam.* For *mundus* cf. Od. 3. 29. 14 n. 66. **miser**: supply *erit.* The wise man will not be unhappy in his mode of life through excess on either side. For *cultus miser* cf. *cerebri felicem* 1. 9. 11; Stat. Theb. 4. 403 *a miseri morum;* Plin. Pan. 58 *miseros ambitionis.* 67. Albucius may or may not be the Albucius of 2. 1. 48. **munia didit**, 'while appointing their several tasks.' **didere** is a poetical verb especially used by Lucretius. 68. **simplex**, homely. He thought too little of refinement to look after his servants, who offered greasy water to his guests to wash their hands in, ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρός.

71. **valeas**: a potential or modified future, a usage of which Horace is fond in the Satires: cf. *credas* in line 72; *sim* 1. 4. 70; *paeniteat* 1. 6. 89; *panis ematur* 1. 1. 74. 72. **ut**: *quantopere*, 'how much.' 73. **tibi**: ethic dat. **sederit**, 'sat well on your stomach.' 74. **miscueris**: 2nd pl. *miscuerītis*, fut. perf.; cf. 2. 3. 67 n. 76. **pītuīta**: trisyllabic; cf. Ep. 1. 1. 108 n. 77. **cena dubia**, *i.e.* a magnificent banquet, to express which Horace makes use of a well-known joke of Terence, Phorm. 2. 2. 28: P. *cena dubia apponitur.* G. *quid istuc verbi est?* P. *ubi tu dubites quid sumas potissimum.* 78. **vitiis**, 'excesses,' cf. line 21. 79. **adfigit**: προσηλοῖ, 'nails to the ground'; cf. Plat. Phaed. 83 D ἑκάστη ἡδονὴ καὶ λύπη ὥσπερ ἧλον ἔχουσα προσηλοῖ αὐτὴν (τὴν ψυχὴν) πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ προσπερονᾷ καὶ ποιεῖ σωματοειδῆ. **divinae**: the divinity of the mind or soul was a definite dogma of the Stoics and Pythagoreans. Cic. Senect. 21. 78 *audiebam Pytha-*

goran Pythagoreosque numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina animos delibatos haberemus; Virg. 6. 746 seq.; Cic. Tusc. 5. 13. 38 *humanus animus, decerptus ex mente divina;* M. Aurelius 12. 26 ὁ ἑκάστου νοῦς θεός: 2. 4 ἀπόρροια θεοῦ: 5. 27 ἀπόσπασμα θεοῦ.

80. **alter,** 'the other,' *i.e.* the man of spare diet. **dicto citius** belongs both to *curata* and *sopori dedit.* The light meal is quickly despatched: sleep comes as soon as courted. 84. **tenuatum,** by poor living; cf. Tac. Ann. 15. 63 *senile corpus et parvo victu tenuatum.* **ubique**=*et ubi,* 'and when.' 85. Palmer inserts *et* before **tractari.** 86. **quidnam accedet . . .** Cf. Cels. 1. 1 fin. *cavendum ne in secunda valetudine adversae praesidia consumantur.*

89. **rancidum,** 'high.' **non quia . . . erat**: Kennedy, Pub. Sch. Grammar p. 460, says of *non quia* with indicative: 'If the cause denied is one which is not conceivable, *non quod, non quia* take the indicative'; and he quotes this passage, and Livy 10. 41 *non quia plus animi victis est.* The Ciceronian rule, however, seems to be that *non quia* is used with ind. when a real fact is stated, the application of which is denied in the case considered: Planc. 32. 68 *non quia multis debeo.* Later writers, however, used *non quia* of false reasons: Livy 33. 27 *non quia satis dignos eos credebat;* Tac. Hist. 3. 4 *non quia industria Flaviani egebat.* There is no inconceivability in these two passages. According to the Ciceronian rule, the words of Horace here would imply that the ancients had no noses. 91. **tardius**: when it was too late to kill and prepare anything. **vitiatum,** 'turned.' 92. **integrum,** 'fresh,' opp. *vitiatum.* 93. **heroas,** 'heroes,' as being able to face such gastronomic terrors. **tellus prima**: 'the primal earth' is always supposed to have produced men of heroic mould, true γηγενεῖς. 89-93. Palmer (see his Crit. Notes) holds these lines spurious, but whatever in them is illogical may be defended on the ground that Horace is obviously joking.

94. **das aliquid famae,** 'you set some store by good report, in that it (*quae*=*quippe quae*) enthralls the ears more grateful than song.' 95. **occupet** has much more authority than *occupat.* Porph. here tells of Antisthenes the following story: *is enim cum vidisset adolescentem luxuriosum Acroamatibus deditum, ait, miserum te, adolescens, qui numquam audisti summum acroama, laudem tuam.* Cf. Plin. Ep. 7. 32 *est enim, ut Xenophon ait,* ἥδιστον ἄκουσμα ἔπαινος. **grandes . . . grande**: the same epithet is purposely repeated. 97. **patruum**: the uncle, the type of severe respectability; cf. Od. 3. 12. 3. **vicinos**: sc. *iratos.* 99. **as,** 'a penny to buy a rope' to hang yourself; cf. Lucian, Tim. 20 ἐγὼ δέ τοι πολλοὺς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιμί σοι χθὲς μὲν οὐδὲ ὀβολὸν ὥστε πρίασθαι βρόχον ἐσχηκότας ἄφνω δὲ τήμερον πλουσίους: Plaut. Pseud. 1. 1. 86 Ps. *sed quid de drachma facere vis?* Ca. *restim volo mihi emere.* Some MSS. give *aes.* **inquit**: sc. *quispiam,* cf. 1. 4. 79. **Trausius**: some penniless bankrupt.

102. **quod superat**: accusative after *insumere.* Can you not find a better use for your superfluous wealth? 103. **indignus**: sc. *qui egeat;* cf. Plaut. Curc. 4. 2. 27 *indignis si male dicitur, male dictum id esse dico;* Arist. Nub. 525 ἡττηθεὶς οὐκ ἄξιος ὤν. 104. **templa ruunt . . .** Cf. Od. 3. 6. 1. 106. **nimirum**: ironical, 'you will of course prove the one exception to the general rule, that change and disaster is the lot of men.' 107. **risus,** γέλως, a laughing-stock, as you will very likely be one day, when you are left penniless. **uterne**: so *quone* 2. 3. 295; *quantane* 2. 3. 317. *ne* is pleonastic. 108. **ad casus dubios,** 'against the changes and chances of life.' 109. **adsuerit**: transitive, like *insuevit* 1. 4. 105. **superbum** belongs both

to *mentem* and *corpus*. **110. metuens futuri,** 'afraid of the future'; doubting as to what to-morrow may bring forth. For the gen. cf. Od. 3. 19. 16 n. **111. aptare** specially means to put on, or to get ready for putting on, armour and weapons. Hence **idonea bello** means arms for personal use in time of war, and is not to be made too general.

112. quo magis his credas: Horace now inculcates what has gone before by showing that Ofellus practised what he preached. **puer:** probably about the year 55 B.C. **113. intĕgris:** so 2. 4. 54; but *intĕgrum* line 92. **novi:** notice the construction: *ego puer parvus* is equivalent to *me puero parvo*. Cf. Cic. de Sen. 9. 30 *ego L. Metellum memini puer . . . ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis;* Plat. Charm. 156 A μέμνημαι δὲ καὶ ἔγωγε καὶ παῖς ὢν Κριτίᾳ τῷδε συνόντα σε. **latius usum:** Juv. 14. 234 *indulgere sibi latius;* Caes. Bell. Civ. 3. 16 *rem frumentariam expediendam qua anguste utebatur.* **114. metato:** after the battle of Philippi the veterans of Octavian were allotted lands in different parts of Italy. The former owners were dispossessed without compensation. Virgil thus lost his property, and thus Propertius lost his. A survey of the lands to be assigned was necessary; *metari* is regularly used of this survey; *pertica* or *decempeda* was the pole, or measuring rod, used by the *metatores*; so Propertius, lamenting his losses, says, 4. 1. 130 *abstulit excultas pertica tristis opes.* Hence *metato*, 'surveyed,' comes to have the meaning of 'forfeited' here. For *metatus*, passive, from *metor*, cf. Od. 1. 1. 25 n. **115. fortem mercede colonum,** 'a hardy tiller of the soil for hire.' Umbrenus, the veteran, seems to have been a sensible man, and to have recognised the fact that he would get more out of the farm by leaving an honest farmer like Ofellus to work it, than by taking it on his own hands. He, therefore, left him and his family on the farm, paying him so much for working it.

116. non temere, 'not lightly,' οὐ ῥᾳδίως: not without a cause. **profesta:** on a working day, opp. to *festus* or *sacer*; cf. Od. 4. 15. 25. **119. per imbrem:** when the rustics are forced to be idle; cf. Arist. Pax 1140. **120. bene erat,** 'we had good cheer': cf. 2. 8. 4, 19. *bene esse* is a general phrase, but sometimes limited in application to the enjoyments of the table. **urbe:** Rome. **121. pensilis,** 'hung up for winter use.' Plin. H. N. 14. 1. 16 *durant aliae per hiemes pensili concameratae nodo.* **secundas . . . mensas:** second course = our dessert; called *mensae*, because the tables were removed, to be cleared and reloaded. Several small tables were often used; hence the plural. **duplice ficu:** the fig slit up for drying, and so doubled.

123. post hoc . . . magistra, 'afterwards we had a game at drinking under the presidency of a forfeit.' Cf. Plaut. Stich. 5. 4. 43 *agedum, Stiche: uter demutassit poculo multabitur . . . si peccassis multam hic retinebo illico.* **culpa** is a violation of the laws of the drinking bout, to be followed by *multa*, a fine or forfeit; in Plautus the fine is losing a cup of wine (not having to drink an extra one); and this *culpa* involving a *multa*, a forfeit, would serve instead of an *arbiter bibendi*, or *magister*. **124. venerata:** passive, as in Virg. Aen. 3. 460, and cf. Od. 1. 1. 25 n. **ita . . . alto:** the very words of the prayer to Ceres quoted in oblique narration; an offering was made to the goddess, perhaps with words to this effect: *ita Ceres alto culmo surgas, ut ego hanc molam tibi lubens facio;* or else a prayer thus: *ita Ceres alto culmo surgas: seria frontis nobis explica:* see on 2. 3. 300. Cf. Plaut. Most. 1. 3. 25, where Scapha's words *ita Philolaches tuus te amet* are referred to by Philolaches thus: *quid ais scelesta? quomodo adiurasti? ita ego istam amarem?* **125. explicuit,** 'smoothed,' as Od. 3. 29. 16. **contractae,** 'knitted.'

128. pueri, 'my sons.' We cannot look upon Ofellus now as possessing a number of slaves, *ditis examen domus;* so the *pueri* are the *nati,* line 115. **nituistis:** *nitere* is used of those who are in good case, well-fed and well-dressed; cf. Dan. i. 15 'fairer and fatter in flesh' of Daniel and his fellow-captives. **ut,** 'since,' Od. 4. 4. 42 n. **129. propriae telluris erum,** 'as lord of the soil to hold it as his own.' *propriae,* a tertiary predicate, is much better than the weakly-supported *proprie.* Lucil. 478 *proprium nil neminem habere;* and 664 *cum sciam nil esse in vita proprium mortali datum* | *iam qua tempestate vivo, chresin ad me recipio,* where *chresin* (χρῆσιν) = *usum,* line 134. **130. statuit,** 'has fixed,' as the abiding possessor. **132. postremum,** 'at last': supposing neither want of thrift, nor ignorance of law, cause his ejection, death certainly will. Palmer reads *postremo,* denying that *postremum* (which Kiessling makes masc. 'when at his last hour') can be an adverb. **133. nunc ager:** Anthol. Pal. 9. 74. 1; 3. pp. 238, 410 'Αγρὸς 'Αχαιμενίδου γενόμην ποτε νῦν δὲ Μενίππου | καὶ πάλιν ἐξ ἑτέρου βήσομαι εἰς ἕτερον. | καὶ γὰρ κεῖνος ἔχειν μέ ποτ' ᾤετο καὶ πάλιν οὗτος | οἴεται, εἰμὶ δ' ὅλως οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ Τύχης. **sub nomine:** to be taken with *Umbreni* only, not with *dictus.* **Ofelli dictus** go together, 'called that of Ofellus.' **136.** Cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 95 *tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito;* 1. 207 *durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis.*

SATIRE III

All save the Sapiens are Mad. ABOUT 33 B.C.

DAMASIPPUS (line 16 n.), who had lost all his property through dealing in antiques, and had been converted, when on the point of committing suicide, to the Stoic view that the above text is true, by the sage Stertinius, repeats to Horace the discourse of Stertinius on that text: Madness is folly and ignorance of truth, 43. There are many kinds of madness—there is the raving lunatic, 53-62; but Damasippus, who wastes his all on curiosities, and the creditor, who rashly trusts him, are mad, too, 64-76. Ambition, avarice, luxury, superstition, are all phases of madness, 78-80; in fact, all but the *Sapiens* are mad, 81; but especially the man of avarice, 82-98. Staberius thought so much of riches that he forced his heirs to inscribe the amount of their inheritance on his tombstone. It is difficult to say whether he or Aristippus, who made his slaves throw away their burden of gold, was more insane, 102-105. The miser who hoards his wealth, never to use it, is insane, 105-128; he often goes mad worse than Orestes, poisoning his relatives for their money, 131-141. Opimius the miser was mad, who would rather die of starvation than pay for what would keep him alive. The two most common types of madness are avarice and its opposite, prodigality, as exemplified in Aulus and Tiberius Oppidius, 168-175. Ambition, too, is another kind of madness, 179-186. Agamemnon, who slew his daughter from a confusion of the ideas of right and wrong, was as mad as mad Ajax, who slew sheep, taking them for men, 187-223. The prodigal is next exposed: Nomentanus, who gave away his property wholesale; young Aesopus, who dissolved and drank a pearl; the young Arrii, who lunched on nightingales, were all mad, 225-246. The infatuated lover is as mad as a grown man playing hobby-horse and other children's games, 247-272. Love is bad enough when it only makes men silly; though the lover who seeks for an omen of his sweetheart's affection by shooting apple-pips at the ceiling, and the old dotard

lisping amorously, are both out of their senses; but what of the murders and suicides occasioned by love? 272-280. Next, the superstitious are mad; for instance, a man who prayed to the gods every day to grant him immortality: or the mother who kills her child by plunging him in the Tiber to fulfil a vow, 280-295. 'I, Damasippus, may be mad, but woe to the man who calls me so! He shall be told to look behind him,' 295-299. Damasippus then, at Horace's request, points out wherein Horace's insanity consists, namely, in building fine houses, and in aping the great in other ways—like the frog trying to equal in size the calf—in writing poetry, in ill-temper, and in living beyond his means, 300 ad fin. The date of the Satire is fixed from the mention of the aedileship of Agrippa, line 185, in 33 or 32 B.C.

1. **si raro scribis, ut** . . . 'if you write rarely (so) that . . . what will become of you?' *sic* has more authority than **si** and, if read, a full stop must be placed after *canas.* It is, however, probably a correction due (1) to the apodosis *quid fiet?* being so distant, and (2) to the desire to provide an antecedent to *ut.* For the omission of such an antecedent cf. 1. 7. 13 *ira fuit capitalis, ut* . . .; 2. 7. 10 *vixit inaequalis ut.* For **scribis** many MSS. give *scribes,* which Palmer prints (see his Crit. Notes) but which looks like a correction *metri gratia.* On the other hand the lengthening of *scribĭs* is unparalleled, and quite different from *miscuerĭs* 2. 2. 74. 2. **membranam,** 'parchment,' for transferring his notes to from his *tabulae.* In Horace's time completed books were still written on rolls of *papyrus*; and parchment, *membrana Pergamena,* which was still expensive, was only used either for the wrapper of the papyrus-roll, or for the author to make his fair copy on. **retexens,** 'cancelling': lit. unweaving, like Penelope her web. 3. **benignus,** with gen. like *parcus* 2. 2. 62; *prodigus* Ep. 1. 7. 42. 4. **dignum sermone,** 'worth mention,' *λόγου ἄξιον.* **quid fiet,** 'what will come of it?' 5. **Saturnalibus**: from the 17th to the 19th of December, the chief festival of the Roman year, when great licence was permitted—drinking, gambling, and all sorts of rioting were legal: slaves enjoyed temporary freedom, 2. 7. 4. Our Christmas holidays have taken the place of the old Roman festival. **huc,** *i.e.* to your country house, his Sabine villa, given him by Maecenas about 34 B.C. **fugisti**: we have several instances of thoughtful Romans enjoying an escape from the tumultuous Roman festivals or games: cf. Cic. ad Att. 2. 1. 1 *gladiatores cupide relinquenti;* Juv. 11. 191. **sobrius**: though you might have indulged a little at such a season, when every one else was drinking; cf. Juv. 7. 96 *vinum toto nescire Decembri.*

6. **promissis**: cf. A. P. 138. **nil est,** 'there's nothing forthcoming.' 7. **calami**: pens made of reeds. The indolent writer blames his pen, Pers. 3. 12 *tunc queritur, crassus calamo quod pendeat umor.* 8. **iratis natus dis** is a poetic common-place: cf. 1. 5. 98; Juv. 10. 129. The addition of **atque poetis** *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* introduces a comic touch. **paries**: the innocent wall gets thumped by the sterile bard. In Persius it is the back of the studying couch, 1. 106 *nec pluteum caedit nec demorsos sapit ungues.* 9. **minantis**: cf. Ep. 1. 8. 3, and *ἀπειλεῖν* = 'to boast' Hom. Od. 8. 383 *ἠμὲν ἀπείλησας βητάρμονας εἶναι ἀρίστους,* or 'to promise' Il. 23. 863. 10. **si,** 'if only,' 'once,' 'as soon as'; cf. Catull. 14. 17; Ep. 1. 7. 10 n. **vacuum,** 'free from cares,' as he expected to be in the country. **tepido,** it was winter time, and so *tepidus* is 'warm,' cf. Ep. 1. 20. 19 n.

11. **Platona**: not the philosopher, but the comic poet Plato, who flourished 428-389 B.C. The other three mentioned are poets; and Horace, as we have

seen from 1. 4 and 1. 10, regarded the poets of the old comedy as the true precursors of satire. **Eupolis** and Plato both were of the old comedy, 1. 4. 1. **Menander,** the chief poet of the new comedy, lived 342-291 B.C. **Archilochus,** the inventor of Iambic verse, and a true satirist, lived 714-676 B.C. **13. invidiam placare paras,** *i.e.* by giving up satire, which had made him unpopular. We see evident attempts to appease this envy, as in 1. 4. 64 seq., 1. 6; 2. 1. 39 seq. **virtute relicta:** giving up the castigation of vice is meant. **14. contemnere:** people will not cease to dislike you; they will, besides, despise you. **inproba Siren,** 'the bold Siren'; bold or shameless, because of their forwardness in inviting Ulysses to come to their island. *inprobus:* see 1. 3. 56. For the Sirens, see Hom. Od. 12. 39 seq. **15. quidquid:** namely 'fame.' **vita:** instr. abl. **16. Damasippe:** a well-known amateur of bric-a-brac, cf. Cic. ad Fam. 7. 23. 3 *si Damasippus in sententia non manebit, aliquem Pseudodamasippum vel cum iactura reperiemus.* **17. verum:** may be either 'sincere,' or 'sound.' **tonsore:** Damasippus had turned philosopher, and grown a large beard as such, line 35. *tonsore* is *παρὰ προσδοκίαν.*

18. Ianum ad medium, 'at the central Arcade,' where many bankers and money-lenders did business = 'on 'Change.' All thoroughfares or arcades (*transitiones perviae* Cic. N. D. 2. 27. 67) might be called *Iani,* because of the double entrance; and in or leading into the forum were three Jani, perhaps covered ways, or arcades; and Livy 41. 27 speaks of *Ianos tres faciendos* in a certain town, probably in imitation of those in Rome. Becker, however, supposes that the Jani were three buildings, similar to the Janus Quadrifrons, which still stands in the Forum Boarium, constructed of four archways joined in a square, with an *attica,* or chamber, above them. He thinks that the bankers transacted business partly in those chambers, and partly below, under the archways (Burn, 'Rome and the Campagna,' p. 105). In any case 'the middle Janus' was the place where, perhaps not excepting the *Puteal Libonis,* most business was done in lending and investing money in Rome. It corresponded to our Stock Exchange to some extent. Cic. Off. 2. 25. 87 *de quaerenda, de collocanda pecunia, vellem etiam de utenda, commodius a quibusdam optimis viris ad Ianum medium sedentibus quam ab ullis philosophis ulla in schola disputatur;* Cic. Phil. 6. 5. 15 *itane? Ianus medius in L. Antonii clientela est? quis umquam in illo Iano inventus est qui L. Antonio mille nummum ferret expensum?* Cf. Ep. 1. 1. 54. **19. fracta est,** 'was wrecked': the metaphor is either from shipwreck (cf. Cic. Sull. 14. 41 *patrimonii naufragus*) or from chariot-racing, **excussus** suiting equally with either, see Dict. Note the sarcasm of **aliena . . . propriis** and the contrasted position of the contrasted words.

20. quaerere, 'to ask': he wished to have its exact description, so as to be able to recognise it. **21. quo vafer . . . aere,** 'what was the genuine bronze in which the wily Sisyphus had bathed his feet.' In a fragment of the Sisyphus, a satyric drama of Aeschylus (fr. 229 Dind.) occur the words *λεοντοβάμων ποῦ σκάφη χαλκήλατος;* 'where is the brazen pan mounted on a lion?' Damasippus refers to that particular pan. There were forged ones in circulation, though, and he used to try and find which was the genuine one. For the mania for antiquities cf. 1. 3. 90 n. **vafer:** Sisyphus was proverbially the cunningest of men, *ὁ κέρδιστος γένετ' ἀνδρῶν* Hom. Il. 6. 153. Corinthian bronze (*aes Corinthium*) was famous from early times. Sisyphus was king of Corinth. **22. fusum durius,** 'stiffly cast,' opp. *mollius,* Virg. Aen. 6.

847 *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera.* **23. callidus . . . ponebam,** 'I knew to a nicety the exact value to place on a given statue.' **ponebam:** like our 'put a price on.' **milia centum,** 100,000 sesterces, about £870. **24. unus,** 'the one of all others': 'I excelled,' 2. 6. 57. **25.** Owing to his cleverness in bargains, Damasippus was surnamed by the crowded street-corners (*compita*), where auctions were held, **Mercurialis,** 'the favourite of Mercury' (cf. Od. 2. 17. 28), the god of gain (*merx*), ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς. MSS. have *Mercuriale* in agreement with *cognomen* which would indicate that he was called 'Mercury.' Krüger, however, takes *cognomen Mercuriale*='the nick-name Mercurialis,' cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 53 *Sempronio nomine.*

27. purgatum: with gen., like καθαρθῆναι τῆς νόσου. **28. mire:** with *emovit* and in strong opposition to *ut solet.* The case of Damasippus presents an 'astonishing' instance of the 'common' phenomenon of one disease driving out another. In his case the new disease is πολυπραγμοσύνη, busying himself about other people's affairs. **cor,** the stomach = καρδία, Thuc. 2. 49. 3; so *cardiacus* line 161 and Juv. 5. 32 is a person with disease of the stomach. **29. traiecto:** according to Porph. a technical word with physicians for diseases changing their seat. **30. ut . . . cum:** to be joined together, 'as in the case of a person afflicted with lethargy, who suddenly, owing to the malady changing its seat, takes to boxing, and assails his doctor.'

31. simile huic: *i.e.* 'provided you don't assault me.' **o bone:** ὠγαθέ, a familiar, but rather short mode of address, used in remonstrances. **ne te frustrere:** in comedy often *ne frustra sis,* 'don't deceive yourself, in supposing *you* are in your senses.' Damasippus is slightly nettled by Horace's answer, which seemed to imply that he, Damasippus, was a dangerous lunatic. **32. insanis et tu stultique,** 'you are mad as well as I, and so are all fools.' Note that *et . . . que* are not 'both . . . and.' **stultique prope omnes:** the Stoic doctrine was that *all* fools were mad, πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται: *prope* somewhat modifies the harsh paradox, cf. 1. 3. 96 *quis paria esse fere placuit peccata.* Notice how Horace connects his main subject, viz., the madness of mankind, with his exordium, by seeming accident. He seems to have considered that this apparent drifting into his subject showed art by concealment of it: cf. 1. 3 and 1. 6. **33. Stertinius,** an oracle among the Stoics, but unknown to us, save from this passage and Ep. 1. 12. 20 (*Empedocles an Stertinium deliret acumen*), where Acron tells us he wrote two hundred and twenty volumes in Latin on the Stoic philosophy. **crepat:** cf. Od. 1. 18. 5. **unde,** 'from whose lips' = *a quo*: cf. 1. 6. 12; 2. 6. 21. **35. sapientem pascere barbam,** 'to cultivate a philosophic beard'; cf. 1. 3. 133. *sapientem* is to be joined to *barbam,* as *sapiens* to *porticus* in Pers. 3. 53 *quaeque docet sapiens braccatis illita Medis | porticus.* ἐκ πώγωνος σοφός was a Greek proverb. *pascere,* as τρέφειν (cf. the late Greek πωγωνοτροφεῖν), is used of letting the hair grow long; Virg. Aen. 7. 391 *sacrum tibi pascere crinem.* **36.** The Fabrician bridge still connects the island in the Tiber with the left bank. It was called from Fabricius, by whom, when *curator viarum* in 62 B.C., it was built of stone. On one of the still remaining arches we read L · FABRICIVS C · F · CVR · VIAR · FACIVNDVM COERAVIT IDEMQVE PROBAVIT.

37. male re gesta, 'after my failure.' **cum vellem,** 'when I was about to'; *vellem* is often used as an auxiliary verb in this sense. **operto capite:** it was customary with those about to destroy themselves, or to devote themselves to death, to shroud their head. So Plat. Phaed. 118 A of

Socrates; Xen. Cyrop. 8. 7. 28 of Cyrus; Suet. Caes. 82 of Caesar; Livy 8. 9 of Decius; Livy 4. 12 *multi ex plebe . . . capitibus obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt.* **38. dexter,** 'on the right,' and so with propitious omen. **cavĕ:** and so Ep. 1. 13. 19, but *cavē* Epod. 6. 11; Ep. 1. 6. 32: cf. *vidĕ sis* Pers. 1. 108 and *pută* 2. 5. 32; Pers. 4. 9. These shortenings are a relic of the old freedom of the dramatists, who allowed a long syllable to be shortened by the influence of the tone on another. The pronunciation *cau* is not on the whole so probable though supported by the story in Cic. de Div. 2. 40. 84 where *cauneas* is made = *cave ne eas.* **faxis:** Roby S. G. 291. 3. **39. pudor malus,** 'false shame.' **angit,** a very strong word: ἄγχει, ἀπάγχει are so used.

43. cumque belongs to the first *quem,* as well as to the second. Observe **mală** before *st,* 1. 10. 72. **44. Chrysippus:** 1. 3. 127. **porticus:** the στοὰ ποικίλη at Athens, where Zeno lectured, whence the name Stoic. **grex:** the flock, *i.e.* the school. In Ep. 1. 4. 16 Horace calls himself *Epicuri de grege porcum:* cf. Cic. Fin. 1. 20. 65; de Orat. 1. 10. 42. **45. autumat,** 'names': an archaic word common in Plautus: once in Terence; not used by Cicero. **formula** (ὅρος, κανών), 'definition.'

51. variis partibus: a pregnant instrumental ablative, 'by leading them in different directions,' lit. 'by different directions.' **53. caudam trahat:** Porph. is probably right in saying that this is derived from the custom of children tying a tail (a dish-clout?) to those they wished to make fun of. **54. nihilum metuenda:** *nihilum* here used adverbially. **timentis:** the simplest way is to take this as masc., 'of the man who fears'; so *ruentis* in 57, and we thus get a personal nom. to *queratur* and *audierit* (60), or we may say that Horace passes imperceptibly from the general idea of 'folly that fears' to the 'fool who complains,' etc. **55. campo,** 'a plain,' not the Campus Martius here.

56. varum, 'differing from'; the dat. is like *meretrici dispar* Ep. 1. 18. 3; so *differt sermoni* 1. 4. 48. *varus,* prop. of men with the legs bent out from the knees, 'knock-kneed,' opp. *vatius* and *valgus*: hence 'distorted, crooked, diverging.' **57. amica mater,** 'his loving mother,' φίλη μήτηρ. *amica* is used with emphasis as the first word, to point out that the madman might well listen to the voice of those who naturally must have friendly feelings towards him. The punctuation of some editors *amica, mater* ('his mistress,' 'his mother') shows little taste and destroys the balance of the sentence. **58. honesta,** 'honoured,' 'virtuous.' **59. serva,** 'take heed!' 'look out!' φυλάττου, a common exclamation in Plautus and Terence. **60. Fufius,** an actor. **61. cum Ilionam edormit,** 'while sleeping through the part of Iliona.' *edormit,* pres., the usual tense with *dum* in sense of 'while,' after past tenses, and sometimes, see line 277, with *cum* in that sense. Iliona was the eldest daughter of Priam, married to Polymestor, king of Thrace, by whom she had a son Deiphilus or Deipylus. Her young brother Polydorus was committed to her charge, and she changed him and her son Deiphilus, representing Polydorus to be her son. When Polymestor was bribed to slay Polydorus, he accordingly slew his own son Deiphilus. Pacuvius, the tragedian, made this the subject of his tragedy 'Iliona,' in which the murdered Deiphilus appeared to his sleeping mother Iliona, and addressed her in these words: *mater, te adpello, tu, quae curam somno suspensum levas, | neque te mei miseret, surge et sepeli gnatum tuum priusquam ferae . . .* Iliona should have sprung from sleep, and replied *age, adsta, mane, audi! iteradum eadem istaec mihi!*

but the drunken Fufius fell fast asleep in reality; and though the whole house took up the words *mater, te adpello* from Catienus, the actor of the part of Deiphilus, and shouted them at Fufius, he slept on. **mille ducentis**: 1200, indefinitely of a large number, cf. *sexcenti, trecenti, ducenti.*

62. **huic errori**: that of the downright madman. 63. **similem**: sc. *errorem*, cognate acc.; cf. Aesch. Prom. 977 *κλύω σ' ἐγὼ μεμηνότ' οὐ σμικρὰν νόσον*: Prop. 2. 34. 25 *Lynceus ipse meus seros insanit amores;* Ep. 1. 1. 101 *insanire putas sollemnia.* 65. **integer mentis**, 'sound in mind'; cf. Od. 1. 22. 1. **esto**, 'let us grant it,' and all the absurdities it will lead to. 67. **acceperĭs**: the last syllable short, but cf. 2. 3. 74 *miscuerīs*: the last syllable of 2nd pers. sing., of the future perf., and perf. subj., are common, the second person plural being *-rĭtis* or *-rītis.* **magis excors**, 'more witless'; 'still more out of your senses' than even an *insanus.* The heart was regarded as the seat of intelligence: hence *vecors*, 'senseless,' and such expressions as *corde sapere.* 68. **praesens Mercurius**: propitious Mercury, the god of luck: hence *ἕρμαιον*, 'a windfall,' 'a god-send.' Cf. line 25 n.

69. **scribe decem a Nerio**: the general sense is clear; no legal formulae are strong enough to bind a dishonest debtor. Two interpretations are given according as (1) *tabulas* is supplied with *decem*, or (2) *sestertia* understood. (1) **Perellius** in 75 is a money-lender, who lends money to Damasippus. He is the person addressed in **scribe. Nerius** is Perellius's banker. **Cicuta** (='hemlock,' a slang name) is a second money-lender, more cautious even than Perellius. *scribere* is said of the creditor paying out money which at the same time he 'enters' in his ledgers, this act of *expensilatio* being evidence of the loan. But a still further act of security was to enter the money as paid *through a banker*, **a Nerio**, here. In such cases, *a* or *ab* was used with the name of the person on whom the payment was charged: cf. Plaut. Curc. 5. 2. 20 *solvi ab trapessita meo*; Cic. ad Att. 7. 18. 4 *ab Egnatio solvat*; Plaut. 42. 103 *a vobis persolvere*; Flacc. 19. 44 *si praetor dedit, a quaestore numerabit, quaestor a publica mensa.* Perellius not only enters the loan in his own books, but dictates (*dictat* line 76) to his banker to make a similar entry in his books: hence greater security is obtained. Translate: 'Enter "ten sestertia paid out by Nerius": that will not be enough; add a hundred documents (*tabulas*, a general word, including *syngraphae*, 'notes of hand'), such as the knotty money-lender Cicuta employs; add a thousand fetters, that Proteus of a borrower will evade them all.' (2) Understanding *tabulas* with Orelli and Ritter, the words are supposed to be addressed to the rash creditor: 'Write out (for the borrower to sign) ten bonds after the form employed by Nerius (a usurer): 'tis not enough: add a hundred bonds of the knotty Cicuta: add a thousand fetters: that Proteus of a borrower will elude them all.' Orelli supplies *dictatas* with *a Nerio*, quoting Cic. ad Att. 16. 7. 7 *Antonii edictum legi a Bruto* (sc. *acceptum*): but the letters of Cicero are full of strong ellipses of the verb or participle, which are not admissible in Horace. The chief argument for this view is that, if *tabulas* is supplied, then *decem . . . non est satis . . . centum . . . mille* form a climax. 70. **nodosi**, *i.e.* who knows how to tie up the borrower tightly by legal bonds. 71. **Proteus**: see Virg. G. 4. 387-391; Hom. Od. 4. 455 seq.

72. **malis ridentem alienis**: an imitation of Hom. Od. 20. 347 *οἱ δ' ἤδη γναθμοῖσι γελοίων ἀλλοτρίοισι*: there, however, the meaning is different: 'laughed the wrong side of their mouths,' as our saying is. Horace may have

misunderstood the passage, and taken 'to laugh with other people's jaws' to mean 'quite unconcernedly,' which is the meaning here. **75. putidius,** 'more addled.' **76. dictantis,** 'lending,' because the creditor dictated the entries of the money lent to his secretary and banker. **rescribere,** 'to pay back': Ter. Phorm. 5. 8. 28 *sed transi sodes ad forum atque illud mihi | argentum rursum iube rescribi, Phormio.*

81. ordine: the comma should come after this word, and not (with Orelli) after *omnes.* The Stoic doctrine was not that all men were mad, but that all fools were mad. Hence *omnes vos* go together. The audience were not to come up to Stertinius one by one, but he was going to prove them mad one after the other, *ordine,* ἐφεξῆς. **82. ellebori:** ἐλλέβορος, *veratrum,* 'hellebore,' a recognised cure for insanity. The best grew at **Anticyra** in Phocis, Strab. 9. 3. The proper name of the place was Ἀντίκιρρα, so called from being on the opposite side of a peninsula to the East of the Crissaean gulf from Cirrha. Cf. A. P. 300 *tribus Anticyris caput insanabile.* **83. nescio an,** 'I dare say,' 'for aught know I,' 'I rather think that.' **ratio,** 'a just view': 1. 3. 115.

84. Staberi: unknown. **summam,** 'the amount left to them.' On the tomb of Trimalchio in Petronius 71 *pius fortis fidelis ex parvo crevit, sestertium reliquit trecenties nec umquam philosophum audivit.* **85. centum paria:** 100 pairs of gladiators would be a very large number. Augustus limited the number to be exhibited by the praetors to 60 pairs at most, twice a-year. The first gladiatorial show at Rome was in 264 B.C., exhibited by Marcus and Decimus Brutus Pera at the funeral games in honour of their father. 25 pairs was thought a large number at funeral games, Livy 31. 50. Caesar allowed the aediles to exhibit 320 pairs. Gladiatorial shows were finally forbidden by Constantine. **86. damnati,** participle, 'bound': *damnare* was technically used of obligations in wills: in particular the archaic word *damnas,* an indecl. noun in the phrases *damnas esto, damnas sunto.* **epulum,** either a banquet at a religious festival, or a public banquet given to a large number of people, as here: *epulae,* 'a private entertainment.' **arbitrio Arri,** 'at the discretion of Arrius.' Q. Arrius (cf. line 243 n.) is mentioned by Cicero in Vat. 12. 31 as having himself given an *epulum funebre* to the people at which many thousands were present. **87. frumenti quantum,** '*and,* as much corn': an asyndeton. **Africa,** the great feeder of the Roman corn market; cf. Od. 1. 1. 10. **sive . . . mihi:** the supposed words of Staberius, replying to a supposed remonstrance of his heirs on the absurdity of such a provision.

88. ne sis patruus mihi, 'don't you lecture me,' 'don't you come the uncle over me'; cf. 2. 2. 97 n. Staberius means, whatever my will is, you, my heirs, must take what you get, and be thankful, and not presume to remonstrate. **89. hoc . . .** Damasippus says, 'I believe this was what Staberius being far-seeing had in view,' on which remark some one asks 'what then was his view?' to which Damasippus answers, 'while alive he thought wealth everything and so he wanted people after his death to know what he was worth.' Thus *hoc* is explained by *quoad vixit . . .* **95. pulchris divitiis:** cf. 1. 1. 44; Juv. 13. 33 *quas habeat veneres aliena pecunia;* Aristoph. Plut. 146 ἅπαντα τῷ πλουτεῖν γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπήκοα. **97. sapiensne:** the point of the passage is the ironical inversion of the Stoic theory, the *dives* taking the place of the *sapiens*: this, says Stertinius, is the view of the world, as well as of Staberius: see 1. 3. 124. There the *sapiens*

is *dives;* here the *dives* is *sapiens.* **etiam**, 'yes.' Plaut. Am. 1. 3. 46 Iupp. *numquid vis?* Alc. *etiam* (yes): *ut actutum advenias.* Cic. Ac. 2. 32. 104 *aut 'etiam' aut 'non' respondere possit* (can answer aye or no). **98. hoc**: this agglomeration of money.

99. quid simile, 'how different was the conduct of Aristippus'; cf. Cic. Mil. 14. 38 *quid simile Milonis?* **100. Aristippus**: circ. 370 B.C., the founder of the Cyrenaic hedonistic school of philosophy; cf. Ep. 1. 1. 18; 1. 17. 23. The story here told is given slightly differently by Diog. Laert. 2. 8. 77 *τοῦ θεράποντος ἐν ὁδῷ βαστάζοντος ἀργύριον καὶ βαρυνομένου . . . ἀπόχεε, ἔφη, τὸ πλέον καὶ ὅσον δύνασαι βάσταζε.* **101. irent**, subj., 'because he thought they went too slow.'

103. 'That illustration is of no use, which solves one question by raising another.' **lis**: metaphorically of any disputed question, A. P. 78. **104. emat . . . emptas**: cf. Ov. Met. 9. 74 *crescentemque malo domui, domitamque peremi;* Fast. 3. 21 *Mars videt hanc visamque cupit potiturque cupita;* Livy 1. 5 *latrones . . . Remum cepisse captum regi Amulio tradidisse.* As Orelli says, there is some haste expressed in such combinations, 'buys harps, and no sooner bought but he carries them to one spot.' **106. scalpra . . . formas**: cf. 1. 136 n. **107. mercaturis**, dat., Tac. Ann. 1. 66 *aversa hosti.* The abl. with *ab* is most frequent. **108. undique**, 'on all hands' =*ab omnibus.* **istis**, dat. and masc., 'such men,' as those described in 104, 106. **110. compositis**, 'laid by'; cf. Virg. Aen. 8. 316 *nec . . . aut componere opes norant, aut parcere parto.* **112. porrectus** 'stretching himself out' there instead of in bed. **115. positis intus**, 'stored up in his house'; in his *apotheca.* **116. nihil est**, '(a thousand, do I say?) that's nothing! three hundred thousand would be nearer the mark.' Cf. *non est satis* line 69. **117. acetum**, put for 'sour wine'; cf. Plaut. Rud. 4. 2. 32 *sed hic rex cum aceto pransurust et sale sine bono pulmento.* **unde octoginta**: seventy-nine years old, in his eightieth year. For the division of *unde octoginta*, cf. Ep. 2. 2. 93 n. **118. stragula vestis**: *stragulus* is an adj. = 'for spreading' (*sterno*), and *stragula vestis* means 'bed-clothes,' *στρώματα*, cf. *λέχος στορέσαι*: but the words contain an idea of luxury, inasmuch as the coverlets of the Romans were often very expensive, purple and embroidered. **121. iactatur**: of restless tossing on a bed of sickness; Cic. Cat. 1. 13. 31 *aestu febrique iactantur;* Lucr. 3. 505. For the sense cf. Hamlet v. i. 170 ''Twill not be seen in him there; there the men are as mad as he.'

122. ebibat goes with **haec** in a double sense; in so far as *haec* refers to the wine of 115-117, it is to be taken literally; the heir will soon empty your precious bins (cf. Od. 2. 14. 25): in so far as it refers to the gold and general property of the miser, *ebibat* is to 'waste in drink'; cf. Plaut. Trin. 2. 4. 5 *exesum expotum exunctum elutum in balineis.* **123. dis inimice**: like *θεοῖς ἐχθρός*, 'God-forsaken.' **ne tibi desit**: 'for fear you should run short': cf. Ter. Ad. 5. 4. 27 *derit: id mea minime refert qui sum natu maximus.* **124. summae**, dat. incomm., 'what a trifle will each day clip off the sum total.' **126. porrigo** is 'dandruff,' 'scurf.' It is joined with *scabies* by Lucilius 881 *tristem et corruptum scabie et porriginis plenum*, and by Juv. 2. 80. **127. si quidvis satis est**, 'if the meanest diet satisfies you'; cf. Plaut. Mil. 3. 1. 155 *commodulum obsona ne magno sumptu: mihi quidvis sat est.*

129. tuos, 'your slaves whom you have paid hard cash for'; cf. Sall. Jug. 31. 11 *servi aere parati.* *tuo* has poor authority. **131.** The *properans*

avarus (Juv. 14. 178) is here supposed to strangle his wife and poison his mother for their money. He is mad, as mad as Orestes. The points of difference are immaterial, 132. Orestes, it is true, used steel, and did the deed at Argos, not at Rome. But let the *avarus* compare himself with him before he actually slew his mother, and these points cannot be urged. 132. **quid enim**? a conversational phrase = τί γάρ, 'of course,' cf. 1. 1. 7. 'Are you sane? Of course. *You* do not do this at Argos etc.,' the last sentence being ironical. **Argis**: cf. Ep. 2. 2. 128 n. 137. **male tutae** = *male sanae, insanae;* cf. Od. 1. 9. 24 n. 141. Orestes calls Electra a Fury, Eur. Or. 264 *μέθες· μί' οὖσα τῶν ἐμῶν Ἐρινύων | μέσον μ' ὀχμάζεις, ὡς βάλῃς εἰς Τάρταρον.* No such abuse of Pylades is found in any extant tragedy. **splendida bilis**: 'his shining bile,' from the physical appearance of black bile, which the ancients regarded as the cause of madness (*μελαγχολία*); cf. Galen, *περὶ αἰτ. συμπτ.* 2. 50 *μέλαινα χολὴ στιλπνοτέρα* (more glistening) *αὐτοῦ τοῦ αἵματός ἐστιν*, and he compares it to bitumen from the Dead Sea; Persius 3. 8 *vitrea bilis.*

142. **pauper**, 'poor in,' cf. Od. 3. 30. 11 *pauper aquae.* Opimius (the name is selected from its resemblance to *opes, opimus*) was rich in gold and silver; but as he was afraid to use his riches, it came to the same thing as being poor: he was *magnas inter opes inops* (Od. 3. 16. 28). So all editors, but how could Opimius be called 'poor in silver stored up'? he was surely 'rich in silver stored up' and only 'poor *though* he had silver stored up.' 143. **Veientanum**: a very poor red wine, called *Veientanum rubellum* by Pers. 5. 147, and Mart. 1. 103. 9. It was the best wine Opimius allowed himself, however. 144. **Campana trulla**, 'out of a mug of Campanian (cf. 1. 6. 118 n.) pottery': it is not quite clear what *trulla* means here: it sometimes means a wine-scoop, and some think it means here that Opimius used no *poculum*, or cup, which was too large, but drank out of the *trulla*, or wine-scoop itself. **vappam**: 1. 1. 104. **profestis**: 2. 2. 116. 147. **multum celer**: *multum* is often used as an adv. strengthening adjectives in the Satires: 1. 3. 57 *m. demissus;* 2. 5. 67 *m. negatas;* 2. 5. 92 *m. similis.* This use is common in Plautus, and is another instance of Horace's use of the *sermo quotidianus.* 149. **plures**, 'several people.'

152. **hoc age**, 'give me your whole attention.' *hoc age* was a formula commonly used at sacrifices, by which the complete attention of those present was demanded. Hence *hoc agere* in Latin is perpetually 'to do a thing with your might.' Cf. Ep. 1. 6. 31; Munro on Lucret. 1. 41. 154. **ingens**: a very strong word is purposely chosen to rouse the man from his stupor. **fultura**: *fulcire* is often used of food, *e.g.* Lucr. 4. 867 *propterea capitur cibus ut suffulciat artus.* So we speak of taking 'support.' Here the word is contrasted with *ruenti*: 'the support' is to keep the stomach from 'giving' or 'collapsing.' 155. **tisanarium**: properly a diminutive of *πτισάνη*, barley (*πτίσσω*, 'to winnow') a decoction of barley, then transferred to any decoction; here of rice, 'rice-gruel.' Cf. Plin. H. N. 18. 7. 71 (*Indi*) *maxime oryza gaudent ex qua tisanam conficiunt, quam reliqui mortales ex hordeo.* 156. **quanti ergo**, 'well, but how much?' repeating his previous question with emphasis. 157. **pereamque**: for *que* joined to the verb instead of its noun, cf. Od. 3. 4. 11 *ludo fatigatumque somno.* *-que* is much better than *ve* which has very poor authority. *furtis rapinisque* are opposed as one idea to *morbo*: there are not three co-ordinates.

158. **quisnam igitur sanus**? These brief interjected questions were

characteristic of the Stoics, cf. line 97; Cic. Par. 1 *Cato perfectus Stoicus minutis interrogatiunculis quasi punctis quod proposuit effecit.* **qui non stultus**: 'the man who is no fool'; *non stultus* are to be taken closely together, and contain a positive idea: cf. Cic. Font. 6 *quid mihi opus est sapiente iudice? quid oratore non stulto?*

161. **cardiacus,** 'suffering from disease of the stomach,' perhaps 'dyspeptic': cf. 2. 3. 28 n. **Craterus** was a physician of repute in Cicero's time: he attended Attica, daughter of Atticus; Cic. ad Att. 12. 14. 4 *de Attica doleo: credo tamen Cratero.* **putato,** 'suppose,' generally *puta*, 2. 5. 32. 162. **recte est**: impersonal, cf. 2. 2. 106; Cic. ad Att. 1. 7. 1 *apud matrem recte est.* Schütz says *aeger* is the nom. to *est*, but does not quote any instance of this personal use of *recte est.* 163. **temptentur**: better than *temptantur* of many MSS., as it gives Craterus' reason for not allowing the patient to get up. The line is repeated Ep. 1. 6. 28. 165. **porcum Laribus**: as a thank-offering for freedom from these vices. A pig was regularly offered to the *Lares*, cf. Od. 3. 23. 4, but there is also a reminiscence of the custom of sacrificing a pig to cure a lunatic, cf. Plaut. Men. 2. 2. 15. 166. **naviget Anticyram**: for hellebore, cf. line 82 n. **barathrone,** 'what difference does it make whether you fling away your all into an abyss, or never enjoy your wealth.' The connexion is this—the ambitious man is reckless of spending money, he is like a man flinging his money into a gully, and must therefore be put on a par with the miser in point of insanity. 167. **paratis** = *partis*, line 98, cf. Od. 1. 31. 17 *frui paratis.*

168. **Canusi**: 1. 5. 91. 169. **antiquo censu,** 'rich, as fortunes were rated in old times'; cf. Herod. 1. 30 *βίου εὖ ἥκοντι ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν.* **divisse**: 1. 5. 79. 171. **talos**: *ἀστραγάλους*, knucklebones, for playing chucky-stones, or jack-stones, and odd and even with. *πεντελιθίζειν* is to play with five *ἀστράγαλοι*, or *tali*, as the modern game of jack-stones is played. **nuces**: probably used for boyish gambling at odd and even. 172. **sinu**: the bosom of the toga was often used as a pocket. So Propertius says of his mercenary mistress, 2. 16. 12 *semper amatorum ponderat una sinus*, 'she weighs the pockets of her lovers.' **ludere,** 'gamble'; sc. *iis* with them: that is to say, play games of chance with them, in which there would be the risk of losing them—a risk the cautious brother would not face. 173. **cavis,** 'in holes.' **tristem,** 'with a serious face.' 174. **agerēt**: cf. 1. 5. 90 n. **insania** and *vesania* have about equal authority, the former perhaps the better. A scribe would naturally try to correct what he thought was a false quantity. 175. **Nomentanus,** the prodigal, 1. 1. 102. **Cicuta,** the cautious money-lender, cf. line 69.

178. Supply *quo* before **coercet,** out of the preceding *quod*, 'within the bounds of which nature confines you.' 179. **vos**: both sons are warned against ambition (*gloria*). **titillet,** 'tickle' (*γαργαλίζειν*); several times used by Cicero, generally with *voluptas.* 180. **aedilis, praetor**: *i.e.* probably at Canusium: Kiessling. 181. **intestabilis**: incapable of making a will, or of being a witness (Dig. 28. 1. 18)—dishonoured in the sight of men. **sacer,** 'accursed'—rejected in the sight of the gods. Both words are taken from old formulae. 182. 'Vetches,' 'beans,' and 'lupines' mean the largesses of provisions given to the people by the aediles and praetors at the games. The words are chosen with contempt, while their ruinous consequences are pointed out by *perdas bona*: cf. Pers. 5. 177 *vigila et cicer ingere large | rixanti populo, nostra ut Floralia possint | aprici meminisse senes.* 183. **latus ut in circo**

spatiere, 'that you may strut proudly in the circus.' *latus* refers to the expanded toga (cf. Epod. 4. 8), as well as to the mental elation, the swagger, of a man pacing proudly along. For this meaning of *latus* cf. Cic. Acad. 2. 41. 127 *erigimur, latiores fieri videmur, humana despicimus* (v.l. *elatiores, altiores*); Sen. Ep. 76. 31 *cum praesente populo lati* (v.l. *elati*) *incesserunt et cothurnati, simul exierunt excalceantur et ad staturam suam redeunt.* The magistrate struts about the course during the intervals of racing as officials are always fond of doing. Palmer points out that there is no evidence for such promenading on the part of the praetor, and suggests *altus . . . spectere.* **stes**: of a statue, like *ponet marmoream* Od. 4. 1. 20; *statuaris* Ov. Her. 2. 67. **185.** M. Vipsanius **Agrippa** (cf. Od. 1. 6 Intr.) was aedile 33 B.C., when this satire was probably written. His aedileship was famous for its magnificence. **186. vulpes**: the fable of the fox in the lion's skin is referred to: see 1. 6. 22; 2. 1. 64.

187. The madness of Ajax occurs to the mind of the speaker, and he shows that the man whose notions of right and wrong are so confused as to lead him to commit a crime for the sake of glory (*ob titulos inanes*) is just as mad. Agamemnon is as mad as Ajax. The poet has in view the scene at the end of the Ajax of Sophocles, where Agamemnon and Menelaus forbid Teucer to bury the body of Ajax. **ne quis . . . velit**: taken from the language of ancient statutes, *e.g.* in the *S. C. de Bacchanalibus*: *'ne quis eorum baccanal habuisse velet.* **velīt**: 1. 5. 90. **Atridă**: here voc. of *Atrida*, the early Latinised form, through the Aeolic dialect; but *Atridē* Ep. 1. 7. 43, voc., after the regular Greek model. **188. plebeius**: from this word some have supposed the dialogue to be imagined between Agamemnon and a common soldier; but it is better to suppose it as an imaginary conversation between a Stoic, like Stertinius himself, and Agamemnon. He calls himself *plebeius*, conveying a rebuke on the arrogance of the king's *rex sum*, which the latter feels, and at once moderates his tone. **191.** The prefatory wish in Homer, Il. 1. 18 ὑμῖν μὲν θεοὶ δοῖεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες | ἐκπέρσαι Πριάμοιο πόλιν εὖ δ' οἴκαδ' ἱκέσθαι. **reducere** occurs, with the first syllable long in Lucretius 1. 228; 4. 992; 5. 1337, where the best MSS. mostly give *redducere.* Some copyists, offended by a seeming licence, give *deducere* here. **192. consulere, respondere**: to question and answer in my turn.

193. ab Achille secundus, 'next after Achilles,' the position regularly awarded to Ajax by Greek writers, Il. 2. 768; Od. 11. 550; Soph. Aj. 1339. For this use of **ab** cf. Juv. 10. 126 *volveris a prima quae proxima;* Virg. Ecl. 5. 49 *fortunate puer, tu nunc eris alter ab illo.* **195. ut,** 'is it in order that?' ἦ ἵνα; The line is a reminiscence of Il. 1. 255 ἦ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Πριάμοιό τε παῖδες. **inhumato**: sc. *illo* (*Aiace*). **197. mille ovium**: *mille* is always used as a subst. followed by a genitive in Plautus, sometimes in the best age: the plural, *milia*, is always a subst. See on 1. 6. 111. This is the only passage where Horace uses *mille* as a noun: he uses it twelve times as adj. **morti dedit**: cf. Pind. Ol. 2. 82 θανάτῳ πόρεν. **198. occidere,** 'that he was actually slaying.' **199. natam,** Iphigenia: see Class. Dict.

200. mola salsa: cf. Od. 3. 27. 20 n. **201. rectum . . . cursum**: cf. 2. 5. 78 *recto depellere cursu.* MSS. give *rectum animi servas? quorsum?* but *quorsum*=*quorsum haec tendunt* (cf. 2. 7. 21) seems unwarranted, and Bothe's *cursum* seems certain. **202. abstinuit vim**: the transitive use of *abstinere* is common in the comic writers and Cicero, especially with acc. of pronouns, and with *manus*, *iram*, etc. This is its literal meaning, to 'keep off,' like

ἀπέχειν χεῖρας. **203. uxore**: his concubine Tecmessa. **nato**: his little son Eurysaces. **204. non ille**: cf. Od. 4. 9. 51: *non ille* is, in such cases, strongly emphatic, contrasting the conduct of one person with what that of others might have been under the same circumstances. **Teucrum**, half-brother of Ajax, who, on his return to Salamis, was banished by his father Telamon for not avenging Ajax, and founded Salamis in Cyprus; cf. Od. 1. 7. 21 seq.

205. haerentes | with simpl. abl. is without example. It generally takes dat. or abl. with *in*. Schütz compares *religarat udo* | *litore navem* Od. 1. 32. 7. **adverso litore**, 'on the angry shore' at Aulis—so called because it refused to let the ships depart. **208. qui species alias veris . . .** *alias veris* is 'different from true': cf. Ep. 1. 16. 20 *alium sapiente;* 2. 1. 240 *alius Lysippo;* Varr. R. R. 3. 16. 2 *aliud melle;* Brut. et Cass. ap. Cic. ad Fam. 11. 2 *aliud libertate;* Xen. Mem. 4. 4. 25 ἄλλα τῶν δικαίων. The sense is: 'whoever shall embrace ideas different from true ones, and confused in that disturbance of mind which leads to guilt' (*tumultu sceleris*). **species** = φαντασίας, 'conceptions,' which in Stoic language are (1) in accordance with reality (κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὕπαρχον) or (2) not in accordance (*alias veris*). **tumultus** = ταραχή, that unphilosophic perturbation which leads to crime. Bentley, who read *veri* with some MSS. printed thus: *qui species alias, veri scelerisque tumultu permixtas*, and took *alias* by itself to be equivalent to *alias veris* = 'false,' which it cannot be. To take *alias veri* = *alias veris*, 'averse from truth,' is also more than doubtful Latin. **211. desipit**: for the hyperbaton cf. 2. 1. 60 n. **212. prudens**, 'deliberately,' ἑκών. **ob titulos inanes**, *i.e.* for the sake of being hailed as conqueror of Troy. **213. stas animo**: cf. Lucian, Philops. 5 ἄρτι μὲν ὡς μεμήνοι καὶ ἔξω εἴη τοῦ καθεστηκότος. **tumidum**: inflated with pride.

214. nitidam, 'gaily bedight.' **gestare**: the regular word for carrying in litters or carriages, boats, etc.; hence *gestatio*, 'an airing.' **216. Rufa** and **Pusilla** are common enough names for females: the lunatic addresses the lamb as if it were a woman. **forti**, 'gallant,' 'handsome,' a sense *fortis* bears in Plautus. It is used ironically of an old bridegroom, 2. 5. 64. **217. interdicto**: the *interdictum* was an injunction of the praetor in special cases. Madmen (*furiosi*) and prodigals were by the XII. Tables placed under the curatorship of their *agnati*; cf. Ulpian, frag. 12. 2 *lex XII tabularum furiosum itemque prodigum, cui bonis interdictum est, in curatione iubet esse agnatorum.* **218. abeat tutela**, 'his guardianship would pass to his sane relations,' or 'he would be handed over as a charge to,' for *tutela* has this meaning: Od. 4. 6. 33; Prop. 4. 8. 3; Ov. Trist. 1. 10. 1. **abeat** is rather in favour of the second explanation; cf. line 246. **220. integer animi**: cf. line 65. **222. et** = *etiam*, 'as well.' **furiosus**, 'raving mad.' **vitrea**, 'glassy,' perhaps combining both the glitter and brittleness of glass. Publil. Syr. Sent. 171 *fortuna vitrea est: tum cum splendet frangitur.* **223. circum tonuit**, 'thunders around,' and so renders ἐμβρόντητος, the strongest word to express the idea of insanity. Note the climax: *insanus, furiosus,* ἐμβρόντητος. **Bellona**: an ancient Sabellian war-goddess, into whose cult rites belonging to an Asiatic deity were introduced after the time of Sulla; her priests worked themselves into frenzy and goaded themselves with knives like the priests of Baal (1 Kings xviii. 28), to please the goddess 'who delights in deeds of blood' (*gaudens cruentis*). Cf. Lucan 1. 565 *tum quos sectis Bellona lacertis* | *saeva movet cecinere deos; crinemque rotantes* | *sanguineum populis ulularunt tristia Galli.*

224. Nomentanum: cf. line 175. **arripe**, 'arraign,' 2. 1. 69. **225. ratio**: 1. 3. 115. **226. mille talenta** = £245,000 sterling, nearly. **227. edicit**: a word well chosen to express the grandeur of the young heir, 2. 2. 51. **piscator**: a fishmonger, as well as a fisherman. The termination for a dealer in anything was generally *-arius* (see Plaut. Aul. 3. 5), as **pomarius**, a fruiterer. **auceps**: a dealer in game, as well as a fowler; cf. Plaut. Trin. 2. 4. 6 *piscator pistor abstulit lanii coqui* | *holitores myropolae aucupes*, where *myropolae* are 'perfumers' = **unguentarii** here. **228. Tusci . . . vici**: an ancient busy street of low repute between the Forum Romanum and Boarium. Comm. Cruq. says: *Tusci aliquando ab Aricinis pulsi contulere se Romam et vicum, qui modo Turarius dicitur, insederunt eique suum nomen dederunt.* It is supposed to be the street referred to Ep. 2. 1. 269. **229. scurris**, 'wits'; professional diners out, parasites who earned dinners in return for their smart sayings; cf. Ep. 1. 15. 27 n. **fartor**, 'a sausage-maker,' or a fattener of fowls, *i.e.* 'a poulterer.' For the latter sense cf. Colum. 8. 7 *pinguem facere gallinam quamvis fartoris non rustici sit officium.* **Velabro**: a street between the Vicus Tuscus and the Forum Boarium occupied by provision-merchants; C. I. L. 6. 9671 *negotiator fenoris et vinorum de Velabro.* The name was attributed by the ancients to the fact that it was formerly a navigable lake or marsh (Tibull. 2. 5. 33; Prop. 4. 9. 5) from *velum.* **macellum**: the general meat and fish market at Rome; cf. Ep. 1. 15. 31 n.

230. quid tum, 'what next?' often used by Cicero, generally when something emphatic is to follow, and so here. It denotes that the extraordinary thing that is to be told is now to come. **232. domi**, lit. 'at home' = 'of our own,' a common use in Plautus. **cras**: this word makes the offer more formal, for *cras pete* was a regular phrase in promising payment: cf. Plaut. Most. 3. 1. 121 *petito cras;* Curc. 4. 2. 40 *cras peti iubeto;* Merc. 4. 4. 30 *cras petito: dabitur: mox abi.* **234. Lucana**: Lucania was a hunting-ground for boars; cf. 2. 8. 6 *Lucanus aper.* **ocreatus**, 'with leggings on'; cf. *caligatus*, 'with boots on.' **235. hiberno**, 'stormy'; cf. 2. 2. 17. **verris**: with a sweep of a net, *everriculum*; cf. Sil. Ital. 14. 262 *seu silvis sectare feras seu retibus aequor* | *verrere.* Horace uses *averrere* of taking fish from a fishmonger's stall, with this technical sense in his mind, 2. 4. 37. **236. aufer**: sc. my gold, the acc. being supplied from *tantum possideam.* **237. deciens**: 1. 3. 15.

239. Aesopus, the famous tragic actor, contemporary of Roscius, the famous comic actor, and friend of Cicero, left an enormous fortune to his prodigal son, of whom Cicero writes, ad Att. 11. 15. 3 *Aesopi filius me excruciat:* according to Val. Max. 9. 1. 2, he was a youth *non solum perditae sed etiam furiosae luxuriae.* He carried on an amour with **Metella**, a notorious adulteress, wife of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther. **240. solidum**: the lump sum of one million sesterces. Aesopus was rivalled by Cleopatra, who made a bet with Antony that she alone would consume at a meal *H. S. centies* (ten million sesterces), and dissolved the largest of the pearls in her earrings in vinegar, and drank it; Plin. H. N. 9. 58. 117. **241. baca** has better support than *bacca* = *unio, margarita*, a pearl. **qui**: cf. 108, 260. **ac si**, 'than if,' 1. 10. 34; 1. 1. 46. **242. illud idem**: sc. *deciens solidum.* **iaceret**: cf. *barathro dones* line 166.

243. Arri, the magnificent *epulo* of line 86, and, according to Kiessling, a low-born fellow who pushed his way forward as a parasite of Crassus (cf. Cic. Brut. 69. 243), becoming praetor in 64 B.C. and a candidate for the

consulship of 59 B.C., while he is also the Arrius who mispronounced his aspirates of Catull. 84. **par**, 'pair,' 1. 7. 19. **244. gemellum**, 'twinned,' neut. nom. agreeing with *par*. **245. luscinias**: although Comm. Cruq. says this is to be pronounced as three syllables, yet all classical authority favours the view that the second syllable is short: Mart. 7. 87. 8 *lusciniae tumulum si Thelesina dedit;* Phaedr. 3. 18. 2. If the *ci* were long, surely we should have found the nom. sing. in hexameters. Plin. H. N. 10. 29. 84 tells us that nightingales fetched as high a price as slaves. **inpenso**: at a high price, regardless of expense; *pretio* is generally joined to *inpenso*, *e.g.* in Cic. ad Att. 14. 13. 5; it is here left out as it is with *magno*, etc. **coemptas**: of a large number; cf. 1. 2. 9 *omnia conductis coemens obsonia nummis.* **246. quorsum abeant, sani ut creta, an carbone notati?** 'to which class are they to go after being marked with chalk as sane, or with charcoal (as insane)? The common reading *quorsum abeant? sanin creta an carbone notandi?* has very little MS. authority. The metaphor is from the custom of marking lucky days with white, unlucky with black stones; cf. Od. 1. 36. 10.

247-280. Stertinius passes on to the madness of lovers. **247. aedificare casas**: to make houses of bricks, or cards; cf. Juv. 9. 61 *rusticus infans | cum matre et casulis et collusore catello;* Tibull. 2. 1. 24. **248. ludere par inpar**, 'to play odd and even,' ἀρτιάζειν. Ar. Plut. 816 στατῆρσι δ' οἱ θεράποντες ἀρτιάζομεν | χρυσοῖς. *ludere* often takes an acc. of the game played; cf. 1. 6. 126 n. **250. ratio evincet**: cf. line 225; 1. 3. 115. **251. in pulvere**: for children building castles in the sand only to pull them down cf. Hom. Il. 15. 362 ὡς ὅτε τις ψάμαθον πάις ἄγχι θαλάσσης | ὅς τ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ποιήσῃ ἀθύρματα νηπιέῃσιν | ἂψ αὖτις συνέχευε ποσὶν καὶ χερσὶν ἀθύρων. **252. ludas opus**, 'play at work.' **254. mutatus**, 'reformed,' converted. **Polemon**: a profligate Athenian youth who, roving after a drinking-bout through the city, and hearing the voice of Xenocrates at his lecture, burst in, and was in spite of himself converted to temperance by the eloquence of the lecturer: so that on the spot he flung away his coronal of flowers, and thereafter devoted himself to philosophy; in the cultivation of which he so progressed that he was chosen successor to Xenocrates by the school, the Academy, in 315 B.C. **insignia morbi**, 'the badges of your malady.' **255. fasciolas**, 'cross-garters,' bandages for the calf of the leg, worn by dandies: cf. Shak. Twelfth Night II. v. So Cicero of Pompey, when he suspected him of being engaged in some intrigue, *mihi caligae eius et fasciae cretatae non placebant*, ad Att. 2. 3. 1. **cubital**: a pillow for resting the elbow on at dinner. **fōcalia** (from *fauces*), 'neckcloths,' worn apparently only by effeminate persons. **256. furtim**: when he thought no one was looking. **coronas**: the garlands worn by guests are often referred to. **257. inpransi**, 'fasting,' 'sober,' opp. *potus*, line 255. **correptus**, 'chidden.'

259. catelle, 'doggie,' a term of endearment, cf. Plaut. Asin. 3. 3. 103 *dic igitur me tuam anaticulam columbam vel catellum | hirundinem, monedulam, passerculum, putillum.* **260. qui distat**: cf. line 108. **agit**: 1. 5. 90 n. **261.** The following dialogue is transposed, with wonderful closeness, from the beginning of the Eunuchus of Terence: the speakers are Phaedria and the slave Parmeno:—Ph. *quid igitur faciam? non eam, ne nunc quidem, | cum arcessor ultro? an potius ita me comparem | non perpeti meretricum contumelias? | exclusit; revocat: redeam? non si me obsecret.* | Par. *ere, quae res in se neque consilium neque modum | habet ullum, eam consilio regere non potes. | in amore haec omnia insunt vitia: iniuriae | suspiciones*

inimicitiae induciae | bellum pax rursum : incerta haec tu si postules | ratione certa facere nihilo plus agas | quam si des operam ut cum ratione insanias. 262. **nec nunc**=*ne nunc quidem*, 'not even now.' Madvig has laid down that *ne nunc* is not used for *ne nunc quidem* in good authors, but that *nec nunc* is : de Fin. ed. 3, p. 82 : excursus, pp. 803 seq. *nec* has much better authority here than *ne*. **vocet** : there is not reason to change this to *vocat* against the MSS., though Terence has *arcessor*. Cicero always uses *nunc cum* with subj. where the clause, while designating time, also implies a reason for the principal action='now that'; *e.g.* Cic. Mur. 3. 6 *nunc cum omnes me causae ad misericordiam . . . vocent*. See on 1. 3. 121. **ultro**, 'goes out of her way to invite me': not only is willing to receive me, but actually invites me. 263. **finire dolores** : by conquering my passion. 264. **redeam** : deliberative subjunctive. 266. **habet**, 'admits of.' 271. **insanire . . . ratione modoque**, 'to go mad by rule and method': cf. Hamlet II. ii. 207 'Though this be madness, yet there is method in 't.'

272. **Picenis . . . pomis** : one of the follies of lovers was to try to hit the ceiling (*cameram*) with apple-pips : if they succeeded their love was returned. Picenian apples were one of the best kinds : cf. Juv. 11. 74 *aemula Picenis :* see 2. 4. 70. *Picens* is used of the inhabitants, *Picenus* of things. 273. **percusti**=*percussisti :* cf. 1. 5. 79 n. **penes te es**, 'are you in your senses?' lit. 'are you in your own possession?' thus corresponding exactly to the Greek σαυτοῦ εἶναι, γενέσθαι. 274. There is no fool like an old fool. **balba . . . verba** are the lisping words of lovers : hence Horace gives the name Balbinus to a doating lover 1. 3. 40. **feris** perhaps='coin,' like κόπτειν : cf. Juv. 7. 55 *communi feriat carmen triviale moneta.* Orelli[4] and Kiessling explain *verba aere feriendo reddis balba*, referring to passages in which voice is said to be produced by striking the air, *e.g.* Diog. L. 7. 1. 15 φωνὴ ἀὴρ πεπληγμένος : but this is very recondite. 275. **qui**, 'how,' 'in what respect': cf. lines 108, 241.

275. **adde cruorem** : not only the follies of lovers, but the bloodshed that love leads to—murders and suicides—convince us that it is madness. 276. **ignem gladio scrutare**, 'stir fire with a sword'; the reference is to the Pythagorean precept πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ μὴ σκαλεύειν : explained Athen. 10. 452 ἀντὶ τοῦ τεθυμωμένον ἄνδρα μὴ ἐριδαίνειν· πῦρ γὰρ ὁ θυμός, ἡ δὲ ἔρις μάχαιρα. **modo**, 'lately,' to take an instance that happened the other day: was Marius mad when, after stabbing Hellas, he threw himself out of a window? Marius was evidently a Roman, who was driven by his love for Hellas (a freedwoman, or slave, to judge by her name) to murder her, and commit suicide. The other arrangement of the passage first put forward by Voss, and preferred by many editors, is *ignem gladio scrutare modo, inquam*, taking *modo* with the imperative, as often in Plautus and Terence, in such phrases as *vide modo, cave modo, perge modo :* 'just stir the fire with a sword.' 278. **cerritus**, 'crazed,' an old word of uncertain derivation, perhaps for *cerebritus*. The ancients connected it with *Ceres*, and Kiessling gives 'possessed by Cerrus' (cf. *laruatus, lymphatus*) an old name of a creative (cf. *creo*) deity, who in a fem. form is Ceres. 280. **ex more**, according to common usage. **cognata**, 'related,' *i.e.* nearly the same, in the view of the philosopher : one name, *insanus* would have done.

281. Damasippus or Stertinius passes on to another phase of madness, viz. superstition, of which he gives two instances. **libertinus** : a freedman was a *libertus* with reference to his patron ; *libertinus*, with reference to his *ordo*.

compita: at the *compita* were images of the *Lares compitales* (*qui compita servant* Ov. Fast. 2. 615). **siccus**, not drunk, though one might think he was; opp. *uvidus*, cf. Od. 4. 5. 39. **282. lautis**: Hom. Il. 6. 266 χερσὶ δ' ἀνίπτοισιν Διὶ λείβειν αἴθοπα οἶνον | ἅζομαι: Hes. O. et D. 724. **283. quid tam magnum**, 'what is there in my request so great or difficult' (that I may not pray for it to be granted by you?) **surpite**=*surripite*: cf. *acpite* in Ennius, Cic. de Off. 1. 12. 38; *porgite* Virg. Aen. 8. 274. **284. dis facile**: cf. Theognis 11 σοὶ μὲν τοῦτο, θεά, μικρόν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μέγα. **285. nisi litigiosus**, 'unless he were fond of law-suits,' as a law-suit would be sure to follow for fraudulent sale, cf. Ep. 2. 2. 16 n.; Cic. de Off. 3. 17. 71 *in mancipiorum venditione venditoris fraus omnis excluditur. qui enim scire debuit de sanitate de fuga de furtis praestat edicto aedilium;* Varro, R. R. 2. 10. 5 *in* (*servorum*) *emptione solet stipulatio intercedere sanum eum esse, furtis noxisque solutum.* **287. Chrysippus**: 1. 3. 126. **Meneni**: some lunatic.

289. cubantis: cf. 1. 9. 18. **290. quartana**: sc. *febris*, the quartan ague, recurring every fourth day. **291. die . . . ieiunia**: Porph. says *dies Iovis*, *i.e.* Thursday. The oriental division of time into weeks, and the names of the days of the weeks derived from the sun, moon, and five planets, though not adopted by the Romans until the time of Theodosius (end of 4th cent.), must have been known to them much earlier: cf. Tibull. 1. 3. 18 *Saturni diem*, *i.e.* Saturday. Kiessling considers that there is a reference to the fact that Thursday is one of the two days on which the Pharisees fasted (cf. Comm. on Luke xviii. 12). Orelli[4] also refers the phrase to Jewish beliefs (*legem Iudaeorum pulsat* Acron) but explains of the actual Sabbath which the Jews were supposed to keep as a fast. The immersion of the boy in a stream by way of purification seems certainly to point to some oriental belief being hinted at. **292. casus medicusve**: note the satire. **levarit**, i.e. *si levarit*, 1. 4. 18. **293. ex praecipiti**, 'from his peril': *in praecipiti* is a technical term used of the critical state of a sick person, Cels. 2. 6. **295. quone**: cf. 2. 2. 107 n. **timore deorum**: the moral is that of Lucretius, 1. 101 *tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*

296. sapientum octavus, 'the eighth of the wise men,' with a reference to the 'seven wise men' of Greece. So Sappho is called 'the tenth muse.' **297. compellarer**, absolutely 'called names,' meaning the particular name of *insanus*, as we see from the next line: *compellare* often means to assail with bad names; cf. Ep. 1. 7. 34; Cic. Phil. 3. 7. 17 *Ciceronem compellat edicto nec sentit amens commendationem esse compellationem suam.* **inultus**, 'with impunity.' **298. totidem audiet**, 'shall hear as much in his turn.' **totidem**, sc. *verba*. **audiet** is not, perhaps, here quite='to be called,' as 2. 6. 20; Ep. 1. 7. 38; 1. 16. 17, but is like Plaut. Pseud. 4. 7. 77 *contumeliam si dicis audies.* **299. respicere ignoto discet pendentia tergo**, 'shall be told to look at what hangs from the back which he cannot survey.' The reference is to the well-known fable of the two wallets; cf. Phaedr. 4. 10 *peras imposuit Iuppiter nobis duas: | propriis repletam vitiis post tergum dedit: | alienis ante pectus suspendit gravem;* Pers. 4. 23; Catull. 22. 21. **300. Stoice . . .**: Horace is the speaker. **sic**, 'so may you sell . . . with what folly am I mad?'='so may you sell . . . tell me with what . . .?' For *sic* in appeals, cf. Od. 1. 3. 1 n. **pluris**, 'at a profit.' Horace supposes Damasippus to be passing through the bankruptcy court; and he wishes that his assets (his statues, bric-a-brac, etc.), may realise more than twenty shillings in the pound, so as to pay his creditors, and leave him a balance.

303. All MS. authority of weight is for *abscisum* here, from *abscīdo*, which means to *cut* off; but the sense decidedly favours **abscissum**, from *abscindo*, which means to *rend* off, for Agave and the other Bacchae tore Pentheus in pieces with their hands, Eur. Bacch. 1125 seq. **manibus**: Euripides again and again mentions the fact of Agave carrying in her own hands the head of her son, as the striking point of horror; *e.g.* Bacch. 1139 κρᾶτα δ' ἄθλιον | ὅπερ λαβοῦσα τυγχάνει μήτηρ χεροῖν | πήξασ' ἐπ' ἄκρον θύρσον. **305. veris**: 'the truth': cf. line 223 *cruentis*.

308. aedificas: Horace was probably building on his Sabine farm, which he had received from Maecenas about a year before this time: Damasippus hints that he was exceeding his means and station in doing so. Damasippus tells him that is much the same thing as if he were to ape tall men (**longos**), when he himself was puny in stature. *longus*, of a tall man, occurs Catull. 67. 47 *longus homo est.* **309. bipedalis**, 'you are like a dwarf two feet high aping tall men': Horace was, according to his own account, *corporis exigui* Ep. 1. 20. 24; and for his figure see Intr. p. x. **310. corpore maiorem**, 'too big for his body'; cf. Ov. Her. 12. 184 *nunc animis audi verba minora meis.* Turbo was a plucky gladiator of small stature, like Tydeus, who μικρὸς μὲν ἔην δέμας ἀλλὰ μαχητής. **311. spiritum et incessum**, 'the fire and strut.' **312. verum**, proper, reasonable, just: sc. *facere;* cf. Ep. 1. 7. 98. **313. tantum dissimilem**: the reading of *vet. Bland.*, much better than *tanto* of many MSS. for this abl. of difference is only used with comparatives. On the other hand, for *tantum* cf. 2. 5. 92 *multum similis;* Ep. 1. 10. 3 *multum dissimiles.* The construction is *te quoque verum est* (*facere*) *tantum dissimilem, et certare* (*cum illo*) *tantum minorem*, i.e. *cum tanto minor sis.* Maecenas' magnificent mansion on the Esquiline is especially referred to 1. 8. 7.

314. The well-known Aesopian fable of the frog and the ox—here a calf. **pullis**: the young of any animal (akin to *puer*). **316. eliserit**, regularly used of squeezing, crushing to death. **317. quantane?** *ne* is superfluous; cf. 2. 2. 107 n. **tantum magna**, like *tantum dissimilem* line 313 = *tam magna* = *tanta.* Cf. Babr. 28. 6 ἡ δὲ φρῦνος ἠρώτα | φυσῶσ' ἑαυτήν, εἰ τοσοῦτον ἦν ὄγκῳ | τὸ ζῷον, Phaedr. 1. 24. **318. maior dimidio**, 'bigger by half': an absurd answer for the young frog to give, as the calf must have appeared to it 1000 times bigger than its mother. To avoid this, many take *maior dimidio* of the old frog = *maior facta dimidio*, 'when grown half as large again she asked "was he that big?"' Horace puts, however, *maior dimidio* into the mouth of the young frog, with the *intention* of producing a ridiculous effect. **num tantum**: sc. *magna.* MSS. give *tanto.* Notice *num*, 'surely not?'

320. abludit: ἅπαξ εἰρημένον = *abhorret*, ἀπᾴδει, 'does not much disagree.' **321. oleum adde camino**, 'throw oil on the furnace,' a proverbial expression, cf. Lucian, Tim. 44 πίττῃ καὶ ἐλαίῳ (πῦρ) κατασβεννύναι. From *caminus* comes *chimney*, through *cheminée.* **322. si quis sanus fecit**: cf. 2. 7. 117 *aut insanit homo aut versus facit;* A. P. 296 *excludit sanos Helicone poetas Democritus.* Poetry is a divine madness, and the poet must be in a 'fine frenzy'; cf. Cic. de Div. 1. 37. 80 *negat sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse posse, quod idem dicit Plato;* Plat. Phaedr. 245 A ὃς δ' ἂν ἄνευ μανίας Μουσῶν ἐπὶ ποιητικὰς θύρας ἀφίκηται . . . ἀτελὴς αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ ποίησις ἠφανίσθη, Ion 533 E and the connexion between μάντις and μανία. **323. horrendam rabiem**: this is the strongest expression which Horace uses to describe his passionate temper, of which he

speaks several times: cf. Od. 3. 9. 23 *iracundior Hadria;* Ep. 1. 20. 25 *irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.* **cultum maiorem censu,** 'living beyond your means': cf. *corpore maiorem* line 310. **324. teneas . . . tuis te,** 'mind your own business': more lit., 'confine yourself by the limit of your own affairs'; *tuis* is a limitative abl., like *castris se tenuisset* Caes. B. G. 1. 40. **326. maior . . . insane**: the postponement of *insane* to the end of the line makes Damasippus expect a compliment until he is undeceived.

SATIRE IV

Catius on Cookery. DATE:—about 32 B.C.

Horace relates how he met one Catius, who was hurrying home to commit to writing certain precepts on gastronomy, which he had just heard from a person whose name he refuses to reveal; he, however, recites the precepts themselves at length, 12-86. Of these, roughly, 12-34 refer to the *gustatio,* 35-46 to the *mensa prima,* 48-69 to drink and sauces, 70-75 to the *mensa secunda,* and 76-87 to cleanliness. When he has concluded Horace feigns rapturous admiration, and implores Catius to introduce him to the author. Ennius had written a poem in imitation of the Ἡδυφαγητικά of Archestratus, and Varro a satire *περὶ ἐδεσμάτων.*

To the question who Catius was different answers have been given. (1) It has been supposed by some that he was the Catius Insuber mentioned by Cicero (ad Fam. 15. 16. 1) as an Epicurean writer then lately deceased, and of whom Quintilian, 10. 1. 124, says: *in Epicureis levis quidem sed non iniucundus tamen auctor est Catius.* This Catius must have died before 44 B.C., and there seems no reason why Horace should introduce him here. (2) Comm. Cruq. tells us that M. Catius was an Epicurean who wrote four books, *de rerum natura et de summo bono,* but on line 47 the same commentator says: *inridet eum quod de opere pistorio in suo libro scripsit de se ipso: haec primus invenit et cognovit Catius Miltiades.* Hence Orelli has put forward the theory that Catius was one Miltiades, who was a freedman of Cicero's Catius, and had taken the name of his *patronus,* in addition to his own, as was customary. (3) Manso's view, that *Catius* is a disguise for *Matius* (see Od. 2. 12. 13 n.; Palmer Pref. p. xvii.) is generally discarded and yet seems certainly true. This C. Matius was a friend of Julius Caesar, and afterwards of Octavian. He was also intimate with Cicero, and, what is very striking, with Trebatius (cf. Cic. ad Fam. 11. 27; 11. 28; ad Att. 9. 15). He was also noted for his endeavours to raise gastronomy to an art; cf. Columella 12. 4. 2 *tum demum nostri generis postquam a bellis otium fuit quasi quoddam tributum victui humano conferre non dedignati sunt ut M. Ambivius et Maenas Licinius tum etiam C. Matius quibus studium fuit pistoris et coqui nec minus cellarii diligentiam suis praeceptis instruere;* 12. 44. 1 *quae C. Matius diligentissime persecutus est . . . illi enim propositum fuit urbanas mensas et lauta convivia instruere, libros tres edidit quos inscripsit nominibus Coci et Cetarii et Salgamarii:* 'the Cook,' 'the Fishmonger,' 'the Picklemaker.' His unknown teacher (lines 10-11) may reasonably be regarded as a figment into whose lips he puts his own wisdom, cf. 'Mrs. Harris.'

1. unde et quo Catius? Cf. Plat. Phaedr. p. 227 A ὦ φίλε Φαῖδρε ποῖ καὶ πόθεν; cf. 1. 9. 62. For the 3rd person, cf. Plat. Menex. 234 A ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἢ πόθεν Μενέξενος; **tempus**: sc. *consistendi et conloquendi.* **2. ponere**

signa means 'to commit to writing,' taking *signa* for the letters, the symbols of things: cf. Plaut. Rud. 5. 1. 14 *longis litteris signabo.* Orelli and Kiessling, however, explain *signa* of shorthand symbols. **vincunt Pythagoran**: 'surpass P.' *i.e.* the precepts of Pythagoras, cf. line 16 n. **3. Anytique reum.** Socrates: his three accusers were Meletus, Anytus, Lycon. **4. peccatum**: noun, 'I confess my fault.' **sic**: not to be joined with *laevo*, but with *interpellarim*: 'in that I have accosted you as I have done, at an inauspicious moment.' **tempore laevo**: opp. *t. dextro* 2. 1. 19. **5. bonus**, 'of your grace' or 'goodness'; with mock respect. The mock seriousness throughout should be noticed carefully. **6. interciderit**, 'shall have slipped from your memory.' **7. hoc**: this faculty of reminiscence. **artis** refers to artificial memory, the invention of which was ascribed to the lyric poet Simonides of Ceos, Cic. de Orat. 2. 86. 351; Quint. 11. 2. 11; Auct. ad Herenn. 3. 16 *sunt duae memoriae, una naturalis, altera artificiosa* etc. **9. tenues**; 'subtle,' cf. line 36.

11. canam, 'recite,' a word applied to oracles and epic poetry: it is selected by Catius as in keeping both with the mystery and dignity of his subject: see 1. 9. 30. **12.** As Comm. Cruq. remarks, *bene ab ovis incipit*, i.e. *ab initio cenae ut alibi* (1. 3. 7) *ab ovo usque ad mala citaret io Bacche.* Long-shaped eggs had better flavour (*gratioris saporis*, as Pliny, H. N. 10. 74, explained *suci melioris*). **13. magis alba**, 'whiter,' *i.e.* whiter inside, referring both to the white and yolk of the egg. The white was a purer white, and the yolk a paler red. Cf. Plin. H. N. 10. 74. 144, where the contrary is stated of the eggs of water-fowl: *aquaticis lutei plus quam albi, idque ipsum magis luridum quam ceteris.* Others understand *alba* to refer only to the white of the egg, which is here said to be whiter in long-shaped eggs. **14. ponere**: serve up, 2. 2. 23. **namque marem cohibent callosa vitellum**, 'for they are compact, and enclose a male yolk.' That oval eggs were more likely to produce cocks than round ones is stated by Columella, 8. 5. 11; Pliny, H. N. 10. 74. 145; but the opposite is laid down by Aristotle, H. N. 6. 2. 2.

15. cole=*caule*, 'cabbage,' is much the better attested form here. Cf. *caupo* and *copo, plaustrum* and *plostrum, plaudo* and *plodo, cauda* and *coda, claudo* and *clodo, Caurus* and *Corus, raudus* and *rodus, si audes* and *sodes, fauces* and *suffoco, focalia.* In most of these cases the form with *o* was the more vulgar one. **suburbano**: much of the land close to Rome was flat and marshy. It is generally taken to refer to the artificial watering of the rich men's gardens near Rome. **16. elutius**, 'insipid,' lit. washed out. **inriguo horto**, a compendious comparative for 'than the cabbage of a well-watered garden.'

17. oppresserit, 'drops in on you': *opprimere* is generally to come upon by surprise. Juv. 10. 75 *si oppressa foret secura senectus* | *principis*, 'if the old emperor had been caught off his guard.' **18. malum responset**, 'offer an unkind resistance to.' *responsare* always means 'resist,' 'defy,' in Horace, cf. 2. 7. 85, 103; Ep. 1. 1. 68. *malum* is used adverbially, cf. Od. 1. 22. 23 n. **19. doctus eris**: not=*docebere*, as Orelli, but 'you will show your science by plunging it living into Falernian must.' *doctus* is adj., and the construction is the same as 2. 8. 24 *ridiculus absorbere*; 2. 7. 85 *fortis responsare.* **musto Falerno**, Bentley's nearly certain emendation for *mixto* of the MSS. Must, *i.e.* the unfermented juice of the grape, was kept for a year, and was used in cookery: Cato R. R. 120; Colum. 12. 29. Of course it would be very much cheaper than old wine. **mersare**: according to Bentley, this means to kill by drowning: he quotes Cic. Mur. 29. 61 *nec minus delinquere eum qui gallum gallinaceum, cum opus non fuerit, quam eum qui patrem suffo-*

caverit. The addition of *vivam,* however, seems to show it means merely 'plunge,' and *suffoco* in the passage he quotes may mean 'to throttle.' **21. male creditur**: Ov. Her. 7. 54 *expertae totiens tam male credis aquae?* Virg. Ecl. 3. 94 *non bene ripae | creditur.* **22. prandia,** 'his luncheon.' **moris,** 'mulberries.' **23. finiet,** 'end,' 'conclude,' not 'limit to.' **legerit arbore**: notice *arbore* without *ab,* 'from the tree.' The sense of removal is in the verb.

24. Aufidius may well be the M. Aufidius Lurco mentioned by Pliny, H. N. 10. 20. 45, as having been the first to fatten peacocks for sale, from which trade he derived a large fortune during Pompey's war with the pirates, 67 B.C. **25. vacuis venis,** 'an empty stomach': the ancients seem to have regarded the veins as directly connected with and fed by the stomach, 2. 3. 153; Ep. 1. 15. 20. **26. mulsum** (οἰνόμελι), 'mead,' was a mixture of wine and honey: Catius says that Aufidius made the mistake of using Falernian wine, which was strong, in its composition. *mulsum* was regularly taken at the *gustatio,* beginning of a banquet: hence *vacuae venae:* from this custom that part of the meal was called *promulsis.* **leni,** 'light,' 'weak': the emphasis is on *leni,* not on *mulso.* **praecordia** = the stomach: 'the cockles of the heart' (Con.) **27. si dura morabitur alvus,** 'if the bowels shall be costive.' **28. mitulus**: the sea-mussel. The word is connected with μῦς. **obstantia** = *quae obstant.* **conchae,** a general name for shell-fish. Celsus 2. 29 mentions *musculi et omnes fere conchulae* as having the effect here attributed to them. **29. lapathi brevis herba,** 'groundling sorrel.' Shell-fish were filled with sorrel, mallows, etc., Athen. 3. 92, referred to by Heindorf. Catius is still at the *gustatio*: in an oft-quoted bill of fare of a pontifex given by Macrob. Saturn. 3. 12 we find *ante cenam echinos, ostreas crudas quantum vellent, peloridas, sphondylos, turdum, asparagos subtus gallinam altilem, patinam ostrearum, peloridum, balanos nigros, balanos albos.* **albo Coo**: Pliny, H. N. 14. 8. 78, mentions white Coan wine (*leucocoum*) as one which was made by mixing white must largely with sea-water.

30. The theory that shell-fish fill as the moon does is stated by Lucilius, 1062 *luna alit ostrea et implet echinos, muribus fibras | et pecui addit;* and by Plin. H. N. 2. 41. 109. **lubrica** refers to the slimy body of the fish. **conchȳlia**: the *y* is long in Latin poetry, Lucr. 6. 1074. **32. murex,** 'the purple fish.' The comparison between two totally different things is strange, and, perhaps, we should read *murex Baianus,* 'the Baian purple fish is a superior kind, the Lucrine giant mussel.' For Baiae cf. Od. 3. 4. 24 n. The Lucrine lake was part of the Bay of Cumae, connected with the latter and with the lake Avernus, to form the Portus Julius, by Augustus. **peloris,** 'the giant mussel.' **33. Circeiis**: on the coast of Latium, a few miles from Rome. Juvenal 4. 140 tells us that Montanus could tell where oysters came from by their taste, cf. *Circeiis nata forent an | Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo | ostrea callebat primo deprendere morsu.* **echini,** 'sea-urchins,' cf. Ep. 1. 15. 23 n. **34. pectines** are scallops (κτένες). **patulis,** 'opening' (ἀνάπτυχοι), an epithet which may be applied to most bivalves. **molle Tarentum**: so Ep. 1. 7. 45 *imbelle T.;* Juv. 6. 297 *coronatum et petulans madidumque T.;* Sidon. Carm. 5. 430 *uncta Tarentus.* It was noted for its luxury.

36. non prius . . . 'before he has mastered the subtle theory of flavours.' *exigere* is sometimes to find out clearly, Ov. Fast. 3. 637 *non tamen exactum quid agat.* **37. cara mensa,** 'a dear fish-stall.' *mensa* is the slab, or table,

on which the fish were exposed for sale. **averrere**, to sweep off, is used because *verro*, *averriculum* are regularly applied to catching fish in the sea with nets: see on 2. 3. 235. Horace means that it is no use paying a high price for fish if you cannot cook them properly. **38. ignarum quibus est**: one would expect the subj., but the poets are sometimes not particular in this regard, when their metre is to be protected; cf. Prop. 3. 4. 25-46, where he uses ind. and subj. indiscriminately; Virg. G. 4. 149; Ecl. 4. 52; Aen. 6. 615. **ius**: those which were boiled were served with sauce, apparently, not those which were broiled (*assi*); cf. the pun in Varro R. R. 3. 3. 9 *in ius vocat pisces cocus.* **38, 39. quibus assis . . . reponet**: generally taken 'and for which ones broiled the tired guest shall again place himself on his elbow,' as if the mere sight of certain fishes broiled would incite the guest to begin eating again, and as though resting on the elbow were peculiarly the attitude while eating. It seems better to take *quibus assis* as instrumental abl. after *languidus* (like *vino languidus* Cic. Cat. 2. 5. 10), or else as abl. absol. 'which ones being broiled, the guest, after eating his fill of them, shall at length replace himself on his elbow.' *reponet* means that the guest, after eating till he was sated (*languidus*), leaned back in his former position, resting on his elbow on the pillow. The ordinary attitude at dinner was to recline *in cubitum*: the eating attitude was to lean forward towards the table over the large *cubital*, or pillow. See Smith's Dict. Ant. s.v. *coena*, 'Each man, in order to feed himself, lay flat on his breast, or nearly so, and stretched out his hand towards the table; but afterwards, when his hunger was satisfied, he turned upon his left side, leaning on his elbow'; also the illustration in Becker's Charicles p. 327; and cf. Plaut. Mil. 3. 1. 21 *sed procellunt sese in mensam dimidiati dum appetunt*, and so perhaps *cubito presso* Od. 1. 27. 8, of the after-dinner attitude reclining on the elbow.

41. **curvat**: bends the dishes, which were often of silver. **inertem**: flat, insipid. **42. Laurens**, 'the Laurentian *jungle*, the wild hog's *reedy* home' (Macaulay), was about Laurentum, which was near the coast, between Ardea and Ostia. **43. vinea**: a he-goat was sacrificed to Bacchus, on account of the mischief he did the vines, Ov. Met. 15. 114, etc. **summittit**, 'breeds.' *summittere* is not only used with *flores*, *pabula*, and the like, but is the technical term for rearing animals or plants, Varr. R. R. 3. 2. 18, etc. **non semper** belongs to *edules*. **44. fecundae**: either 'prolific' or 'fruitful,' *i.e.* that has had young (Kiessling). Most MSS. have *fecundi*, and elsewhere *lepus* is masc., but *vet. Bland.* has *fecundae*. **sapiens sectabitur**, 'the connoisseur will affect.' **armos**, 'the wings,' as the forelegs of hares are generally called: see 1. 6. 106. **46. quaesita** agrees with both *aetas* and *natura*. **47. crustula**, 'pastry,' a Lucilian word. **48.** The only place out of twenty-four in Horace where *est* is omitted with **satis** in the phrase *satis est.* **50. olivo**: the fish were fried in oil.

51. **Massic** was a Campanian wine of the third rank, according to Pliny, H. N. 14. 5. 64; and of Campanian wines Pliny says, 14. 21. 136 *exposita sub diu in cadis verberari sole luna imbre ventis aptissimum videtur.* **52. si quid crassi**, 'any thickness they may have will be clarified.' Palmer prefers 'any roughness will be toned down.' **53. odor nervis inimicus**: according to Lucretius, the 'scent' (or perhaps 'the fumes') of wine was in certain cases of bodily illness most pernicious, like 'a felling blow,' 6. 804 *at cum membra domans percepit fervida febris | tum fit odor vini plagae mactabilis instar.* **54.** Another way to take the thickness out of

wine was to strain it through linen. Catius says wine is thus spoiled (*vitiata*). **55. Surrentine** was a light Campanian wine suited to invalids. To give it more body, a knowing man (*vafer*) mixes it with the lees of Falernian, the best of Italian wines, and one of the strongest. **56. limum,** 'the sediment,' which the Falernian lees would have in them. **57. quatenus,** 'inasmuch as,' 1. 1. 64. **volvens aliena,** 'carrying all foreign matters with it.'

58. tostis squillis: usually taken to mean 'fried prawns,' as in 2. 8. 42, but probably here *squillae* are a sort of onion much used by the ancients (*e.g.* for a medicinal wine *scillites*, Col. 12. 33) and here employed to give fresh relish for wine. **marcentem,** 'jaded.' **59. nam,** ('but not with lettuce) for lettuce . . . ' **60. perna, hillis,** 'ham and sausages.' *hillae* is a diminutive of *hirae*, the intestines. **61. inmorsus**: part. 'roused,' properly 'bitten.' Kiessling gives *in morsus*, but the lines are about drinking not eating. **62. quaecumque . . . popinis,** 'whatever is fetched smoking hot from untidy cookshops.' Mart. 1. 41. 9 describes hot sausages hawked round by the owners of such *popinae: quod fumantia qui tomacla raucus | circumfert tepidis coquus popinis.* For *popinis* without *ab*, cf. Pers. 5. 134 *saperdas advehe Ponto.*

63. est operae pretium, heroic; from Ennius, Ann. 478 *audire est operae pretium.* **duplicis iuris,** 'two kinds of sauce.' The *simplex ius* consisted of sweet olive oil, thick wine, and the liquor of a Byzantine pickle-jar: the compound consisted of the same ingredients boiled with a mixture of chopped herbs and sprinkled with saffron, and an addition of the best Venafran oil when cool. Some harshly take *d. iuris* 'a compound sauce,' making *simplex . . . olivo* parenthetical. **64. dulci**: not a general epithet, means that the oil must be sweet and good; so too **pingui,** 'rich,' not thin. **66. Byzantia orca**: a jar of Byzantium containing pickled fish. The Pontus, by which name the ancients designated the straits leading to the Black Sea, as well as that sea itself, teemed with fish: it was the place whence most preserved fish came to Greece and Rome. Hence the proverbial expression ἰχθῦς εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον = coals to Newcastle. The fragments of the Greek comic poets swarm with reference to these preserved fish from the Pontus: cf. Hermippus, Phorm. 1. 5 ἐκ δ' Ἑλλησπόντου σκόμβρους καὶ πάντα ταρίχη: Pers. 5. 134 *saperdas advehe Ponto.* **67. herbis** goes rather with *inferbuit* than with *confusum. herbis* is dat. after *inferbuit*, 'when this has been mixed, and been boiled with chopped herbs (lit. over, or on, chopped herbs), and has stood for a while (*stetit*) after being sprinkled with Corycian saffron.' **68. Corycus**: a mountain in Cilicia famous for saffron. **addes**: a mild imperative, 'you shall add.' **69. quod**: cf. 2. 8. 53 *quod testa marina remittit.* The Venafran oil was the best in the world; Od. 2. 6. 15; Plin. H. N. 15. 2. 8.

70. Picenis: 2. 3. 272. **71. nam facie praestant**: a good example of *nam*, used elliptically like γάρ, '(which is surprising,) for they excel them in appearance,' cf. line 59. **vennuncula . . .** 'the *vennuncula* is best for pots,' *i.e.* for preserving, a statement confirmed by Pliny, H. N. 14. 2. 34 *vennunculam . . . ollis aptissimam.* The word is not a proper name, but a species. **73. faecem, allec**: lees of wine and tartar. These are mentioned, 2. 8. 9, among the things placed on the table for the purpose of rousing a tired eater. **74. primus et invenior,** 'I am found to have been the first' (*i.e.* by those who examine into the records of great discoveries). White pepper is mentioned by Pliny as milder than black. Varro R. R. 1. 7 speaks of a salt prepared by the Germans from wood ashes (*carbones salsi*); cf. Pliny

H. N. 31. 40 *quicumque ligno confit sal niger est;* it seems to have been specially sharp, Ep. 2. 2. 60. **75. incretum,** from *incerno,* 'sifted on to clean plates.' **catillis** is dat. after *incretum*: the pepper and salt were sifted through an *incerniculum* or *cribrum,* to fine them.

76. The inconsistency of buying dear viands and then serving them shabbily is rebuked, as in 37. **milia terna:** 3000 sesterces, about £25. **macello:** 2. 3. 229. **77. vagos,** 'straggling,' too large for the dish: others take it 'that once roamed through the sea.' **urguere,** 'cramp.' In Juv. 4. 133 Montanus proposes a new dish be made on purpose to contain the huge rhombus, *debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus.* **78. movet:** impersonal. **unctis . . . dum furta ligurrit,** i.e. *quas unxit dum furta ligurrit.* **80. gravis,** 'offensive.' **limus** is the sediment which formed an incrustation on the bottom and sides of the *cratera.* **veteri:** old and valuable; hence the offensive inconsistency. **81. scopis:** after each course the table (cf. 2. 8. 10) and floor were swept by the *lecticarius* with a broom, sometimes made of palm-leaves, cf. line 83 *palma*: Kiessling. Cf. Mart. 14. 82. **mappis,** 'napkins'; it is not certain that napkins for the use of the guests are meant, either here or in Ep. 1. 5. 22 *ne turpe toral ne sordida mappa | conruget nares.* In Martial's time guests certainly brought their own napkins, 12. 29. 21. Perhaps *mappae* were napkins to lie on the table to receive the dishes, like our dish-mats. **scobe,** 'sawdust,' for sweeping the floor; cf. Juv. 14. 66. **quantus,** 'how little' = *quantulus quantillus:* cf. Prop. 4. 6. 65 *di melius! quantus mulier foret una triumphus!* **82. flagitium ingens,** 'a monstrous scandal.'

83. ten . . . radere: the acc. and infin. of indignant question; cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 37 *mene incepto desistere victam?* **lapides varios,** a tessellated pavement. **84. inluta toralia** is the object, and **Tyrias vestes** depends on **circum,** 'to place soiled hangings round purple couches.' *vestes* are the coverings of the couches of Tyrian purple (cf. 2. 6. 102 *rubro ubi cocco | tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos;* ibid. 106 *ubi purpurea porrectum in veste locavit*); the *toralia* are hangings on the front of the couch (*toral quod ante torum* Varro), which would get soiled with falling bits and look as bad as a dirty table-cloth with us. **86. haec . . . reprehendi iustius illis:** *haec* and *illis* are both pregnant: 'their absence can be more justly found fault with than the absence of those things which' etc. Supply *neclecta* with *haec,* and *neclectis* with *illis.* **87.** *nequeant* has no MS. authority of weight; at first sight it seems a better reading than **nequeunt**; but *illis* is emphatic and marked in 86: cf. 2. 5. 12 n. **92. vidisse** belongs both to *beatus* and *pendis.* **93. quia contigit:** *vidisse,* 'because you *have* been blessed.' **94. fontes ut adire remotos:** a sarcastic application of Lucr. 1. 927 *iuvat integros accedere fontes | atque haurire.* **95. vitae praecepta,** 'rules of life.'

SATIRE V

Legacy-Hunting. DATE:—about 31 B.C.

The following poem, which more truly deserves the title of a Satire in the modern sense than any other of Horace's poems, assails legacy-hunters (*captatores*), a class which in ancient Rome throve wonderfully. Owing to the prevalence of celibacy and other causes there was always, during and after the late republic, a large number of childless persons (*orbi*) at Rome, many of them rich, who became marks for the legacy-hunters. Large fortunes were

left to persons to whom the testators were in no way related. Cicero notices the practice of legacy-hunting in his own day; Parad. 5. 2. 39 *hereditatis spes quid iniquitatis in serviendo non suscipit? quem nutum locupletis orbi senis non observat? loquitur ad voluntatem: quicquid denuntiatum est facit, adsectatur, adsidet, munerat.* Horace himself classes legacy-hunting as a regular profession, to be set beside others, like contracting and money-lending, cf. Ep. 1. 1. 77. Sen. de Benef. 6. 38 speaks of it as a recognised calling, *qui captandorum testamentorum artem professi sunt:* and so Pliny, H. N. 14. 1. 5 *captatio in quaestu fertilissimo.* Juvenal is full of references to it: see especially 5. 131 seq., 12. 93 ad fin. To be childless and rich was to be courted and powerful: Plin. l. c. *orbitas in auctoritate summa.* Some rich men actually disowned their children, in order to gain the attentions that *orbitas* attracted, Sen. ad Marc. 19. 2. In order to turn his lamp on this remarkable feature of Roman society, Horace introduces Ulysses in consultation with the shade of the Theban seer Tiresias in Hades. He is supposed to continue his conversation with him at the point where it is concluded in the Odyssey, 11. 149. There Tiresias had told Ulysses of the wanderings and perils yet in store for him, and how he would return to Ithaca after them all: here Ulysses asks him how he is to repair his broken fortunes when he has reached Ithaca, and Tiresias bids him become a toady on some rich old man, in the hope of becoming his heir; and an admirable description of the arts of the legacy-hunter is given in the form of precepts as to the best manner of obtaining success in that profession, reminding one in this respect of Swift's Directions to Servants.

3. **quid rides**: Tiresias had smiled at the assurance of Ulysses in asking for more. **doloso** is not = *tibi doloso*, but is the third person: so Con., 'and yet it craves for more, that heart of guile.' 4. **revehi**, 'to sail back': *vehi* regularly used thus: hence, rather anomalously, *vector*, 'a passenger.' 5. **nulli quicquam mentite**: Tiresias was a Greek 'true Thomas.' Soph. Oed. Tyr. 298 ᾧ | τἀληθὲς ἐμπέφυκεν ἀνθρώπων μόνῳ: Antig. 1092. 7. **apotheca** (ἀποθήκη) in Latin acquired most usually the sense of 'wine-cellar,' though the Roman wine-room was in the upper part of the house; Od. 3. 8. 10 n. From *apotheca* comes the Italian *bottega*, Spanish *bodega*, French *boutique*. **procis**: generally of the μνηστῆρες of Penelope. 8. **re**, 'money,' the one *thing* needful; cf. Ep. 1. 1. 65 *rem, | si possis, recte, si non, quocumque modo rem.* **vilior alga est**: a proverbial comparison; Virg. Ecl. 7. 42 *proiecta vilior alga;* Od. 3. 17. 10 *alga inutili.*

9. **missis ambagibus**, 'to cut the matter short,' 'in plain words,' ἁπλῷ λόγῳ. 10. **turdus**: the thrush, or fieldfare, was esteemed a great delicacy, Ep. 1. 15. 40; 5. 72. Martial 13. 92 gives it the first place among birds. 11. **privum** (= *proprium*) **dabitur**: a phrase used by Lucil. 21 *ad cenam adducam et primum hisce abdomina thunni | advenientibus priva dabo cephalaeaque acharnae.* Cf. Ep. 1. 1. 93 *priva triremis;* Juv. 8. 68. The transition of *privus* from its original meaning of *singulus* to that of *proprius* is easy. **devolet**, to be rendered literally, 'let it fly away,' referring to the thrush. 12. **nitet** after *illuc ubi* defends *nequeunt* in the last Satire, 87, after *illis . . . quae.* **poma**: cf. Ep. 1. 1. 78. 13. **honores**, 'glories,' such as fine fruits, flowers, vegetables; Od. 1. 17. 16 *ruris honorum.* 14. **ante Larem**: first-fruits were offered to the Lares; cf. Tib. 1. 1. 13 *et quodcumque mihi pomum novus educat annus | libatum agricolae ponitur ante deo.*

15. **sine gente**, of no family; a *novus homo*, who belonged to no gens, as

a freedman, or one who had suffered *capitis deminutio*, been deprived of his civic rights, as a criminal. 16. **fugitivus**, a runaway slave. 17. **comes exterior** is like our 'to give a person the wall,' and *tegere latus, claudere latus* may also be so rendered: but that is not the origin of the Latin expression, which is to go on the left-hand side of a person: so Acron here, and the schol. on Juv. 3. 131 (*divitis hic servi claudit latus ingenuorum | filius*) explains *claudit latus* as = *in sinistra ambulat.* As the right hand carries the weapon the left side is unprotected, and it was a mark of respect and politeness to take it. 18. The *ne* in such a phrase as **utne tegam** properly belongs to *iubes*, or some other verb understood: cf. Ter. And. 1. 5. 28 *eine ego ut adverser.* Dama was a common name for a slave: see 1. 6. 38. **spurcus**, 'filthy,' is often applied to people of base position: cf. Varro ap. Non. 4. 425 *ne quis lictorem spurcum hominem liberum prehendere iussisse velit.* 19. **me gessi**: exactly = our 'I bore myself.' **certans melioribus**: a reminiscence of the Homeric κρείσσοσιν ἶφι μάχεσθαι Il. 21. 486. *melioribus* is dat., Epod. 2. 20; Virg. Ecl. 5. 8 *tibi certat Amyntas.* 20. **hoc**: sc. *latus Damae tegere.* 21. **et quondam maiora tuli**: from Hom. Od. 20. 17 στῆθος δὲ πλήξας κραδίην ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ· | τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης.

22. **ruam**, 'scrape' or 'rake together'; cf. *rutrum*, a hoe, and Lucil. 901 *ruis haec* (*hoc* MSS.) *et colligis omnia furtim*, and so of the sea raking up as it were its sand in a storm, Lucr. 6. 726. The familiar and easy metaphor of a farmer hoeing a hill round his roots is at the bottom of the word; *corruere divitias* is thus used, Plaut. Rud. 2. 6. 58. On the other hand Virg. G. 1. 105 *cumulos ruit* is to 'rake down.' 25. **praeroso hamo**, 'having taken the bait off the end of the hook': cf. *praerodere digitos* Plaut. Ps. 3. 2. 93. *prae* has this force in *praeuro*, to burn at the end, *praeacuo, praecīdo* etc. *captatores* are often compared to anglers; see Mayor on Juv. 12. 123 who refers to Lucian, Dial. Mort. 6. 4, where a young *captator* aged thirty complains to Pluto that the old man past ninety (to whom he had made many valuable presents), after swallowing so large a bait (τοσοῦτόν μοι δέλεαρ καταπιών), had come to his funeral and crowed over him: cf. Mart. 6. 63. 5 *munera magna quidem misit sed misit in hamo.* 26. **artem**, 'your cunning' as an angler, rather than your 'profession,' as Orelli takes it: though Seneca (see Introduction) speaks of the *ars*, i.e. profession of legacy-hunters: Lucian, Dial. Mort. 6. 3, calls their trade καινήν τινα τέχνην.

27. **res**, 'case,' cf. 1. 9. 41. 28. **inprobus, ultro** and **audax** are all parts of the same idea: the hardened villain, who will have the impudence to drag his betters into court, when he himself should be the subject of prosecution, for this is the force of *ultro.* 30. **priorem** = *meliorem.* 31. **fecunda coniunx**: cf. Juv. 5. 137 *dominus tamen et domini rex | si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aula | luserit Aeneas, nec filia dulcior illo.* 32. **Quinte . . . Publi**: slaves had no *praenomina*, but received one on manumission; Pers. 5. 78 *verterit hunc dominus, momento turbinis exit | Marcus Dama.* The freedman (Dama) would be proud of his new title. **puta**, 'suppose': the last syllable may be short: Pers. 4. 9 *hoc, puta, non iustum est.* **molles**, 'sensitive'; ready to be tickled with flattery. 36. **cassa nuce te pauperet**, 'rob you of an empty nut'; *i.e.* something worthless, cf. Plaut. Ps. 1. 3. 152 *amatorem inanem, quasi cassam nucem.* MSS. here have the spelling *quassa. paupero* comes from the language of everyday life; it is used by Plautus several times, and with an abl. as here = frag. ap. Non. 157, 7 *quam ego tanta pauperavi per dolum pecunia.*

37. **iocus**, 'a mark for jests,' 'a laughing-stock.' Prop. 2. 24. 15 *sed me* | *fallaci dominae iam pudet esse iocum.*

38. **pelliculam curare**, 'nurse himself'; *cutem curare* is the ordinary expression, Ep. 1. 2. 29; 4. 15. The sense of 'hide' is not lost: cf. Juv. 10. 192 *deformem pro cute pellem*, of an old man. **fi**: this imperat. is found Plaut. Curc. 1. 1. 87 *fi mi obsequens;* Pers. 1. 1. 40 *age fi benignus subveni:* the plural in Curc. 1. 1. 89 *fite mihi volentes.* **cognitor** is an advocate who took the charge of the case of another party, and represented him in the strictest sense. He was given a power of attorney by his principal to act for him, therein differing from a *procurator*, whose acts did not bind his principal necessarily. *cum enim certis et quasi sollemnibus verbis in locum domini substituatur cognitor merito domini loco habetur. procurator vero . . . satis dare iubetur ratam rem dominum habiturum* Gaius 4. 97, 98. **39. seu rubra . . .**: Furius Bibaculus, nicknamed Alpinus (cf. 1. 10. 36), had probably introduced in some of his poems two lines which are laughed at here—one may have been *infantes statuas iam rubra Canicula findit:* another, we know from Quintil. 8. 6. 17, was *Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuit Alpes.* **conspuet** (41), 'sputter over,' being a word manifestly out of place in heroic verse. For *Iuppiter* Horace comically substitutes *Furius*, the author's own name, adding a description of Furius himself as **pingui tentus omaso**, 'distended with fat tripe,' which accounts for his sickness. Many editors hold there is no parody in *rubra . . . statuas*, but that they are Horace's own words. This is most unlikely: a more ranting line was never penned, and it exactly suits *turgidus*, applied by Horace to this same Furius, 1. 10. 36. The general meaning is, 'persevere in the heat of the dog-days; persevere in the depth of winter.' **40. infantes statuas**, 'the dumb statues'; an expression introduced by Furius, of which he was probably very proud. There was a proverb *statua taciturnius* Ep. 2. 2. 83, and statues were often made of wood (as that of Priapus, 1. 8. 1), and that would split and crack (cf. **findet**) in hot weather. **omaso**, 'tripe.' Tripe was a cheap dish; see Ep. 1. 15. 34: probably Furius, an unsuccessful poet, could afford no better, and, being a greedy man, stuffed himself with it.

42. **cubito . . . tangens**, 'nudging with the elbow,' *ἀγκῶνι νύττων.* Pers. 4. 34 *est prope te ignotus cubito qui tangat.* **44. adnabunt thunni** seems to have been proverbial, from Herodotus 1. 62, where the oracle says to Peisistratus *ἔρριπται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται,* | *θύννοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός.* **cetaria**, 'fish-ponds,' cf. *vivaria*, 'preserves,' Ep. 1. 1. 79. **46.** 'If any one has a sickly son heir-apparent to a fine fortune.' **sublatus**, 'reared,' from the custom of the father taking up from the ground a child he intended to own and to keep (*tollere*). **47. caelibis obsequium** 'homage to a bachelor.' The *caelebs* is of course not the man with the sick son, but the *locuples* of 28 seq. Tiresias tells Ulysses to choose people with heirs as a mark for toadying, as well as *orbi*, to divert suspicion. **48. adrepe officiosus**, 'worm your way by your attentions.' **ut** is epexegetic of **in spem** in 47, and is not 'in order that.' The *captator* is directed to worm his way towards the hope of two things: first, that he will be made *secundus heres;* secondly, that the *heres* will die: *both* were necessary; hence *et . . . et.* What is here described as *in spem, ut scribare secundus heres* is by Tac. Ann. 1. 8 expressed as *in spem secundam*, speaking of the will of Augustus. For *in spem* followed by *ut*, see Plaut. Bacch. 3. 1. 3 *nisi quem spes reliquere omnes, esse ut frugi possiet;* Ausonius, Id. 2. 46 *consul ut ipse*

foret spes mihi certa fuit; Cic. Lael. 19. 68 *novitates* (*amicitiae*) *si spem afferunt ut tanquam in herbis non fallacibus fructus appareant, non sunt illae quidem repudiandae.* **secundus heres,** or *substitutus*, was an heir named in case the first heir declined the inheritance, or was in any way disqualified, or died before entering on it, or in his minority, as here. **49. egerit Orco**: cf. the Homeric Ἄιδι προϊάψαι. **50. vacuum**: a legal word for property left without an owner by death. **alea** and **casus** perhaps emphatic.

53. sic . . . ut qualifies a command, Ps.-Ovid. Her. 19. 182 *sic facito spernas, ut vereare, fretum.* **limis**: sc. *oculis*, with a side-glance: Ter. Eun. 3. 5. 53 *ego limis specto | sic per flabellum clanculum;* Plaut. Mil. Glor. 4. 6. 2. **quid prima secundo cera velit versu,** 'what the first page says in the second line.' Wills were generally written on *cerae*, waxen tablets; there were often several of these: in the first line of the first of these the testator's name was generally written; in the second line generally the name of his heir. **solus**=*heres ex asse.* **55.** In order to inculcate the necessity of great caution in the profession of will-hunting, Tiresias, in oracular style, predicts an event which had probably actually happened at Rome in Horace's own day. One Nasica, who had a tall daughter, gave her in marriage to a rich old man, Coranus, expecting to be remembered in his will. But his object was too transparent: Coranus made his will indeed, but left his father-in-law and wife nothing. **recoctus scriba ex quinqueviro,** 'the police magistrate turned treasury-clerk.' The *quinqueviri* seem to have been deputy magistrates, the assistants to the *tresviri capitales*, or police magistrates. They are mentioned by Cic. (Acad. Pr. 2. 44. 136) as the lowest rank of dignitaries, but what the position of a *quinquevir* compared with a *scriba* (for whom see 2. 6. 36 n.) was, is not clear. **Coranus** had been a *quinquevir;* but he took up the profession of a *scriba* afterwards. For *ex quinqueviro*, after being a *quinquevir* (a common idiom in Greek, like τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος, ἐλεύθερος ἐκ δούλου), cf. Cic. Part. 17. 57 *ex beato miser;* Plaut. Rud. 2. 6. 34 *te ex insulso salsum feci.* **recoctus scriba,** 'turned into a notary'; *recoquere* is to fashion anything anew, and apply it to a different use from its original one. Others explain here 'rejuvenated'; cf. Catull. 54. 5 *tibi et Fuficio seni recocto*, where he probably refers to the fable of the daughters of Pelias boiling their father to give him back his youth. **corvum . . . hiantem**: an allusion here to the fable of the fox and the crow with the cheese, Phaedr. 1. 13.

58. furis, ἐνθουσιάζεις: opposed to deliberate (**prudens**) fooling. **59. quidquid dicam, aut erit aut non**: intentionally ambiguous, after the manner of oracles. **62. tempore quo . . .**: oracles often began by fixing the date by a circumlocution: Herod. 1. 55 ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται: Arist. Eq. 197. **iuvenis Parthis horrendus**: this gives no near indication of the date; for Augustus might have been so spoken of any time from the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. until the restoration of the standards of Crassus in 20. **alto**: cf. *Caesarem altum* Od. 3. 4. 37; but the accessory idea of ancient is in the word here: cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 500 *genus alto a sanguine Teucri;* Scott, Lord of the Isles, has, 'Of Hereford's *high* blood he came.' **63. demissum**: Virg. Aen. 1. 288 *Iulius a magno demissum nomen Iulo.* **genus,** 'a descendant,' 1. 6. 12 *Valeri genus:* so γένος is often used of a single person. **64. forti,** 'gallant'; also applied to a bridegroom: here of course ironically. **65. metuentis reddere**

soldum may mean that Nasica had borrowed money from Coranus, and was afraid he would be called upon to pay, and gave him his daughter as a set-off: but it is better to take it more generally, that Nasica was unable to meet his debts: *metuentis* would then be like Od. 2. 2. 7 *pinna metuente solvi*= 'unable' or 'unwilling.' **soldum**=*solidum*, seems to have been technically used of paying the full amount, 'twenty shillings in the pound,' as we say; cf. Cic. Rab. Post. 17. 46 *ita bona veneant ut solidum suum cuique solvatur.* **66. tabulas**=*ceras*, 'his will.' **69. praeter plorare**: it is difficult in such cases to say whether *praeter* is prep. or adv.; cf. Ov. Her. 7. 164 *quod crimen dicis praeter amasse meum?* **70. illud**, 'this,' like *ἐκεῖνο*, refers to what follows: cf. 1. 4. 64; 2. 3. 150. **ad haec**, 'moreover.'

84. me sene: if a living person, not a shade, had been speaking, he most likely would have said *me puero.* **inproba**, 'bold,' as her audacious codicil showed. **85. ex**, 'in accordance with.' **elata**, 'carried to her pyre'; cf. *ἐκφέρειν, ἐκφορά.* **87. si**, 'to try if,' a common use of *εἰ.* **89. operae**; dative, but *opera* must be supplied after *abundes.* Siesbyus' *opera* is, however, very likely: cf. Caes. ap. Gell. 13. 3. 5 *equidem mihi videor non labore non opera non industria defuisse.* **90. difficilem**, *δύσκολον*, 'peevish.' **morosum**, 'wayward,' 'capricious.' **ultra non etiam sileas**, 'you must not be too silent either,' or 'don't be too silent either,' according as *non sileas* is regarded as 'potential conjunctive' (Kiessling, Orelli[4]) or as a prohibition, *non* being put for *ne*; which Nettleship (on Aen. 12. 78 *non Teucros agat in Rutulos*) says can be done 'if a particular part of the sentence is to be emphasised,' or where there is strong opposition. Cf. Ep. 1. 18. 72; Pers. 1. 5; 5. 45; Ov. A. A. 3. 129, 133. Quintilian 1. 5. 50 calls *non feceris* for *ne feceris* a solecism. For **ultra** cf. Quint. 8. 6. 76 *meliusque ultra quam citra stat oratio*, where *ultra* is adverb, equivalent to *ultra modum.* **91. Davus comicus**, 'like Davus in the play,' what particular play is uncertain: cf. A. P. 95 *tragicus Telephus;* Prop. 4. 5. 44 *comica moecha.* **92. obstipo**: on one side, and stooped forward in the attitude of eager attention. Pers. 3. 80 *obstipo capite et figentes lumine terram.*

93. obsequio, 'by civilities.' **grassare**, 'make your advances.' *grassari* has not here its stronger sense of 'attack,' whence *grassator*, a footpad or highwayman, is derived. **si increbruit aura**, 'if the wind freshens.' **95. aurem substringe**, 'gather your ear up' (with your hand). The action is that of a person who is afraid of losing a syllable, commonly seen in deaf persons. **96. inportunus**: Prof. J. B. Mayor (Cic. de N. D. 32. 81) explains this word as strictly, like *inportuosus*, of a coast which has no harbours: then (1) 'unfavourable,' 'unseasonable,' the opposite of *opportunus;* (2) 'storm-tost,' 'restless,' 'troublesome' (our 'importunate'), as in Ep. 1. 18. 23 *argenti sitis inportuna;* (3) 'threatening,' 'dangerous,' 'pitiless.' Horace uses it Od. 4. 13. 9='pitiless'; Od. 3. 16. 37='troublesome,' and so S. 1. 8. 6; Ep. 2. 2. 85, where it is perhaps 'restless.' Here it seems to mean 'in season and out of season,' so that the man becomes a nuisance, and so too Ep. 1. 6. 54 of a man who can make himself 'awkward.' **ŏhe iam**, 'hold, enough.' *ohe iam satis est* is the full phrase. Persius uses *ōhe* even without *iam* in this sense, 1. 23. In 1. 5. 12 *ōhe* is the quantity. Cf. Mart. 4. 91. 1 *ohe iam satis est ohe libelle*, where both quantities are given in one line. **97. urgue**, 'ply him with praise.' **98. crescentem utrem**, 'blow him up like a wine-skin, so as to swell with your turgid praise'; cf. Falstaff in 1 Henry IV II. iv. 365 'A plague of sighing and grief! *it blows a man up like a bladder.*'

100. certum vigilans, 'wide-awake.' *certum* adverbially; cf. Od. 1. 22. 23 n. **101. audieris**: see 2. 3. 67 n. **ergo**, 'and so'; cf. Od. 1. 24. 5 and note. **Dama**, line 18. **102. nusquam est**, 'is no more'; cf. Prop. 3. 13. 58 *delapsis nusquam est Amphiaraus equis.* **unde**: sc. *parabo*, 2. 7. 116 *unde mihi lapidem?* Ov. Her. 12. 84 *sed mihi tam faciles unde meosque deos?* **103. subinde**, 'from time to time,' 'now and then.' **inlacrimare**: pres. imperat. of *inlacrimor*, which is used elsewhere as a deponent, Cic. N. D. 3. 33. 82 *quid dicam de Socrate cuius morti inlacrimari soleo Platonem legens?* **est**, 'it is possible,' 'it is easy,' ἔξεστιν, ἔστιν, ἔνι. Epod. 17. 25 *neque est | levare tenta spiritu praecordia.* **105. permissum arbitrio**: left to your discretion (in the will). **108. ex parte tua**: in your share of the inheritance. **sit**, 'is inclined to be.' **109. nummo**, 'for a sesterce,' *i.e.* a nominal sum, 'a peppercorn.' **addicere**, 'knock it down,' a word applied to auctions: cf. Cic. Rab. Post. 17. 45 *ecquis est ex tanto populo qui bona C. Rabirii Postumi nummo sestertio sibi addici velit?* A formal sale before witnesses prevented many legal difficulties which might arise out of a gift: Gaius 2. 252 *in usu erat ei cui restituebatur hereditas nummo uno eam hereditatem dicis causa venire.* **110. imperiosa**, 'stern,' ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια, called *saeva* Od. 1. 28. 20. **vive valeque**: a common formula of farewell; Ep. 1. 6. 67. For the sense cf. Hamlet I. v. 88.

SATIRE VI

Life in the Town and Life in the Country. 31 or 30 B.C.

The following Satire takes rank as one of the finest of the compositions of Horace. Its object is the exaltation of a quiet life in the country, compared with the ceremony and the annoyances of town: an air of calm pervades the whole. Made happy by his Sabine farm, the poet asks no more, 1-15. What theme then so fit to celebrate as his mountain farm? 16, 17. Most poets begin their works with an invocation to some god; so Horace calls on Janus, father of the morning, the patron saint of the beginnings of all human works, 20-23. This invocation reminds the poet what a different sort of day is ushered in by Janus at Rome and in the country. At Rome he has to go first thing to the law-courts, to give bail for a friend, 24; then, although a visit to Maecenas is like honey to him, the rude jostling and sneers he meets with on his way thither are hard to endure, 29-33; while at Maecenas' levee importunate people thrust their affairs upon him, 35-37, and others beg his intercession with Maecenas, making too much of his supposed friendship with the minister, 38-60. How he longs for the country amidst it all! his books, idleness, vegetables, and simple fare! his suppers half divine, with his country neighbours as his guests; his merry and contented slaves, 60-70; the rational conversation on subjects of high concern, not gossip about this man's house, or a famous dancer's steps, 70-76; and then good old neighbour Cervius will tell us his old fables to enforce contentment, and teach us country mice not to envy the luxurious dangers of the city. The date of the Satire is pretty accurately fixed in the end of 31, or the beginning of 30 B.C. by lines 40, 53, 55: see the notes on these lines.

1. in votis: Pers. 3. 49. **modus agri**: so Cic. Flacc. 32. 80; Juv. 14. 172. **non ita**: 2. 2. 46. **2. iugis**, 'ever-flowing'; with **aquae**, as in Ep. 1. 15. 16. **3. paulum silvae**: Horace fondly describes his 'bit of wood,' Ep. 1. 16. 5 seq. It was of the extent of a few acres, Od. 3.

16. 29. **super his,** 'in addition to these'; a very rare use of *super*, cf. 2. 7. 78. In prose it would be *super haec*, but even this is rare. **4. bene est,** 'I am satisfied,' καλῶς ἔχει. **5. Maia nate:** Mercury, the prospering god, κερδῷος, ἐριούνιος, 2. 3. 25 n. **propria,** 'fast,' 'inalienable'; cf. Od. 2. 2. 22 n.

6. ratione mala, 'by any evil way.' **7. vitio,** 'excess,' 2. 2. 21. **culpa,** 'thriftlessness,' 'neglect,' a meaning the word had in juridical Latin. **8. veneror:** offer a prayer; Cic. ad Fam. 6. 7. 2 *qui multa deos venerati sint.* **9. denormat,** 'spoils the shape of.' **10. quae** = *aliqua*. *si quae* is perhaps archaic for *si qua*, like *si qui* for *si quis:* cf. Ter. Heaut. Prol. 44 *si quae laboriosa est, ad me curritur:* see 1. 4. 93; Madvig de Fin. 1. 8. 26. **11. mercennarius:** a labourer for hire. The sentence would naturally be *illi mercennario qui*, but the attraction is like *illi, scripta quibus comoedia prisca viris est* 1. 10. 16. **12. illum ipsum:** that very field where he was working, and found the treasure. **aravit:** tilled it as his own. **13. Hercule:** treasure-trove was generally credited to Mercury, cf. 2. 3. 25 n., but the Italian Hercules, the god of the enclosed homestead (from *hercere*), was the god of property and gain, and it was common to vow a tithe of spoil or profit to him (cf. *pars Herculanea* Plaut. Bacch. 4. 4. 11 and Mommsen, Hist. I. c. xii). **gratum:** masc. probably; cf. Ep. 1. 11. 22 *tu quamcumque deus tibi fortunaverit horam | grata sume manu.* But many take it as neut. = 'received with thanks,' a passive meaning which *gratus* often has.

16. montes: the Sabine hills, in a valley between which Horace's farm lay; cf. Ep. 1. 16. 5 and note. **et in arcem ex urbe:** the whole point would be lost if we did not take these words closely together. The line means 'when I have moved to my mountains, and exchanged the city for a citadel.' Horace could call his villa an *arx* for two reasons—(1) it was up in the mountain, and mountains are often called *arces*; (2) it was really a fort of refuge to him from city life, as a citadel in a city. **17. quid prius:** what subject before my mountains and my citadel, and the peaceful life I lead there. **saturis:** abl. of instr. **Musaque pedestri,** 'my prosaic Muse'; an admirable epithet to describe the homely language of the Satires, which Horace calls, Ep. 2. 1. 251, *sermones | repentes per humum.* Horace uses the word *pedester* three times always in the metaphorical sense it bears here: *pedestres historiae* Od. 2. 12. 9 are prose histories: *sermo pedester* A. P. 95, is homely language. The Greeks used πεζός in the same way; Luc. de Conscr. Hist. 8 describes a bombastic history as πεζή τις ποιητική: so πεζῇ μοι φράσον Ar. Frag. 713 'tell me in prose.' The metaphor is from a person soberly jogging on on foot, contrasted with the dashing pace of a mounted cavalier. Quint. 10. 1. 81 remarks of Plato that he rises *multum supra prosam orationem et quam pedestrem Graeci vocant.*

18. nec mala . . . : a reason why he should sing his country life above all things. '(Here) no ceremony worries me to death.' **ambitio** means, not what we call ambition, but the duties necessary in town to keep up a certain position in society; cf. Ov. Met. 11. 765 *inambitiosa colebat | rura.* **plumbeus,** 'leaden-hued': the colour of the sky clouded by Auster is attributed to the wind itself; so *albus Notus* Od. 1. 7. 15. Others render 'oppressive,' giving a sense of leaden weight to the atmosphere; both ideas may be combined in 'leaden.' **19. Libitinae:** cf. Ep. 2. 1. 49 n. **quaestus,** 'a source of gain to': autumn, the proverbially unhealthy season, brought in grist to Libitina, in the number of victims to disease; cf. Od. 2. 14. 15 *frustra per*

autumnos nocentem | *corporibus metuemus Austrum.* The unhealthy season did not affect Horace in his mountains. **acerbae** is often of death, esp. 'untimely death.'

20. **Matutine pater,** 'father of the morning.' Janus, who gets this title only in this place, is so called because he was the god of all beginnings—of the beginning of the day, as well as of the year. **audis,** 'hearest thyself called,' like ἀκούεις, κλύεις: four times in Horace in this sense, 2. 7. 101; Ep. 1. 16. 17 *tu recte vivis si curas esse quod audis;* Ep. 1. 7. 37 *rexque paterque* | *audisti coram.* Milton, P. L. iii. 7, imitates the idiom 'Or hearest thou rather pure ethereal stream.' **Iane:** *Ianus* might be expected; the very vocative used is given instead; it might be printed in inverted commas. This is not a parallel case to attractions of the nom. to a voc., as Pers. 3. 29 *censoremve tuum vel quod trabeate salutas,* etc. 21. **primos labores operum vitaeque** is the construction—a confused one at the best—'the first labours of their daily life.' 22. **tu:** emphatic. Horace most happily selects Janus as the god he is to address: first, he is the god of all beginnings; secondly, he introduces at once by mentioning him the duties of early morning at Rome, the most irksome time of the whole day, thus at the very outset setting off his subject by a strong contrast.

23. **Romae,** 'at Rome,' most emphatic by position. **sponsorem,** 'as a security' for some friend in a legal difficulty. **rapis:** sc. into court; *rapere in ius* is common. **heia:** 1. 1. 18. 24. **officio respondeat,** 'answer duty's call,' *i.e.* the duty owed to one's friend. **ne prior:** cf. Juv. 3. 130 *ne prior Albinam et Modiam collega salutet.* **urgue,** 'make haste.' For the intrans. use, cf. the common employment of παῦε = 'stop.' 26. **interiore gyro,** 'a narrower circle'; cf. Cic. de N. D. 2. 106 *nam cursu interiore brevi convertitur orbe.* The sun is described as moving in circles, which get smaller up to the winter solstice (*bruma = brevima*). **trahit,** 'drags on,' of the tediousness of winter days. 27. **postmodo, quod mi obsit,** 'what may one day do me a hurt,' when his friend, for instance, should fail, and his security should be forfeited. It is better to join *postmodo* with *obsit,* on account of Od. 1. 28. 31, the only other place where Horace uses the word, *nocituram* | *postmodo te natis.* This seems to be quite decisive, though most join it with *luctandum.* There was a proverb attributed to Bias, ἐγγύα πάρα δ' ἄτα ('give your bond for another, and woe is at your door'); and so Epicharmus in a troch. tetram. ἐγγύα θυγάτηρ μὲν ἄτας ἐγγύας δὲ ζημία. Cf. Prov. xi. 15 'he that is surety for a stranger shall smart for it: and he that hateth suretiship is sure.' **clare certumque locuto:** evidently derived from the very words of a legal formula which commanded a *sponsor* to give his promise in a loud and clear voice. *certum,* adverbially; cf. Od. 1. 22. 23 n.

29. **quid vis, insane:** the best MSS. read *quid tibi vis,* which gives half a foot too much, and Bentley kept this, altering *quas res* to *quam rem;* but most omit *tibi.* Palmer suggests *quid tibi vis, asine, . . .* **quas res agis?** 'what are you driving at?' **inprobus,** 'a rude fellow.' 30. **precibus,** 'curses'; cf. Epod. 5. 86 *Thyesteas preces.* **pulses,** better, perhaps, not as a question, and so satirically 'you must of course knock over everything in your way should you be hurrying' etc. 32. **hoc:** *ad Maecenatem recurrere,* or 'the fact that they know I am hurrying to the house of Maecenas.' **atras,** on account of the burials which once took place there, 1. 8. It seems slightly bad taste in the poet to remind Maecenas of the fact. 34. **ante secundam:** before seven o'clock, or thereabouts. Banks

and public offices seem to have opened at that hour. Cic. Quinct. 6. 25 *Naevius . . . suos necessarios corrogat ut ad tabulam Sextiam sibi adsint hora secunda postridie.* **35. Roscius . . . cras,** 'Roscius wants (lit. 'wanted') you to meet him on 'Change to-morrow.' We do not know what Roscius this was. The words are those of some slave or friend of Roscius. The imperf. is used quite regularly, much in the same way as it is used in letter-writing, save that in the latter case the writer projects himself in imagination forward to the time when the letter is delivered, Madv. 345. Here there is no such projection, and the imperf. is really a more natural tense than our present. Cf. Aristoph. Ach. 1073 *ἰέναι σ' ἐκέλευον οἱ στρατηγοὶ τήμερον*: Ter. Eun. 3. 3. 26 *Thais maxumo te orabat opere ut cras redires.* **puteal**: sc. *Libonis*, or *Scribonianum*, the Roman Exchange. *puteal* was a wall put round a well, to save people from falling in: then *puteal* was applied to an erection of similar shape placed round a sacred spot. A chapel in the Forum had been struck by lightning, and one Scribonius Libo (probably as aedile) expiated it, and put a *puteal* round it. About this *puteal* the business men of Rome congregated. A coin of the Scribonia gens, with a representation of the *puteal* on it, is in the British Museum, and is figured in Smith's Dict. Ant. Cf. Ep. 1. 19. 8 *forum putealque Libonis | mandabo siccis, adimam cantare severis;* Ov. Rem. Am. 561 *qui puteal Ianumque timet celeresque Kalendas;* Cic. Sest. 8. 18 *puteali et feneratorum gregibus inflatus.*

36. scribae, 'the government clerks': *scribae qui rationes publicas conficiunt in tabulis* Festus. They were a regular *ordo*; divided into *decuriae;* generally of humble rank, often freedmen. They were, however, *honestus ordo*, Cic. Verr. 3. 79; and Cic. speaks of them immediately after the senate and equites, pro Domo sua, 28. 74. They were probably permanently attached to the offices of the high magistrates in Rome, especially the quaestors and aediles, and must have been very numerous. In the Satires, besides Horace himself, we find mentioned as *scribae* Aufidius Luscus, Sarmentus, and Coranus. The other sense of *scriba*, viz. a private secretary, does not occur in the Satires. The *scribae* regard Horace as still one of themselves, hence **communi.** Plaut. Aul. 2. 2. 22 *est quod te volo | de communi re appellare et mea et tua.* **37. Quinte**: the *scribae*, as old acquaintances, familiarly use Horace's praenomen, as though he were still one of themselves. **reverti,** 'to go back to the forum.' **38. signa:** during the absence of Augustus from before the battle of Actium 31 B.C. until his return in 29 B.C., Maecenas had authority to affix his seal to documents. In the end of 31 Agrippa was associated with him in the commission. We are told by Plin. H. N. 37. 1. 10 that Augustus' usual seal had a sphinx on it, and that during his absence his friends sealed with one. Pliny also says that Maecenas' seal was a frog, and was looked upon with great fear, on account of its being affixed to requisitions for money: *Maecenatis rana per collationes pecuniarum in magno terrore erat.* **tabellis,** 'papers.'

40. septimus octavo . . . 'the seventh year—nay, nearer the eighth than the seventh—will soon have flown,' *i.e.* rather a confused way of saying that he had been intimate with Maecenas nearly eight years. This Satire having been written at the very end of 31 or beginning of 30, this will make his intimacy with Maecenas to have begun in the spring of 38 B.C., which quite agrees with the probable date of the journey to Brundisium in the autumn of that year (Con. rightly renders: 'Seven years, or rather eight'). **42. dumtaxat ad hoc,** 'merely so far.' For **quem,** taking up *ad hoc*, cf. 2. 8. 25

Nomentanus ad hoc, qui. **tollere**, 'give a lift to,' as in the journey to Brundisium. **reda**: see on 1. 5. 86. **44. Thraex est Gallina Syro par?** 'Is the Thracian Gallina a match for Syrus?' One class of gladiators were called Thracians, who were armed with a small round shield (*parma*) and a short sword (*sica*): one of these champions at Rome seems to have been nicknamed Gallina (the 'Chicken'). *Syrus* is the proper name of some gladiator, not the name of a class. He was probably a *mirmillo*, for Thracians were regularly matched with *mirmillones*. These had Gallic arms, and a fish (μορμύρος, μορμύλος) for a crest; hence their name: cf. Suet. Dom. 10 *patrem familias quod Threcem mirmilloni parem munerario imparem dixerat canibus obiecit.* Many commentators quote the powerful and pathetic attack of Cic. on L. Antonius, Phil. 7. 6. 17 *mirmillo in Asia depugnavit* (*L. Antonius*). *cum ornasset Threcidicis comitem et familiarem suum, illum miserum fugientem iugulavit.* **45. mordent**: cf. Hamlet I. iv. 1 'the air *bites* shrewdly; it is very cold.' **46. rimosa aure**, 'a leaky ear.' **bene**, 'safely,' 2. 4. 21. **deponuntur**, of trusting secrets, Od. 1. 27. 18.

47. subiectior invidiae: Juv. 10. 56 *quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae | invidiae.* **48. noster**, 'our friend,' *i.e.* he himself, Horace. Cf. Plaut. Rud. 4. 7. 19 *minume istuc faciet noster Daemones* (where Daemones is speaking himself); Plaut. Amph. 1. 1. 243 *certe edepol tu me alienabis numquam quin noster siem.* The idiom was no doubt a vulgarism. **spectaverit**: so Bentley (and also *luserit*) for the *spectaverat* of nearly all MSS., the confusion between the 3rd person of the pluperf. ind. and perf. subj. being very common, and the latter tense regularly used in suppositions. **una**, along with Maecenas. **49. luserit in campo**: 1. 6. 126. **Fortunae filius**: cf. Soph. O. T. 1080 ἐγὼ δ' ἐμαυτὸν παῖδα τῆς Τύχης νέμων. **50. frigidus**: κρυερός, that freezes the blood, alarming. **rostris**: in the forum, whence orators addressed the people, so called from the beaks of ships with which the platform was decorated at the end of the great Latin war. **compita**: the street corners where people congregated. **52. deos**: a strong expression for the great ministers—stronger even than *reges*, which Horace often uses for great men. **53. Dacis**: the Dacians had taken Antony's part, and war was declared against them in the beginning of 30 B.C. For the dread of them cf. Od. 1. 26. 3 n.; 3. 6. 13. They were not reduced into a Roman province until Trajan conquered them in A.D. 101-106. The province of Dacia comprehended Transylvania, Wallachia, Moldavia, and part of Hungary. **ut tu semper . . .** 'what a mocker (εἴρων) you always will be.' **ut**, 'how,' to be joined closely with *semper eris.* Cf. 2. 8. 62 *ut semper gaudes inludere rebus | humanis!* **54. exagitent**, 'confound.' **55. si quicquam**: sc. *audivi.*

55. militibus: Octavian returned from Asia to Brundisium in the beginning of 30 B.C. to quiet the veterans disbanded after Actium. At the time this Satire was composed it seems it was still uncertain whether the lands he was going to assign them would be in Italy or Sicily. **Triquetra**: 'Sicilian,' properly 'three-cornered,' from the triangular shape of the island: its three promontories were Pachynus, Lilybaeum, and Pelorus: Lucr. 1. 717 *insula quem triquetris terrarum gessit in oris.* **57. unum**: 2. 3. 24: Catull. 22. 10 *unus caprimulgus*, 'a regular clown,' 'an out-and-out bumpkin.' **58.** Well rendered by Con.: 'they think me deep, miraculously mum.'

59. perditur: the only instance in classical Latin where the pres. pass. of *perdo* is found instead of *pereo.* **lux**, 'the day.' **61. veterum libris**:

2. 3. 11. Horace had a real affection for his books. **somno**: the siesta. **inertibus horis**: *quel dolce far niente* (Or.) **62. ducere**: ἕλκειν, 'to quaff, as *nectaris | sucos* Od. 3. 3. 34; *Liberum* Od. 4. 12. 14; *pocula* Od. 1. 17. 22; Virg. Aen. 6. 714 *Lethaei ad fluminis undam | securos latices et longa oblivia potant.* **63. faba Pythagorae cognata**: Pythagoras enjoined vegetable diet, but forbade beans (Juv. 15. 174 *ventri indulsit non omne legumen*), either because, holding, as he did, the doctrine of metempsychosis, he thought that the 'soul of his grandam might inhabit a bean' (Comm. Cruq.), or, as Cic. Div. 1. 30. 62 tells us, because they caused *inflationem tranquillitati mentis quaerentis vera contrariam*, or because beans and men originally sprang from a similar 'decay' of lifeless substances ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς σηπεδόνος ἀνθρώπους συστῆναι καὶ κυάμους βλαστῆσαι Porph. Vita Pyth. 44. **64. uncta satis**: sufficiently greased by the bacon they were boiled with, without any more oil. Cabbage, beans, and bacon were then, as now, good simple country fare, 2. 2. 116; Mart. 5. 78 *ponetur digitis tenendus unctis | nigra cauliculus virens patella . . . | et pallens faba cum rubente lardo.*

65. cenaeque deum: the banquets of the gods are often referred to in Greek and Latin, *e.g.* Od. 1. 28. 7; 1. 32. 13 *dapibus supremi Iovis.* **meique**: sc. *amici.* **66. vernasque procaces**: the forward home-born slaves, who were allowed greater liberty of speech than foreign purchased slaves. Hence Sen. de prov. 1. 6 *cogita nos filiorum modestia delectari, vernularum licentia;* Mart. 1. 42. 1 (of a talkative man who thought himself a wit) *urbanus tibi Caecili videris? | non es crede mihi; quid ergo? verna.* The picture of the happy slaves is recalled Epod. 2. 65. **67. libatis**, 'lightly tasted.' The dishes, after Horace and his guests had taken what they wanted, were sent down to the slaves' table. *libatis* implies that plenty was left for the slaves. **prout** seems only found in poetry here and Ausonius, Idyll. 10. 372 *mille alii prout quemque suus magis impetus urguet.* **68. inaequales**, 'unequal,' whether in size or strength. The guests drank as little or as much wine as they chose. They had no συμποσίαρχος, or *arbiter bibendi*, to fix laws which each guest was compelled to observe, *leges insanae*, as Horace calls them. **69. capit** properly = χωρεῖ, contains; as we say, 'can carry.' Cf. Plaut. Curc. 1. 2. 14 Ph. *sitit haec anus.* Pa. *quantillum sitit?* Ph. *modica 'st; capit quadrantal.* **acria pocula**, 'fiery cups': cf. *acres | potores* 2. 8. 36. **fortis**: either with 'a strong head' or 'like a man,' a laudatory epithet, cf. Ep. 1. 15. 27; Virg. Aen. 1. 738. **70. uvescit**, 'becomes moist.' *uvidus* Od. 2. 19. 18; 4. 5. 39. **lentius**: MSS. give *laetius*, 'more merrily,' but *lentius* seems a sure correction. Con., in spite of himself, has to translate, 'or gently sip, and *mellow by degrees*,' that is *lentius*, not *laetius.*

70. ergo, 'and then,' 'and so,' is often not an illative particle, but = 'and so,' 'well,' 'next,' 'to proceed,' like δή, denoting natural consecution: Od. 1. 24. 5; Prop. 3. 7. 1; 3. 3. 29. **72. Lepos**: an *archimimus*, or theatrical dancer, admired by Caesar, according to the scholiasts, who got this name *quod iucunde et molliter saltaret:* hence the name perhaps is connected with *lepus* rather than *lepor.* **73. utrumne**: other instances of this superfluous *ne* are *uterne* 2. 2. 107; *quone* 2. 3. 295; *quantane* 2. 3. 317; Epod. 1. 7. **75. usus**, 'interest,' τὸ χρήσιμον, which Aristotle places with τὸ ἡδύ and τὸ ἀγαθόν as the causes of friendship, Eth. Nic. 8. 2. 1. **76. et quae . . .** τί ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθόν; and τί τὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τέλος; **77. Cervius**: any one; certainly not the Cervius of 2. 1. 47. **aniles fabellas**, 'old wives' fables.' Cf. *veteres avias* Pers. 5. 92. **78. ex re**, adapted to the subject.

Arelli, a rich man; probably a miserly old fellow. **79. sollicitas** in sense belongs closely to *ignarus*, though not in syntax; 'ignorant of the cares they bring' (cf. Od. 3. 6. 17).

79. olim, 'once on a time.' **82. attentus quaesitis**, 'with a close eye to his hoard.' *attentus* is often used absol. for 'close,' 'frugal.' Ep. 1. 7. 91; 2. 1. 172. **ut tamen** qualifies *attentus: ita ut* or *sic ut* are generally used in this sense. **83. solveret hospitiis**, 'expand,' 'open his heart in hospitality': *solveret* is in opposition to *artum*. **ille**: emphatic; 'he was not *the mouse* to grudge.' **84. sepositi ciceris**: his precious vetches had a place to themselves. The genitive with **invidere** is a Greek construction, φθονεῖν τινί τινος. **longae**: probably of the long shape of the grain: not the tall stalk, nor the long glume at the end of the grain, as Comm. Cruq. explains it. **87. tangentis male singula**, 'scarcely trying one by one,' and rejecting as soon as tried. **88. pater domus**: the Amphitryon: like *cenae pater* 2. 8. 7.

91. patientem, καρτεροῦντα, 'roughing it.' **92. vis tu**, 'can't you?' 'won't you?' a strong exhortation: *vin tu* simply a question, 'will you?' as Bent. showed. See on 1. 9. 69. **94.** The town mouse propounds the Epicurean theory of the mortality of the soul: *festive mus urbanus Epicureum philosophum agit* (Orelli). **sortita**, λελογχότα, 'having been allotted by fate.' **95. quo, bone, circa**: the only instance extant of tmesis in *quocirca*. Lucilius was famous, as Ennius was too, for more remarkable tmeses than this, and it is not unlikely that this very tmesis is taken from Lucilius: cf. Ausonius, Epist. 5. 36 *villa Lucani—mox potieris—aca* (for *Lucaniaca*), adding *Lucili vates sic imitator eris*, and every one knows the *saxo cere—comminuit—brum* of Ennius. **96. dum licet**: Od. 2. 11. 16; 4. 12. 26.

98. pepulere, smote, influenced: Cic. de Off. 3. 10. 41. **100. iamque tenebat**: the parody of epic poetry is obvious. It is but one step from the sublime to the *ridiculus mus*. **103. canderet**, 'blazed.' *candere* is rarely used save of white things, or of iron at a 'white heat': here it is applied to the peculiar sheen of purple; Od. 4. 1. 20 n. **105. procul**, 'close by.' Ep. 1. 7. 32 *cui mustela procul;* Ter. Hec. 607 *quem . . . sermonem habueris, procul huic stans accepi;* Virg. Ecl. 6. 16; G. 4. 424. **hesterna**, 'remaining from yesterday,' ἕωλα. **106. ergo**, 'well,' line 70. **107. veluti succinctus**: like a slave girt up for waiting at dinner: cf. *praecincti* 2. 8. 70; Juv. 8. 162 *et cum venali Cyane succincta lagena*. The epithet well describes the *empressement* of the host. **cursitat**, runs hither and thither supplying the wants of his guest. **108. continuatque dapes**, 'serves course after course.' **nec non verniliter**: the town mouse could not resist the temptation of taking a lick at the things he offered his guest, therein resembling slaves who furtively dipped their fingers into the dish and licked them (*dum furta ligurrit* 2. 4. 79).

111. agit laetum convivam, 'plays the well-pleased guest.' Cf. Ov. Her. 2. 78 *heredem patriae, perfide, fraudis agis*. **112. valvarum strepitus**, 'banging of the doors.' *valvae* are usually the double doors of a temple: here the large double doors of the banqueting-room; see Kiessling. **113. conclave**, 'dining-room.' **114. simul**, 'as soon as.' **Molossis**: cf. Epod. 6. 5 n. **117. solabitur** especially refers to appeasing hunger. Virg. G. 1. 159 *concussaque famem in silvis solabere quercu*.

SATIRE VII

The wise man alone is Free.

This Satire is a companion to 2. 3, in which the Stoic theory that all fools were mad is defended by Damasippus. Here Horace's slave Davus plays the philosopher at second hand like Damasippus, his oracle being the hall-porter of the pedant Crispinus, and argues that none but the wise are free. Before the main text is reached, 45 seq., Davus, tired of always being listener to his master's tirades, takes on him to lecture his master. The vice of inconsistency (one by the way which Horace often attacks in others) he shows attaches to Horace himself, 20-35. The exposure of Horace's vices is carried on with the most unsparing candour. How can Horace be called free, the slave of passion, 45-94; of picture-mania, 95-101; of gluttony, 101-111; of a restless disposition, 111-115?

Orelli says of this Satire *miras rursus Stoicorum exaggerationes inridet*, a remark which is equally inapplicable to this and to the Third Satire. There is no ridicule. We feel as we read that Horace felt his slave's censure was just, and that he was a slave, and knew it. Though no Stoic, Horace could not but recognise the truth of some of these so-called paradoxes. The only Stoic paradoxes he really ridicules are the only ones which deserve ridicule, viz. the equality of offences, and the doctrine of the external perfection of the Sapiens (1. 3). No Satire made a stronger impression on Persius than this: his Fifth Satire is founded on it. For much of his treatment Horace is indebted to Cicero's Essay on the Stoic Paradox: *ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος, καὶ πᾶς ἄφρων δοῦλος* (Parad. 5).

1. **iamdudum ausculto**, 'I've been long listening': to what? possibly while Horace was reading out or talking to himself (Orelli), or while he was scolding some slaves (old comm.) Perhaps, however, *ausculto* only describes the expectant attitude of a slave ready to receive orders or obey a summons—'I've been long waiting.' 2. **reformido**: his master's hot temper was well known to him. **ita**=*etiam*, 'yes.' **amicum**: emphatic, to show that in the lecture that follows Davus had his master's welfare at heart; cf. 2. 3. 58 n. 3. **frugi quod sit satis**, 'tolerably honest.' **hoc est, ut vitale putes**: I mean by that, that you need not suppose me in any danger of dying young owing to my being over honest, referring to the proverb that those whom the gods loved died young. Menand. Frag. 4. 105 Mein. *ὃν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος*, translated by Plaut. Bacch. 4. 6. 18 *quem di diligunt | adulescens moritur;* Soph. Phil. 448; Burns 'O why has worth so short a date, | When villains ripen gray with time'; Byron, Childe Harold, 4. 102 'The doom Heaven gives its favourites—early death.' 4. **libertate Decembri**: the freedom which slaves enjoyed during the Saturnalia, 2. 3. 6.

6. **constanter**: emphatic. **urguet**, 'sticks to.' 7. **pars multa** =*magna pars;* cf. Od. 3. 30. 6 *multaque pars mei.* **natat**, 'wavers'; cf. Sen. Ep. 35. 4 *mutatio voluntatis indicat animum natare.* 8. **obnoxia**, sing. **notatus** has a connotation of censure: 'was a subject for remark.' 9. **tribus anellis**: for a man to wear more than one ring was considered foppish (Isidore, Orig. 19. 32), and the wealthy Crassus only allowed himself two. **laeva**: the ring was worn on the left hand, as being the least used, Macrob. Sat. 7. 13 *hinc factus est ut usus anulorum exemptus dexterae quae multum negotiorum gerit in laevam relegaretur:* on the third finger. **Pris-**

cus, of whom we know nothing save from this passage, seems to have worn the broad stripe of a *senator* or the narrow stripe of an *eques*, according as the whim seized him. **10. inaequalis, ut**, 'inconsistent to such an extent that.' For the omission of *tam* cf. 1. 5. 33; 7. 13. **clavum**: 1. 5. 36. 11. Carry on **ut** to **conderet**, 'as to move from a splendid mansion and bury himself in a dwelling, out of which a freedman of the better class could scarcely be seen coming.' **13. Athenis**, one of the universities of the ancient world: itself called *doctae* Ov. Her. 2. 83. **14. Vertumnis iniquis**: cf. *lymphis iratis* 1. 5. 97 n. Vertumnus, the god of the changing year (a relic of a passive participle *vertomenus*), who could assume any shape he pleased. See Prop. 4. 2. Priscus was born 'under the ban of all the Vertumni'; because he seemed condemned to be changing, and to be just as far from contentment as ever.

15. scurra, 'the diner-out'; cf. Ep. 1. 15. 28. **iusta cheragra**, 'well deserved gout in the hand' (Ep. 1. 1. 31 n.) brought on by his own fondness for good feeding: *podagra* is gout in the feet. **16. articulos**, 'his finger-joints'; Pers. 5. 58 *cum lapidosa cheragra | fregerit articulos.* He combined a love of gambling, with a love of dining out at other people's expense. Dice were often produced after dinner, and gambling was thus a part of his daily life. The story here told of Volanerius has its parallel in the modern whist-player who, having palsy, used to get a friend to sort his hand, and draw his cards. **tolleret**, 'take up.' **17. phimum**, *φιμός*, 'dice-box': only here in Latin. *fritillus* and *pyrgus*, or *turricula*, are generally supposed to mean the same thing. **18. conductum pavit**, 'kept a person whom he hired for a daily wage'; cf. Juv. 3. 141 *quot pascit servos* (*βόσκειν*). **19. levius miser**, 'more lightly afflicted.' 'Lord Shaftesbury goes so far as to assert, that even the man who is uniformly and systematically bad enjoys more happiness (perhaps he would have been nearer the truth if he had contented himself with saying that he suffers less misery) than one of a more mixed and more inconsistent character'—Stewart, Active and Moral Powers, p. 210, quoting this passage. **illo**: so one Blandinian for *ille* of other MSS.

20. contento laxo fune: abl. of instrument. The origin of the proverb seems to be from towing a boat or drawing a vehicle. Cf. Luc. Dial. Mer. 3 ad fin. *ὅρα μὴ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἀπορρήξωμεν πάνυ τείνουσαι τὸ καλώδιον.* **21. hodie**: this use of *hodie* is taken from the language of every-day life; cf. Ter. Ad. 4. 2. 31 *verum hodie numquam monstrabo*—'will you keep me all day waiting till you tell me?' **23. idem**: of an inconsistent person, as often, 2. 3. 309; Od. 2. 10. 16 n. **24. si quis . . . deus . . .**: the sentiment and hypothesis of 1. 1. 15. **25. clamas**, 'what you are shouting,' 'ranting,' 1. 1. 12. **27. caeno**: cf. Ter. Phorm. 5. 2. 15 *in eodem luto haesitas*: but here there is a reference to the slough of wickedness and depravity. Cf. Catull. 17. 25 *et supinum animum in gravi derelinquere caeno.*

29. levis, 'fickle'; Od. 3. 9. 22; Prop. 1. 18. 11 *sic mihi te referas levis.* **30. ac velut usquam vinctus eas**, 'and would go out anywhere as it were in chains': as though it would take chains to drag you. Most put a comma after *ac*, whereby the true sense seems lost: *ac* is to be joined to *eas*, not to *dicis*: and *velut* goes with *vinctus* and is not here = *velut si.* This is the only construction which allows its proper force to *ita*, which means, as often, 'to judge from the way in which'; 'so much do you bless your lot.'

31. amasque, 'you hug yourself with delight.' Cf. 1. 2. 53 *hoc se amplectitur uno | hoc amat hoc laudat;* Cic. ad Att. 4. 16. 10 *in eo me valde amo.* **33. serum** refers to the lateness of his getting the invitation. There is modesty in this: Maecenas sees *uni locum esse*, to use the Roman phrase, and sends a message to his humble friend. **sub lumina prima,** περὶ λύχνων ἀφάς, just after nightfall, perhaps about six o'clock. **34. oleum,** *i.e.* a lantern to escort him through the streets. For the habit of the Romans to be escorted by slaves with lanterns, see Juv. 3. 285, with Mayor's note; Mart. 8. 75. 6 *ingenti domino servulus unus erat, | tam macer ut minimam posset vix ferre lucernam.* **fert** is much better than *feret* of many MSS.: the present belongs to the language of daily life; cf. Plaut. Bacch. 4. 1. 10 *ecquis hoc aperit ostium?* Ter. Phorm. 1. 2. 102 *puer heus! nemon huc prodit?* **35. blateras,** 'rant,' 'blather out,' belongs only to the *sermo cotidianus.* **fugisque,** 'you are off like a runaway.' There is some irony in Davus choosing a word often applied to runaway slaves; the word happens to fit in with his sermon proving his master a slave. For *fugio*, of rapid flight, not without this allusion to the *fuga* of slaves, cf. Asin. 2. 2. 113 *quin tuum officium facis ergo ac fugis?* Poen. 1. 3. 17 Mi. *propera atque abi.* Ag. *Fugio.* Mi. *meum est istuc magis officium quam tuum.* *Vet. Bland.* has *furis.*

36. Mulvius and the other **scurrae**, or parasitical diners-out, had, we may suppose, come to Horace's house, either by invitation or in the hope of being asked to dinner, and been unceremoniously dismissed by Horace on receiving the minister's commands. **precati** = *imprecati*; cf. *iratis precibus* 2. 6. 30. **37. ille,** Mulvius. He is no hypocrite: he likes a good dinner, and is not ashamed to own it. **38. levem,** 'weak.' **nasum nidore supinor,** 'I curl my nose at a savoury smell.' *nasum*, acc. of respect, or rather *supinor* is used in a middle sense. **39. si quid vis,** εἴ τι βούλει. Cic. ad Att. 7. 2. 3 *adde, si quid vis, probum.* **popino,** a haunter of taverns. Many nouns in *-o* have a sensual meaning. Lucilius is very fond of this formation, and has *lurco, comedo, mando, catillo,* all meaning gluttons; cf. *ganeo, nebulo,* debauchees. **40. ultro**: Od. 4. 4. 51 n.

42. quid deprenderis, 'what if you are detected as being a greater fool than I, a slave whom you bought for 500 drachmae?' about £20. The price of slaves varied very much. In Ep. 2. 2. 5 a clever slave is offered at 8000 sesterces, about £70. Martial 1. 59 and 2. 70 mentions slaves brought *centenis millibus*, over £800; and 3. 62, twice that price. The price here mentioned seems that of an ordinary slave without special accomplishments. **43. aufer** takes the inf. *terrere* as object—'drop frightening me.' Cf. Plaut. Curc. 2. 1. 30 *aufer istaec quaeso,* 'a truce to that.' **45. Crispini ianitor.** Horace himself was afraid, 1. 1. 120, lest he should be suspected of having plagiarised from Crispinus: here his slave owns his obligations to Crispinus' hall-porter; cf. Arist. Acharn. 400 ὦ τρισμακάρι' Εὐριπίδη | ὅθ' ὁ δοῦλος οὑτωσὶ σοφῶς ὑποκρίνεται. As Davus is about to tell his master some home truths, he thinks it as well to represent he got them from some one else.

76. minor, ἥττων, 'the slave of'; Ar. Nub. 1081 κἀκεῖνος (sc. ὁ Ζεὺς) ὡς ἥττων ἔρωτος. **vindicta,** the praetor's rod, which was laid upon a slave when being manumitted; cf. Pers. 5. 88 *vindicta postquam meus a praetore recessi.* **78. super,** 'in addition to'; see on 2. 6. 3: it might also be taken as adv. = *insuper.* **79. vicarius**: a slave of a slave, bought by a slave out of his *peculium* to help him. **80. vester,** 'of you masters.' *vester*, when addressed to an individual, always, in the Augustan age at least,

meant the class to which that individual belonged. So Prop. 3. 15. 12 *nescit vestra ruens ira referre pedem*, 'a woman's anger knows no appeasing'; Ov. Her. 17. 40 *verbaque dicuntur vestra carere fide*, 'a man never keeps his promises.' **tibi quid sum ego**: the answer expected is either 'your *vicarius*' or 'your fellow slave'; for Horace is a slave himself—the slave of his passions. **81. alii**: another master, viz. his passions; cf. line 93. **servis**, verb. Cf. Pers. 5. 125 *an dominum ignoras nisi quem vindicta relaxat?* **82. duceris . . . lignum**, 'you are guided like a puppet which is moved by strings from without.' For these wooden puppets (νευρόσπαστα) cf. Apuleius de Mund. 125 *illi qui in ligneolis figuris gestus movent quando filum membri quod agitari solet traxerint torquebitur cervix, nutabit caput, oculi vibrabunt—totus videbitur vivere*, and for the metaphor Plat. Legg. 1. 644 E τόδε δὲ ἴσμεν ὅτι ταῦτα τὰ πάθη ἐν ἡμῖν οἷον νεῦρα ἢ μήρινθοί τινες ἐνοῦσαι σπῶσί τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀλλήλαις ἀνθέλκουσιν.

83. sibi imperiosus, 'who owns no master but himself.' **85. responsare**, 'answer back,' 'defy,' used of servants, cf. Plaut. Men. 4. 2. 56 *num ancillae aut servi tibi responsant?* Hence it is excellently used here where the meaning is that a man should not be the willing slave of his passions. See too 2. 4. 18; Ep. 1. 1. 68. **contemnere fortis**: for construction cf. Od. 1. 3. 25 n. **86. in se ipso totus**, 'all self-contained,' αὐτάρκης. Bent. first pointed the line thus, though *totus teres atque rotundus* is still a common quotation; cf. Cic. Paradox. 2 *non potest non beatissimus esse qui totus aptus ex sese, qui in se uno sua ponit omnia.* **teres atque rotundus**, 'smooth and round,' *i.e.* like a perfect sphere, which the Stoics adopted as a simile for the wise man; cf. M. Anton. 8. 41 τοῦ νοῦ . . . οὐ σίδηρος οὐ τύραννος οὐ βλασφημία οὐχ ὁτιοῦν ἅπτεται ὅταν γένηται σφαῖρος κυκλοτερής, the last two words being from the description of the universe by Empedocles as σφαῖρος κυκλοτερὴς μονίῃ περιηγέϊ γαίων. Simonides likened the good man to a square; Plato, Protag. 339 A ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν μὲν ἀλαθέως γενέσθαι χαλεπὸν | χερσίν τε καὶ ποσὶ καὶ νόῳ τετράγωνον ἄνευ ψόγου τετυγμένον. **87. externi . . . morari**, 'on whose smooth surface no speck of stain from without may tarry.' **88. in quem manca**, 'against whom all Fortune's assaults are powerless,' or the meaning may be even stronger, 'in her assaults on whom Fortune maims herself.' Cf. Sen. Prov. 1. 2. 9 *ecce par deo dignum vir fortis cum adversa fortuna compositus.* Shakespeare speaks of 'those | Whose blood and judgment are so well commingled, | That they are not a pipe for fortune's finger | To sound what stop she please' (Hamlet III. ii. 73), and Cic. Par. 5. 1, of the free man *cui quidem etiam Fortuna ipsa cedit.*

89. his, the virtues just enumerated. **quid**=*aliquid*, 'anything.' **90.** Cf. Cic. Parad. 5. 2 *an ille mihi liber cui mulier imperat?* etc. **91. gelida**: sc. *aqua.* Juv. 5. 63 *quando vocatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister?* **92. non quis**, 'you can't'; Cic. oftener uses *non queo* than *nequeo.* **93.** The metaphor of a man's passion driving him like a horse is a striking one; cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 100 where the same metaphor is used to describe the mastery of Apollo over the Sibyl *ea frena furenti | concutit et stimulos sub pectore vertit Apollo.* **94. subiectat stimulos**, 'drives in the goad,' cf. Virg. l. c. **versatque negantem**: ἄκοντα στρέφει. *agitare* is the usual word for 'driving' a horse. *agitator bonus*, 'a good driver': Lucil. 1020.

95. Not only is the man of lust a slave, but the man who lets himself be carried away by a mania for works of art. Horace is here nearly versifying Cicero, Parad. 5. 2, who after speaking of the slave of a woman, says: *ego vero*

istum non modo servum sed nequissimum servum, etiam si in amplissima familia natus sit, appellandum puto, and goes on to the art connoisseur : *atque ut in magna familia sunt alii lautiores* (*ut sibi videntur*) *servi sed tamen servi atrienses ac topiarii* (ornamental gardeners), *pari stultitia sunt quos Corinthia aera* (*opera*), *quos aedificia magnifica nimio opere delectant.* **Pausias** of Sicyon, a famous painter, circ. 370 B.C. His 'flower girl,' στεφανηπλόκος, was bought by L. Lucullus at Athens for two talents. **torpes**: cf. Cic. Parad. 5. 2 *Echionis tabula te stupidum detinet aut signum aliquod Polycleti.* **96. Fulvius** and **Rutuba** were gladiators, perhaps contemporary with Davus. **97. Pacideianus** is borrowed, like others of Horace's proper names, from Lucilius who has (136 Lach.) *cum Pacideiano componitur, optimus multo | post homines natos gladiator qui fuit unus.* He was a very famous gladiator, and is mentioned by Cic. more than once, *e.g.* Tusc. 4. 21. 48. **poplite**: the strained muscles in the back of the legs of the contending gladiators. **98. rubrica, carbone**: these delineations in red chalk or charcoal were like the modern illustrated posters of a circus, which seem works of high art to the vulgar. **100. cessator**, 'loiterer,' 'truant.' **101. audis**: 2. 6. 20.

102. nil, 'naught,' 'good for nothing.' **105.** Although my back comes in for it (see Ep. 1. 2. 14 n.), when I filch a cake, you don't get off scot free when you indulge in gormandising; your health suffers. **qui**: abl. 'by what,' 'how.' **107. inamarescunt**, 'turn sour on the stomach': *dulcia se in bilem vertent* 2. 2. 75. It is ἅπαξ εἰρημένον. **108. inlusi**, 'baffled,' 'disappointed': the feet try to stand, and fail. **vitiosum**, 'pampered': *vitium* is excess, 2. 6. 7. **109. an hic peccat** . . . This is an instance of paratactic structure common with *an*: 'Is the slave guilty who steals a flesh-scraper and swops it for a bunch of grapes? the master who sells all his acres to gratify his appetite not guilty of a slave's fault?' **110. mutat**, 'takes in exchange,' cf. Od. 1. 17. 2. **111. gulae parens** belongs to *praedia vendit*: the man who sells his estates to supply money to buy luxurious viands is described.

112. tecum esse, 'to be in your own company' (the opp. of *se fugere* Od. 2. 16. 20), explained by next line. This restlessness seems here attributed by Horace, and attributed justly, to overfeeding and intemperance. **113. ponere**, which often means to 'invest money' as 1. 2. 13, here is used of making a proper use of leisure. **fugitivus et erro**: *fugitivus* is the runaway slave, *erro* is the slave who stays out beyond his time, who loiters: a truant. The picture of the restless man has been suggested by the beautiful lines of Lucretius, 3. 1057 seq. **115. frustra**: Lucretius often uses *nequiquam* thus in a sort of despairing way, to express the futility of human effort, as Prof. Sellar expresses it. **atra**: Od. 3. 1. 40 *post equitem sedet atra Cura.* **116.** Horace's temper at last gets the better of him. **unde** with acc., 2. 5. 102. **117.** It was a customary threat with masters to hold out to their slaves the prospect of their being sent to the slave prisons, *ergastula*, in the country: Plaut. Most. 1. 1. 17 *cis hercle paucas tempestates, Tranio, | augebis ruri numero genus ferratile.* Horace here threatens Davus he shall join the eight slaves working on his Sabine farm, and bid farewell to the pleasures of city life.

SATIRE VIII

A Snob's Dinner-party.

Fundanius, the comic poet (1. 10. 42), describes to Horace a banquet given by Nasidienus Rufus, at which Maecenas and he were present. The host was a wealthy man, without the breeding of a gentleman. Accordingly, the banquet was a lamentable failure. The host's vulgarity appears chiefly in the fact that he makes remarks about everything that is put on his table: lines 6, 17, 31, 44-53, 92. In this he is backed up by his parasite Nomentanus, who is specially deputed to point out everything that escapes the notice of the guests. An accident happens, the dusty hangings falling from the wall, and, instead of cheerfully apologising, the host weeps, 54. But to add to his vulgarity he has a bad cook, 28, 68, 90; he has his groom waiting, and he waits badly, 72. In short, the Nemesis overtakes him which overtakes all who give dinner parties without the art of doing it. It is a mistake to regard him as a miser: he has very expensive viands; the best kind of boar; costly fish, fowl, game, fruit, all *suaves res*, line 92, and the best wine. He is a simple sort of fellow, and does not see any malice in Balatro's sarcastic remarks, line 75. Unfortunately, our ignorance of Roman manners may keep us from detecting some of the points in which the awkwardness of Nasidienus lay; and it is possible, too, that we may be led into the opposite error of imagining ridicule where there is none intended.

1. **ut . . . iuvit?** cf. Ep. 1. 3. 12: *ut valet?* the use of *ut* to introduce a question is conversational. **Nasidieni**: to be scanned *Nasidjeni.* The second syllable is short, if we may trust Mart. 7. 54. 8 *aut vigila aut dormi Nasidiene tibi.* So *fluviorum, ariete, parietibus* in Virg. Cf. Od. 3. 4. 41 *consilium,* 3. 6. 6 *principium.* In *Servīlio* line 21, *vindēmiator* 1. 7. 30, the synaeresis is after a long vowel. **beati**: there is some irony in the word; he was really *dives,* but scarcely *beatus*: cf. Od. 4. 9. 46. 2. **dictus** = *dictus es;* the ellipse is very harsh, but to be explained as conversational (Kiessling; Orelli), cf. Plaut. Aul. 347 *Cererin, Strobile, has facturi nuptias?* sc. *estis.* Among other ellipses of the auxiliary verb, *sortitus* = *sortitus sim,* 1. 6. 53, comes next in harshness. **here**: this form, which occurs a few times in Plaut., rarely in the golden age, perhaps once in Cic., was in the post-Augustan age the regular form. *heri* is spoken of by Quint. 1. 4. 7 as quite archaic. 3. **de medio die**: the more fashionable banquets were the earlier they began, *convivia tempestiva.* Cf. Catull. 47. 5 *vos convivia lauta sumptuose | de die facitis,* with Ellis' note: the ninth hour was a more usual one for a dinner-party: *imperat extructos frangere nona toros* Mart. 4. 8. 6; Cic. ad Fam. 9. 26. 1; or later, the 10th hour, Mart. 7. 51. 11; or later still *sub lumina prima* 2. 7. 33; *supremo sole* Ep. 1. 5. 3. Nasidienus, like a vulgarian, aping the height of fashion, begins his dinner at the very early hour of noon. 4. **fuerit melius**, 'I never had a better time'; cf. Plaut. Most. 3. 2. 1 *melius anno hoc mihi non fuit.* Like *ut iuvit* the phrase is ironical: he 'enjoyed the dinner' and 'had a good time,' in a sense which his questioner does not yet suspect. *dic* has more MS. authority, but **da** is very idiomatic; and the change from *da* to *dic* is more likely than the reverse. Ter. Heaut. Prol. 10 *paucis dabo;* Virg. Ecl. 1. 18 *da, Tityre, nobis;* Cic. Acad. Post. 1. 3. 10 *da mihi nunc.* 5. With **iratum ventrem placaverit** cf. 2. 2. 18 *latrantem stomachum . . . leniet.* Obbar says on Ep. 1. 2. 45 'pacare opponitur fere

hostili, placare irato.' Hence *pacare* is used of taming *feras, incultas silvas*, etc.; while *placare* is to put in a good humour, appease, satisfy: used in Horace of appeasing the gods, Od. 3. 23; envy, 2. 3. 13; the irritable race of poets, Ep. 2. 2. 102.

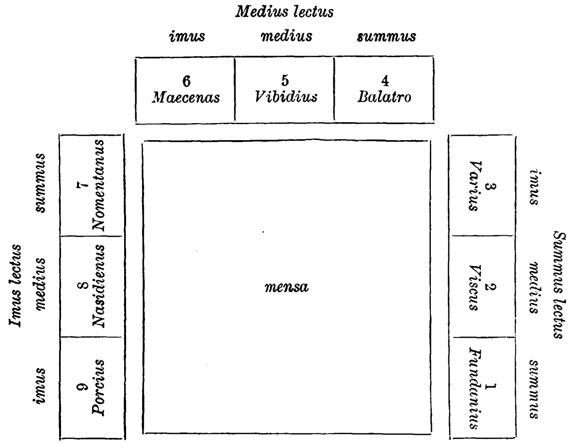
6. **in primis**: Kiessling (followed by Orelli[4]) rightly makes the boar served cold and forming with the other piquant edibles the *gustatio*. That a boar, which usually formed the *caput cenae*, should be thus served marks extravagance. Cf. Pliny, H. N. 8. 51. 210 *in principio* (*cenae*) *bini ternique manduntur apri*. **Lucanus aper**: cf. 2. 3. 234. **leni Austro**: the host at once begins to speak of the peculiar excellences of his viands: a gentle south wind had, he said, given the boar a delicate flavour; boar's flesh was preferred rather high. **fuit** 'firstly there was a L. boar which had been caught . . .'; *captus* is participle. So Madvig, but most put colon after *aper*, 'firstly a L. boar: it was one. caught . . .' In no case is *captus fuit* = *captus est*, cf. 1. 6. 13. **7. cenae pater**, like *pater domus* 2. 6. 88. **8. rapula** and **radices** are both species of radishes, the former perhaps the round white kind, resembling small turnips in shape. **9. siser**, 'skirret.' **allec**, 'fish-pickle.' **faecula**, 'tartar lees.'

10. **acernam**: next to the high-priced *orbes* of citrus wood, maple tables were most prized at Rome; Plin. H. N. 16. 15. 66 *acer operum elegantia ac subtilitate citro secundum;* Mart. 14. 90; Mayor on Juv. 1. 137. 11. **gausape**, a towel with a thick nap; nom. sing. *gausapes* or *gausape;* also *gausapum*: in plur. *gausapa*. The line is from Lucil. 517 *purpureo tersit tum latas gausape mensas*. **purpureo**: both the table and the towel are quite grand. **pertersit**: the table had no cloth on it; but that was not strange; the use of table-cloths was later: Becker's Gallus 2. 153. **12. sublegit**: such slaves were called *analectae*. Mart. 7. 20. 17 *colligere longa turpe nec putat dextra | analecta quidquid et canes reliquerunt*. **13. Attica virgo**: one of the κανηφόροι: cf. 1. 3. 9 n. The point is the solemn air with which Hydaspes advances with the wine in his hands, as though such wine were not to be met with at every house. **14. fuscus Hydaspes**: a black slave from India who was called after the river of his native land. So *Enipeus* Od. 3. 7. 23; *Hebrus* 3. 12. 6. Fritzsche mentions a philosopher *Euphrates*, Plin. Ep. 1. 10. 1. **15. Caecuba**: a very choice wine; see Dict. Ant. s. v. *vinum*. **vina**: poetic for *vinum*; cf. Epod. 2. 47 *et horna dulci vina promens dolio*. So *Caecubum* Od. 1. 37. 5, but *Caecuba* 2. 14. 25. **Chium**: one of the best Greek wines; cf. Od. 3. 19. 5. **maris expers**, *i.e.* the very best that could be got. To the choice wines of Chios and Lesbos no brine was added: see Galen x. p. 833 οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ εἰώθασι τοῖς εὐγένεσιν οἴνοις . . . μίγνυναι τῆς θαλάσσης ἐν Λέσβῳ, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἐν Χίῳ. The poorer sorts were thus doctored, τεθαλασσωμένοι. So in Italy *resinata vina* were inferior (Mart. 3. 77. 8); cf. Columella 12. 19. 2 *quaecumque vini nota sine condimento valet perennare optimam esse censemus*. So we talk of 'brut' wines.

16. **Albanum** and **Falernum** were not ranked as high as Caecuban by Pliny: Alban was placed in the third, Falernian in the second class, though in his day equal to any. **17. habemus utrumque**: the words mark the ostentation of Nasidienus: he produces the choicest Caecuban, but not content with that, remarks that if his guest prefers these other fine wines they are both at hand. It is this ostentation which wrings from Horace the exclamation **divitias miseras**! 'what wretched riches!' *i.e.* what a wretched

rich man, who does not know how to use his riches like a gentleman. **19. pulchre fuerit,** 'you enjoyed yourself': *pulchre esse=bene esse;* Plaut. Merc. 3. 3. 22 has *pulchre ut simus:* cf. 1. 9. 62. **laboro,** 'I am anxious'; for the infin. cf. Od. 1. 15. 27 n.

20. summus ego: see *Triclinium* in Smith's Dict. Ant. The following sketch shows how the guests were disposed on this occasion:—



Nine was the regular number for a triclinium: three on each couch, though the number was often exceeded, 1. 4. 86. Varro, ap. Gell. 13. 11, says the number of the diners ought to begin with that of the Graces, three, and not exceed that of the Muses, nine. The lowest couch was generally reserved for the host and his family or friends. He was usually *summus* (7), the place here occupied by Nomentanus. No. 6 (*imus* of the middle couch) was reserved for the most honoured guest; it was called *locus consularis* (ὑπατικός), Plut. Quaest. Conviv. 1. 3. **Viscus Thurinus:** probably one of the Visci mentioned 1. 10. 83. **21. Varius:** 1. 5. 40; 1. 9. 23, where he is mentioned with Viscus. **Servilio:** trisyllabic, for the antepenult. is long; Juv. 10. 319; Claud. Eutr. 1. 217. This person had the nickname **Balatro,** from his buffoonery: see on 1. 2. 2; he plays the part referred to in 1. 4. 87. **22. Vibidius:** not mentioned elsewhere. **umbras:** uninvited guests, left to a guest to bring with him; cf. Ep. 1. 5. 28. Maecenas seems to have been fond, not only of literary men, but also of *scurrae,* and hangers-on generally. Augustus, in a letter to him, quoted by Suet. in his life of Horace, tells him to let Horace come to him to be his private secretary *ab ista parasitica mensa.* **23. Nomentanus** is not necessarily the prodigal of 1. 1. 102; 2. 3. 224, but probably a man of that character, a ruined spendthrift. It was bad taste in Nasidienus to ask such a man to meet Maecenas, but his circle was not a fashionable one. **ipsum,** Nasidienus, the master of the house; so αὐτός is used. **Porcius:** unknown; he ate like a pig, hence Horace selects the name for him. **24. ridiculus absorbere:** Od. 1. 3. 25 n. *totas simul* (which many MSS. give) and **totas**

semel mean the same thing from different points of view, namely, that Porcius swallows his cakes whole. *simul* would lead us to think of the cake not broken, as was usual, into fragments, but swallowed whole. *semel* would refer to the one gulp made by Porcius.

25. **ad hoc, qui**: for *ad hoc*, 'for this purpose,' taken up by a relative, cf. 2. 6. 42; 2. 1. 37. Why Nasidienus gave Nomentanus his seat next Maecenas is obscure; perhaps for the reason indicated in this line, that he could better there point out to Maecenas what might escape his notice. 26. **indice**, the forefinger; the other fingers were called *medius* (or *famosus* or *infamis*), *medicus*, *minimus*. **cetera turba, nos, inquam** probably refer to the occupants of the *summus lectus*. Nasidienus only cared about Maecenas and his *umbrae*; so Nomentanus is posted next to them, to point out to them what was good. 'We, on our couch,' says Fundanius, 'had to get on as best we could.' 28. **celantia**, 'hiding,' not merely 'containing': there is some irony in the word; they would expect the ordinary flavour, but are disappointed. The neuter is regularly used when a plural adj. connects things of different genders; see Madv. 214 B. 29. **ut vel continuo patuit**, 'as at once became apparent,' *i.e.* the strange flavour of the viands. The odour of the *passer* and of the *ilia rhombi* was enough to convince Fundanius of this, without tasting them (*ingustata*). The nom. to *porrexerat* is probably 'our host.' It was Nasidienus who held out the plaice (**passer**) and the turbot to Fundanius: this is also shown by *melimela me docuit rubere*, for these subtle disquisitions belong to Nasidienus all through the Satire. Kiessling explains 'as for instance (*vel*, cf. 1. 6. 105) was at once made apparent when he (? Nomentanus) had handed to me a dish that I refused to taste,' not having any idea what it was. The passage is very obscure.

31. **melimela**, honey apples, formerly called *mustea*: Varr. R. R. 1. 59. **minorem ad lunam delecta**, 'gathered by the light of a waning moon'; not merely gathered when the moon is on the wane, for *ad lunam* always means by moonlight. Virg. Aen. 4. 513 *messae ad lunam;* Juv. 10. 21 *ad lunam motae trepidabis arundinis umbram;* cf. 2. 4. 30. 32. **hoc**: their being gathered so. **ipso**, *i.e.* from Nasidienus. 34. **damnose bibimus**, 'drink him bankrupt.' **moriemur inulti**: an epic phrase. Virg. Aen. 2. 670 *numquam omnes hodie moriemur inulti*, 4. 659. Vibidius means: Nasidienus is killing us with his vulgarity, poisoning us with his bad cookery: let us have revenge before we die. 35. **calices poscit maiores**: to call for larger cups was not unusual with hard drinkers; generally, however, after the second course was put on the table. Cf. Epod. 9. 33 *capaciores affer huc, puer, scyphos;* Cic. Verr. 2. 1. 26. 66 *poscunt maioribus poculis*. **vertere**: Eur. Med. 1168 χροιὰν ἀλλάξασα. 36. **parochi**, 'our caterer,' 'our messman': see on 1. 5. 46; here a contemptuous expression for their host. 37. **vel quod . . .** He fears, as a *parvenu* might, what language his guests might use to himself when they began to express their real thoughts, or else that they would dull the sensibility of their palate to the flavour of his dishes. Palmer and Orelli say that his *real* reason is that he could not bear to see his good wine drunk freely. So too, they say, line 17, he brags of his Alban and other wines, but does not produce them; cf. too lines 40, 81. 39. **invertunt**, 'tilt into': cf. Lucil. 113 *vertitur oenophoris fundus, sententia nobis;* Virg. Aen. 9. 165 *vertunt crateras aënos*, which is taken from Ennius. **Allifanis**: sc. *scyphis*, large earthenware cups made at Allifae, in Samnium. **vinaria**, 'decanters.'

40. secutis omnibus, imi . . . *i.e.* though every one else followed the example of Servilius and Balatro, the parasites of the host were careful to comply with his humour and drink little. Editors place the colon after *omnibus*, but H. W. Moss rightly places it after *Balatroque*. **42. squillas,** 'prawns,' 2. 4. 58: these were swimming, as it were, in sauce round a large lamprey. **43. porrecta** implies that the dish was a large one, 2. 2. 39. **sub hoc,** 'on this.' So *sub haec* Epod. 5. 83. **44. partum,** 'spawning.' **45. his mixtum ius est,** 'the sauce is composed of the following ingredients.' **prima**: olives were pressed three times, we are told by Colum. 12. 52. 11. The oil *primae pressurae* was naturally the richest and best. **Venafri**: 2. 4. 69. **46. garo,** 'caviare.' **piscis Hiberi,** 'mackerel. **48. dum coquitur,** 'while boiling,' the sauce was to have Italian wine added to it; 'after boiling,' some Chian: cf. the composition of the two kinds of sauce, 2. 4. 64 seq.; there plain sweet oil is put in before boiling; the best Venafran oil was added afterwards. **50.** The vinegar must be vinegar made from Methymnaean, *i.e.* Lesbian wine. The line literally means 'which has turned the grape (*i.e.* the wine) of Methymna by its spoiling,' *i.e.* by fermentation. The essential principle of the vinegar (which is in the wine) has worked on the wine until it has soured it; cf. *mutatum vinum* 2. 2. 58. **51.** Nasidienus has a discovery to boast of, like Catius' preceptor, 2. 4. 74. It consists of boiling with the other ingredients (*incoquere*) *erucas*, 'rockets' (and these must be green and fresh), and *inulas*, 'elecampane.' **52. incoquere,** 'boil in the sauce.' **Curtillus** claims, and is allowed, a niche in the temple of culinary fame. His invention was to boil in the sauce sea-urchins without washing them (*inlutos*), so as to retain the 'liquor.' **53. ut melius muria quod** . . . : explanatory of *inlutos*, 'inasmuch as that which the sea-shell itself yields is better than the fish-pickle liquor.' In Catius' sauce, 2. 4. 65, *muria* is an ingredient: Curtillus' invention makes it unnecessary. **ut melius** = ὡς κρεῖσσον ὄν. **muria**: 2. 4. 65. **quod** = *id quod*. **remittit**: cf. 2. 4. 69.

54. aulaea, 'hangings'; cf. Od. 3. 29. 15 *sine aulaeis et ostro*. These were hung from the walls, like tapestry, merely for decoration; cf. Val. Max. 9. 1. 5 *Attalicis aulaeis contectos parietes*. See Illustration in Becker's Charicles, 319; Marquardt, *Privatleben*, ed. 2, 311. **56.** The Campanian level plains were dry and dusty. **58. erigimur,** 'we regain courage,' a common use of the word. **tolleret,** 'cheered up,' in 61 has the same metaphor. **Rufus**: Nasidienus Rufus, the host. **59. flere**: instead of cheerfully apologising, he cried as if his heart would break. The dramatic infin. gives a mock-heroic tone, cf. *vertere* 35; note too the position of the word. **62. ut semper,** 'how you will always make game of human affairs'; cf. Od. 3. 29. 49, and for *ut gaudes* 2. 6. 54.

63. mappa, which he stuffed in his mouth. Horace does not give any hint as to Maecenas' behaviour. It was probably that of a polite gentleman. **64. naso**: 1. 6. 5. **65. eo,** 'on that account,' 1. 3. 30. **67. tene**: addressed to Nasidienus. **ego** is part of Balatro's raillery. Nasidienus did not go to such trouble for men of Balatro's mark. **68.** It will give sting to Balatro's remarks if we suppose all the anxious care of Nasidienus was vain; that the bread was really burnt, and so forth. **72. agaso**: a clumsy groom pressed to wait at table, who, we may suppose, removing the *patina*, lets it drop. **75. tibi di** . . . a common formula of blessing; Plaut. Mil. 4. 2. 47 *di tibi dent quaecumque optes*; Stich. 3. 2. 15 *di dent quae velis*. **76.** Nasidienus

was *minus aptus acutis* | *naribus horum hominum*, and could not see through Balatro's ill-natured raillery. 77. **soleas poscit**: Nasidienus calls for his slippers to leave the table, in order to go out and personally see to the safe bringing in of new dishes, to make up for the one that was spoilt. In the house the Romans wore slippers, *soleae*: these were taken off before lying down at dinner; hence *demere soleas* is equivalent to lying down at table; *poscere soleas*, to rising from it. Plaut. Truc. 2. 4. 12 *cedo soleas mihi*, when about to leave the table; the same speaker, changing his mind about going, says, line 16, *iam rediit animus, deme soleas, cedo bibam*. Cf. Ep. 1. 13. 15. **videres**: you might see the guests putting their heads together as they whispered. 78. The whispering is imitated by the *sigmatismus*.

81. **quoque**, which should follow the word it belongs to, is here somewhat irregularly placed, as it clearly refers to *lagoena*, 'whether the wine flagon is broken as well as the dish' containing the lamprey. 82. The table had been cleared when the curtains fell; but the slaves, perhaps acting on a hint from Nasidienus, had not set fresh cups before Vibidius, who, he thought, had drunk as much as was good for him. 83. **ridetur**: impers. **fictis rerum**: at pretended subjects. So *vanis rerum* 2. 2. 25; *abdita rerum* A. P. 49. **Balatrone secundo**, 'by the help of Balatro,' who invented subjects for the guests to pretend to laugh at. The expression is a burlesque of phrases like *Iunone secunda, Marte secundo*. 84. **Nasidiene**: the apostrophe is also epic. **mutatae frontis**: a very strong gen. of quality with a verb like *redire*, 1. 1. 33.

86. **mazonomo**, a large dish, properly a trencher, from which bread was served (*μᾶζα, νέμειν*). **discerpta**, 'pulled asunder,' not cut. 87. The flesh of the crane is spoken of by Pliny, H. N. 10. 23. 60, as highly prized. It is remarkable that **grus** is here masc. contrary to the ordinary rule: so too *anser* is regularly masc., but *vet. Bland.* gives **albae** for which *albi* of most MSS. is probably a correction. 89. **avulsos**: the wings of the hare were to be separated from the loins, and separated by tearing. 90. **edit**: the archaic form of the subj. used by Hor. also Epod. 3. 3; Virg. Aen. 12. 801; it is used in Cic.'s letters, and very frequently in Plautus. 91. **vidimus**, 'we looked on while they were served,' did not touch them. **merulas**, blackbirds, a delicacy among the Greeks and Romans: Aristoph. Av. 1081. **sine clune**: the rump was thought the best part of birds, Gell. 15. 8. 2. Nasidienus or his cook thought differently. 92. **causas et naturas**: as if Nasidienus were lecturing on some physiological theme. As Virg. says of Lucretius, who wrote *de Rerum Natura*, Georg. 2. 490 *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*. 93. **sic ut** describes the manner of their revenge. 94. **velut** = *velut si*. **illis**, dat., like Prop. 2. 29. 17 *adflabunt tibi non Arabum de gramine odores*; Tibull. 2. 1. 80 *felix cui placidus leniter adflat Amor*. 95. The breath of certain serpents was supposed to be deadly. Colum. 8. 5. 18 *cavendum ne a serpentibus* (*pulli*) *adflentur*. C. Rabirius, p. 226, ed. Kreyssig (ap. Or.) *percutit adflatu brevis hunc sine morsibus anguis*. For the witch Canidia, cf. 1. 8.

EPISTLES—BOOK I

EPISTLE I

Maecenas, as is plain from the opening words, had urged Horace to resume the composition of lyric verse. If any special occasion for this advice is to be sought, it may probably be found in the journey of Augustus to the East in 21 B.C., followed by the expedition of Tiberius to Armenia, and the restoration of the Roman standards taken by Crassus (cf. 1. 12. 26). It would be natural for Maecenas to wish that his friend and *protégé* should not lose the opportunity thus supplied for a panegyric on the Emperor and his policy. Horace here expresses the reasons which had led him to devote himself for the future rather to the study of philosophy; differing from the mass of mankind who value wealth above virtue, he declares that it is only in the pursuit of the latter that true happiness is to be found.

1-19. *You would fain, Maecenas, press me into service again, but I have received my discharge; an old soldier may well be allowed to hang up his arms and rest, for fear of a break-down at last. I am laying aside all trifling pursuits, and storing up provision of wisdom, following no special school, but borne along wherever the breeze may take me.*

1. prima . . . Camena, 'theme of my earliest, destined theme of my latest Muse': *Camena,* one of the Italian goddesses of song (earlier form *Casmena* or *Carmena* from √*kas* 'sing'), cannot cover any reference to the Satires, which were merely *sermones.* Either the phrase is a conventional expression of high esteem, cf. Hom. Il. 9. 97 ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι, Theoc. 17. 1 ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε, Μοῖσαι, Virg. Ecl. 8. 11 *a te principium, tibi desinet:* or possibly the reference is to the Epodes, dedicated to Maecenas, as Horace's first effort in lyrics, cf. Epod. 1. 1, also Od. 1. 1. 1. **summa** = *ultima* as in Od. 3. 28. 13; Virg. Aen, 2. 324, for which *supremus* is more common both in prose and verse. **2. spectatum,** 'approved': the technical term, stamped on the *tessera* (prize medal) which a gladiator received, after distinguishing himself in the arena. A large number of these *tesserae* have been discovered, made of bone or ivory, and bearing the inscription SP. or SPECT. See Wilkins. **donatum iam rude,** 'already discharged.' *rudis* was the wooden foil with which gladiators practised, Livy 26. 51. 4; hence a *rudis* was presented to a veteran as a sign that he was no longer to take part in serious encounters. Cf. Suet. Calig. 32 *Murmillonem e ludo, rudibus secum batuentem et sponte prostratum, confodit ferrea sica;* and for the applied meaning Cic. Phil. 2. 29. 74 *tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito?* Ovid, Am. 2. 9. 22 *deposito poscitur ense rudis;* Trist. 4. 8. 24 *me quoque donari iam rude tempus erat;* Juv. 7. 171. **3. antiquo** in its more strict sense, 'in which I served of old.' **includere** after *quaeris,* a usage confined to poetry (*e.g.* S. 1. 9. 8; Od. 3. 4. 39, and later prose, *e.g.* Tac. Germ. 2; Roby 1344). **ludo,** 'the training school' *ludus gladiatorius,* cf. Caes. de Bell. Civ. 1. 14 *gladiatores quos ibi Caesar in ludo habebat.*

4. **Veianius**: Porphyrion writes *nobilis gladiator post multas palmas consecratis Herculi Fundano armis tandem in agellum se contulit:* there seems no positive evidence that gladiators were regarded as under the protection of Hercules; but this god would be naturally selected by a gladiator. So a soldier in Anth. Pal. 1. 241 writes: δέξαι μ', Ἡράκλεις, Ἀρχεστράτου ἱερὸν ὅπλον, | ὄφρα ποτὶ ξεστὰν παστάδα κεκλιμένα | γηραλέα τελέθοιμι. For the dedication of the instruments of a profession on leaving it cf. Od. 3. 26 Intr. 6. **extrema harena**, *i.e.* at the outside edge of the circus, under the *podium*, where the more distinguished spectators had their seats. Veterans who had received their discharge were sometimes induced to reappear on special occasions (cf. Suet. Tib. 7 *munus gladiatorium dedit, rudiariis quibusdam revocatis auctoramento centenum milium*). Veianius, however, after his discharge, retired altogether that he might not, after so many victories, break down and be compelled again and again to appeal as a defeated combatant for the mercy of the spectators. The desire that mercy should be shown to a defeated gladiator was expressed by turning down the thumbs (Pliny, H. N. 28. 2. 5 *pollices, cum faveamus, premere etiam proverbio iubemur:* cf. 1. 18. 66; Juv. 3. 36, Mayor's note). As **exoro** in itself is always 'to prevail upon,' we must here press the imperfect force of the present 'attempt to prevail upon': Roby 1454, 3, S. G. 591. 7. **purgatam**, 'well rinsed,' for which purpose vinegar was sometimes used; cf. Pers. 5. 86. **qui**: for the 'inner voice' cf. ib. 5. 96 *stat contra ratio et secretam gannit in aurem.* 8. **sanus** = *si sapis.* 9. **peccet**, 'break down.' **ilia ducat**, 'strain his panting flanks'; cf. *ilia tendunt* Virg. G. 3. 507; Aen. 9. 415 *longis singultibus ilia pulsat;* Plin. H. N. 26. 6. 15 *iumentis . . . non tussientibus modo sed ilia quoque trahentibus:* all these phrases mean 'to become broken-winded.'

10. **itaque**: not found second in a sentence in prose before Livy. **ludicra**, 'toys,' *i.e.* trifles, cf. 1. 6. 7. **pono** = *depono*, as sometimes even in Cicero, *e.g.* de Orat. 3. 12. 46; de Off. 3. 10. 43; and often, especially with *arma*, in Livy. 11. **quid verum**: sc. *sit*, a rare omission in prose: cf. Cic. de Off. 1. 43. 152 (Holden). For **verum**, 'right' τὸ πρέπον, cf. 1. 12. 24; S. 2. 3. 312; *idne est verum* Ter. Andr. 3. 4. 5. It is not so much speculative as moral truth of which Horace is in quest. **omnis in hoc sum**, 'I am wholly absorbed in this': cf. S. 1. 9. 2 *totus in illis.* 12. **condo et compono**, 'I store up and arrange,' so as to be able to produce at once, like a good *condus promus.*

13. **ne forte roges**: cf. 2. 1. 208 *ac ne forte putes;* Roby 1662, S.G. 690. **quo . . . tuter**, 'who is my leader, and what the home in which I find shelter.' **dux** = head of a school: Quint. 5. 13. 59 *duos diversarum sectarum quasi duces.* The terms *domus* and *familia* were often used of a philosophic school (*e.g.* de Orat. 1. 10. 42; 3. 16. 21): hence the transition to *lar*, properly the household god, is natural. 14. **addictus**: as strongly supported by MSS. as *adductus*, and unquestionably right here; for the metaphor of the gladiatorial school is still retained: cf. Petron. 117 *uri vinciri verberari ferroque necari, et quicquid aliud Eumolpus iussisset: tamquam legitimi gladiatores domino corpora animasque religiosissime addicimus;* Quint. 3. 1. 22 *neque me cuiusquam sectae velut quadam superstitione imbutus addixi.* The word is strictly used of an insolvent debtor, 'adjudged' by the praetor as the slave of his creditor, but is here employed in a reflexive or middle sense 'not binding myself to swear obedience to any master.' The inf. is like that in 1. 2. 27. *magister Samnitium* is

used of the 'trainer' of gladiators in Cic. de Orat. 3. 23. 86. **iurare in verba**: cf. Epod. 15. 4 n. **15. quo . . . cumque**: tmesis, cf. Od. 1. 6. 3 n. **deferor**: cf. Cic. Acad. 2. 3. 8 *ad quamcunque sunt disciplinam quasi tempestate delati.*

16. agilis = πρακτικός, *i.e.* I adopt the doctrines of the Stoics, which make it a duty to take an active part in civic life. 'If virtue does not consist in idle contemplation, but in action, how dare the wise man lose the opportunity of promoting good and repressing evil by taking part in political life?' (Zeller, Stoics and Epicureans 320 E. T.) Later Stoics however advised philosophers not to intermeddle at all in civil matters (ib. 323). **18. Aristippi**: Cic. Acad. 2. 42 *alii voluptatem finem bonorum esse voluerunt, quorum princeps Aristippus Cyrenaicus.* Aristippus who regarded the bodily gratification of the moment as the highest pleasure represents a lower stage of the philosophy of mere enjoyment than Epicurus himself. **19. mihi res . . . conor**, *i.e.* I endeavour to subdue all events and circumstances to my own enjoyment, and not to become a slave to circumstances. Cf. 1. 17. 23 n.

20-26. *I pass my time in weariness and impatience until I can attain to that virtue which alone blesses rich and poor alike.* **20. quibus mentitur amica**, 'whose love proves jade.' **21. opus debentibus** = *operariis*, 'those who are bound to give their service,' 'hirelings': cf. Job vii. 1 'Are not his days also like the days of an hireling? As a servant earnestly desireth the shadow' etc. **22. custodia**, 'charge,' *i.e.* general oversight, to be distinguished from the legal guardianship (*tutela*), which was never assigned to the mother, for women were themselves always under *tutela*, so that strictly speaking no one could be *pupillus* to his mother. **23. spem . . . morantur**, 'delay the fulfilment of my hope'; cf. Livy ~~23. 14 *si spem*~~ *morarentur.* **25. aeque, aeque**, repeated for the sake of emphasis by anaphora to show that there is absolutely no exception. Cf. Tac. Agric. 15 *aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam subiectis exitiosam.* **26. neclectum**, 'while its neglect,' a participle in agreement for an abstract noun with the genitive; cf. Od. 2. 4. 10 n.

27-32. *If I cannot attain to perfection, I can still put into practice the elementary knowledge which I possess.* **27. restat**, *i.e.* in spite of the hindrances which I meet with in my attempts at progress. **elementa** = στοιχεῖα τοῦ λόγου of Zeno, the κύριαι δόξαι of Epicurus (Zeller 408), general ethical principles. **28. possis**: Roby 1552, S. G. 650. **oculo**: *oculos*, though adopted by Bentley, who proves that both constructions are legitimate, has much less MS. authority. **Lynceus**, one of the Argonauts, famed for his keen sight, cf. Pind. Nem. 10. 62 κείνου γὰρ ἐπιχθονίων πάντων γένετ' ὀξύτατον ὄμμα, Aristoph. Plut. 210 βλέπειν ὀξύτερον τοῦ Λυγκέως. **30. desperes**: Roby 1740, S. G. 740. **Glyconis**, shown by Lessing (Werke 8. 526) from a Greek epigram (Anth. Pal. 7. 692 Γλύκων, τὸ Περγαμηνὸν Ἀσίδι κλέος, ὁ παμμάχων κεραυνός, ὁ πλατὺς πόδας, ὁ καινὸς Ἄτλας, αἵ τ' ἀνίκατοι χέρες ἔρροντι κτλ.) to have been a famous athlete contemporary with the poet. This quite disposes of the notion that there may be a reference to the Farnese Hercules, the work of the sculptor Glycon. **31. nodosa**: gout produces chalk-stones in the fingers, as with Milton, who in his later years was 'pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty and with chalk-stones': cf. S. 2. 7. 15 *cheragra* |*.contudit articulos.* **corpus prohibere cheragra**: for the construction of *prohibere* = 'guard from' cf. Cic. de Off. 2. 12. 41 *cum prohibent iniuria tenuiores;* Od. 1. 27. 4 *Bacchum pro-*

hibete rixis: similarly with *arcere* 1. 8. 10. **32. quadam . . . tenus,** formed like *hactenus, eatenus* etc. and common in Pliny the elder: the earlier reading *quodam* has equal MS. authority, but is a copyist's correction and would not be good Latin, *tenus* never being employed with an adverb of direction, Roby 2164.

33-40. *The cure for all diseases of the mind is to be found in the magic spells of philosophy.* **33. fervet,** 'is fevered.' For the mood cf. *est* line 32; Roby 1553, S. G. 651. Horace appears to have been especially struck by the greed for money in his own time, and refers to this with great frequency: 2. 1. 119; 2. 2. 148; S. 1. 4. 26; 2. 3. 82, etc. **cupidine,** always masculine in Horace, never in Virgil: Ovid's practice varies. **34. verba et voces,** 'spells and strains,' the former apparently magic formulae (Virg. G. 2. 129 *miscueruntque herbas et non innoxia verba*), the latter incantations, so that Horace inverts the order of Euripides (Hipp. 478) εἰσὶν δ' ἐπῳδαὶ καὶ λόγοι θελκτήριοι· | φανήσεταί τι τῆσδε φάρμακον νόσου. The term *voces* however probably also includes music (cf. 1. 2. 23; S. 1. 3. 8; A. P. 216), to which great efficacy was ascribed in allaying pain; *e.g.* Aul. Gell. 4. 13 *creditum est . . ., ischiaci cum maxime doleant, tum si modulis lenibus tibicen incinat, minui dolores.* **35. morbi,** the πάθος of the Stoics. **36. certa piacula,** 'specific remedies': as *antiquissimo tempore morbi ad iram deorum immortalium referebantur* (Cels. Praef. 1), the remedies provided by philosophy are spoken of as 'propitiatory offerings.' These 'remedies' are the precepts contained in the books of the philosophers, which must be read through thrice, after previous purification. For the magic efficacy of the number three cf. S. 2. 1. 8 n. *libellus* is not without a reference to the books of magic charms (cf. Acts xix. 19), though it denotes primarily the writings of philosophers. **38. amator,** 'licentious'; cf. Od. 3. 4. 79 n. **40. culturae:** Tusc. 2. 5. 13 *ut ager quamvis fertilis sine cultura fructuosus esse non potest: sic sine doctrina animus . . . cultura autem animi philosophia est.*

41-52. *At any rate the first step in a virtuous life can be taken. Even this would free you from the toils which many undergo, though they would escape them if they knew the true value of things.* **41. virtus:** sc. *prima*; cf. Quint. 8. 3. 41 *prima virtus est vitio carere.* **42. vides:** Horace has now quite passed away from Maecenas, and is addressing the reader, as often. **43. repulsam:** a technical word for losing an election, cf. Od. 3. 2. 17. At this time the elections were nominally left in the hands of the people (Suet. Oct. 40 *comitiorum pristinum ius reduxit*), although Augustus reserved to himself the right of nominating half the magistrates, and of exercising a veto upon unworthy candidates. Cf. Merivale c. 44. **44. animi capitisque,** 'of mind and head'; *i.e.* generally of all your faculties. **46. per mare,** etc.: proverbial expressions, not to be pressed in detail, cf. S. 2. 3. 56; Solon Fragm. 13. 43 σπεύδει δ' ἄλλοθεν ἄλλος· ὁ μὲν κατὰ πόντον ἀλᾶται | ἐν νηυσὶν χρῄζων οἴκαδε κέρδος ἄγειν | ἰχθυόεντ', ἀνέμοισι φορεύμενος ἀργαλέοισιν, | φειδωλὴν ψυχῆς οὐδεμίαν θέμενος. **47. ne cures** = *ut non-cures.* **48. meliori,** masc.: cf. 1. 2. 68.

49. circum pagos, 'who goes the round of the villages': cf. S. 1. 6. 82 *circum doctores aderat;* Cic. pro Quinct. 6. 25 *Naevius pueros circum amicos dimittit.* **compita,** 'cross-ways,' where spectators might easily collect, especially at the festivals known as Paganalia and Compitalia, the former in January, the latter about the same time. **50. magna,** the famous games at Elis. There were other less celebrated Olympic games in Greece. **coro-**

nari Olympia: a Gk. construction, *στεφανοῦσθαι 'Ολύμπια* 'to be crowned as victor in the Olympian games.' **51. sine pulvere** = *ἀκονιτί*. Pliny, H. N. 35. 11 *Alcimachus pinxit Dexippum, qui pancratio Olympia citra pulveris tactum, quod vocant ἀκονιτί, vicit;* Milton, Areopagitica, 'the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for not without dust and heat.' **52.** Horace throws out somewhat abruptly a philosophic common-place, and then goes on to point out how it is practically denied by the conduct of most men.

53-69. *All Rome is full of lessons of self-seeking, and a man is measured by what he has, but even the boys know that this is not the true standard; and we are conscious that the pursuit of virtue is worthier than that of money.* **54. Ianus summus ab imo**, 'the whole Janus from the top to the bottom.' For *Ianus*, 'the exchange,' see S. 2. 3. 18 n. For *summus ab imo* cf. Ovid, Ib. 181 *iugeribusque novem summus qui (Tityos) distat ab imo.* **55. prodocet** = *palam docet*, 'holds forth,' or perhaps rather *docendo praeït:* the word is only found here; in *προδιδάσκειν* the preposition sometimes seems to retain very little force. **56. laevo . . . lacerto**: repeated from S. 1. 6. 74 q.v. and rejected by many recent editors. But it is found in all MSS., and may be defended as heightening the irony: old and young all repeat the same lesson, like a pack of school-boys on their way to school. **57, 58.** These two lines are inverted in the earlier editions, and in most good MSS. **lingua**, 'a ready tongue.' **fides**: either 'credit,' that is, a respectable position in money matters, though not quite up to the standard for a knight (cf. 1. 6. 36), or perhaps better 'loyalty' to your friends, to be connected closely with *lingua*, and hence not, as Orelli thinks, tautologous after *mores.* **58. quadringentis**: sc. *milibus sestertium*, the 400,000 sesterces fixed as the rating of the *equites* by the *lex iudiciaria* of C. Gracchus. **sex septem**: for the asyndeton cf. Ter. Eun. 2. 3. 41 *his mensibus sex septem;* Cic. ad Att. 10. 8. 6 *sex septem diebus.* It does not seem to occur with any other numerals; but cf. *ter quater.* **59. plebs**, not in its legal sense, but in the general meaning a 'low fellow.' So Hom. Il. 12. 213 *δῆμον ἐόντα*, on which Hesych. comments *δημότην, καὶ ἕνα τῶν πολλῶν*: cf. 1. 19. 37; S. 1. 8. 10. **rex eris si recte facies**: Isidor. Or. 8. 3. 4 gives the full trochaic tetrameter *réx eris, si récte facies, sí non facies nón eris.* The meaning is 'if you play well, we will make you our king'; Horace, however, takes advantage of the ambiguous meaning of *recte facies*, 'play well' or 'do right.'

61. nil conscire sibi, 'to be conscious of no guilt': the use of *sibi* after an imperative is somewhat like that in Cic. de Nat. D. 1. 30. 84 *sibi displicere*, ib. 44. 122 *utilitatum suarum*, where the subject is indefinite, although in the one case the second person, in the other the first has preceded. **62. Roscia . . . lex**: L. Roscius Otho, trib. pl. in 67 B.C., carried a law that the first fourteen rows of the *cavea* at the theatre, next to the *orchestra* which was occupied by the senators, should be reserved for the *equites*: the law was very unpopular, and in 63 B.C. Roscius was hissed in the theatre (Plut. Cic. 13), but the people were pacified by Cicero, and *Roscio theatralis auctori legis ignoverunt, notatasque se* (sc. *tribus*) *discrimine sedis aequo animo tulerunt* (Pliny, H. N. 7. 30. 117). Cf. Epod. 4. 15; Juv. 3. 153-159. **sodes**, 'please' = *si audes;* cf. Cic. Orat. 45. 154 *libenter verba iungebant, ut* sodes *pro* si audes, sis *pro* si vis. *si audes* is found in Plaut. Trin. 2. 1. 22, and *audeo* = *avidus sum* originally. For *o* as the popular pronunciation of *au* cf. Roby 250. **63. nenia**, 'ditty' or 'jingle.' **64. Curiis**: especially Curius Dentatus, the

conqueror of Pyrrhus. The plural just as we might talk of 'Nelsons.' **decantata,** 'ever on the lips of.' Cic. de Orat. 2. 32. 140. **65. facias,** jussive subjunctive in quasi-dependence on a repeated *suadet*: Roby 1606, S. G. 672. **rem,** 'money.' **67. propius,** *i.e.* from one of the fourteen rows. **lacrimosa,** 'tear-drawing': cf. S. 1. 5. 80 *lacrimoso fumo.* **Pupi,** a poet of the time of whom nothing is known. The scholiasts quote an epigram as composed by him, which is far more probably due to some 'good-natured friend': *flebunt amici et bene noti mortem meam,* | *nam populus in me vivo lacrimatust satis.* **68. responsare liberum et erectum,** 'to stand up boldly, like a free man, and defy.' For *responsare* cf. S. 2. 7. 85 n. **69. praesens,** standing by your side to help you; cf. 2. 1. 134.

70-93. *I have learned that the views commonly followed lead only to ruin: and besides, men vary so much in the means they adopt, and even are capricious in the objects they pursue.* **71. porticibus:** long covered colonnades, used largely for resort in the heat of the day, or in wet weather, and frequently wide and long enough to drive in, cf. S. 1. 4. 134; Mart. 1. 12. 5-8; Juv. 7. 178-180. The Campus Martius under the Emperor became 'a forest of marble colonnades and porticoes' (Burn's Rome 300). **iudiciis,** 'opinions.' **73. quod vulpes . . . respondit:** the fable is found in Babrius 103. **76. belua multorum capitum:** Plat. Rep. 9. 588 c θηρίου ποικίλου καὶ πολυκεφάλου, Shakespeare, Coriol. IV. i. 1 'the beast | With many heads butts me away'; Scott 'Thou many-headed monster-thing' (Lady of the Lake, 5. 30). **77. conducere publica,** 'to take state-contracts,' not merely the collectors of the taxes but all *quis facile est aedem conducere, flumina, portus,* | *siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver* (Juv. 3. 30). **sunt qui . . . venentur,** *i.e.* the *captatores,* or 'legacy-hunters'; see S. 2. 5 Intr. **78. frustis et pomis,** 'tit-bits and fruit,' instances of the attentions (*officia*) or as Tacitus, Germ. 20, calls them *orbitatis pretia,* which were usual in such cases: cf. Mayor on Juv. 3. 129; 5. 98. All MSS. of any value have *frustis*: the *crustis* of recent editors seems simply an emendation. **viduas** includes the unwedded, as well as the widowed: cf. Livy 1. 46. 7 *se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisse,* where *viduam* acts as the feminine of *caelibem.* **79. excipiant,** a hunting term; cf. Od. 2. 15. 16 n. **vivaria,** 'preserves,' where animals were kept and fattened: Pliny, H. N. 8. 52. 211 says of wild boars *vivaria eorum ceterorumque silvestrium primus togati generis invenit Fulvius Lippinus . . .: nec diu imitatores defuere L. Lucullus et Q. Hortensius:* so that the custom was new in Horace's time. The word is more general than *cetaria,* 'fish-ponds,' S. 2. 5. 44. **80. occulto,** (1) 'secret,' as being either higher than that legally allowed, or derived from loans to minors, who were protected by the *lex Plaetoria;* or (2) of the 'unnoticed growth' of interest: cf. Od. 1. 12. 45 *crescit occulto . . . aevo.*

81. esto, 'granted that,' a common phrase with Horace, generally marking a transition from that which may be conceded for argument's sake to another point which cannot be conceded. **82. idem,** nom. plur. **durare,** intrans. **83. sinus,** 'retreat,' not 'bay.' **Baiae** was a favourite resort of the wealthy Romans; cf. Od. 3. 4. 24 n. **84. lacus:** sc. *Lucrinus* (Od. 2. 15. 3); **mare:** sc. *Tuscum.* The rich man who has taken a fancy to Baiae at once begins building out into the lake or the sea the substructions for a splendid villa; cf. Od. 3. 1. 33-36; 2. 18. 17-22. Baiae itself was at least two miles from the lake, but the whole coast was covered with villas, and the name was not strictly limited; in fact there was no distinct town of Baiae.

85. vitiosa libido, 'morbid caprice.' **86. fecerit auspicium,** 'has lent its sanction': the *auspicium* was properly the indication of the will of heaven; hence there is an intentional oxymoron in the juxtaposition of *libido* and *auspicium*, the thought being like that in Virg. Aen. 9. 185 *an sua cuique deus fit dira cupido?* The *auspicium* never suggested an action, but only indicated approval or disapproval; hence avoid rendering 'has prompted him.' **Teanum:** sc. *Sidicinum*, an inland town of Campania, about thirty miles from Baiae, where it was now his whim to have a villa. There was another Teanum in Apulia. **87. tolletis,** perhaps future for imperative (Roby 1589, S. G. 665 (*b*)), or, as in the text, the words are used by Horace himself, not put into the mouth of the *erus*.

87. lectus genialis, 'a marriage-couch,' sacred to the Genius of the family, because he provides that the house shall never be without offspring. **aula,** properly 'front-court,' here = *atrium*, 'hall,' where the *lectus genialis* was placed, opposite the door (hence called *adversus* Propert. 5. 11. 85). **88. prius,** 'preferable.' **caelibe:** cf. Quint. 1. 6. 36 *ingenioseque visus est Gavius* caelibes *dicere veluti* caelites, *quod onere gravissimo vacent, idque Graeco argumento iuvit: ἠϊθέους enim eadem de causa dici adfirmat*, a theory which Quintilian justly includes among *foedissima ludibria*. **89. bene esse,** 'it is well with.' **90. Protea:** S. 2. 3. 71; Hom. Od. 4. 455. **91. cenacula,** 'garrets': Varro L. L. 5. 162 *ubi cenabant, cenaculum vocitabant: posteaquam in superiore parte cenitare coeperunt, superioris domus universa cenacula dicta.* The word is never found = 'dining-room.' Cf. Mayor on Juv. 10. 18. **92. conducto . . .:** he hires a boat, and goes to sea for a change, though he gets sea-sick there just as much as the rich man.

94-105. *This inconsistency is so universal that you do not notice it in me, although you ridicule me for any carelessness in dress.* **94. inaequali tonsore:** abl. of attendant circumstances (Roby 1240), 'when the barber cut awry': see, however, Od. 1. 6. 1 n. **95. subucula,** 'a shirt.' Cf. Varro in Non. p. 542. 23 *posteaquam binas tunicas habere coeperunt, instituerunt vocare subuculam et indusium. sub-u-cula* contains the same root *u* as *ind-u-o, ex-u-o*. **pexae:** properly 'combed,' hence 'with the nap on, fresh'; cf. Mart. 2. 58. 1 *pexatus pulchre rides mea, Zoile, trita.* **96. dissidet inpar,** 'sits awry, and does not fit.' **97. rides:** Maecenas was himself noted for dandyism. What follows shows that Horace is now directly addressing Maecenas, not the reader. **99. aestuat,** 'is as changeful as the sea'; cf. James i. 6 ὁ γὰρ διακρινόμενος ἔοικε κλύδωνι θαλάσσης ἀνεμιζομένῳ καὶ ῥιπιζομένῳ. **disconvenit,** 'is out of joint,' only here and 1. 14. 18 in classical Latin. **100. diruit, aedificat:** for building as a 'craze,' cf. S. 2. 3. 308. **mutat quadrata rotundis,** doubtless a proverbial expression, 'turn round to square and square again to round' (Pope).

101. insanire sollemnia me, 'that my madness is but the universal one'; an acc. of extent, Roby 1094, S. G. 461. The Stoics regarded all except the 'wise' man as mad; cf. S. 2. 3. 44. **102. curatoris,** the guardian appointed by the praetor by an *interdictum* to look after a lunatic; cf. S. 2. 3. 217, 218 and notes. **103. tutela,** not in its legal sense, but not without a reference to it, 'though you charge yourself with my fortunes.' **104. unguem:** the Romans usually had their nails carefully trimmed by the barber (cf. 1. 7. 50 n.). **105. respicientis:** Bentley objects that *respicere* is always used of the regard that a superior has for an inferior (cf.

Ps. cxxxviii. 6 'Though the Lord be high, yet hath he respect unto the lowly'), and therefore reads *suspicientis*, 'looking up to you.' But cf. Caesar, B. C. 1. 1 *sin Caesarem respiciant atque eius gratiam sequantur.* The word differs from our 'respect' as implying rather regard for the wishes or interests of some one.

106-109. *The virtuous man is indeed as blest as the Stoics deem him, except when his digestion troubles him.* Horace here, as elsewhere, gives a humorous turn at the close to the argument which he has been seriously propounding. **106. ad summam**: Cic. de Off. 1. 41. 149 *ad summam, ne agam de singulis;* Juv. 3. 79 *in summa, non Maurus erat;* and often in Pliny. For the Stoic *sapiens* who is perfect in everything, cf. S. 1. 3. 125 seq. **uno minor Iove**: Senec. Prov. 1. 5 *bonus ipse tempore tantum a Deo differt;* Sen. Ep. 73. 13 *Iuppiter quo antecedit virum bonum? diutius bonus est.* **dives**: 'he is absolutely rich, since he who has a right view of everything has everything in his intellectual treasury,' Zeller, Stoics, 270. Cf. Cic. Parad. 6 ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς πλούσιος. **107. liber**: 'the wise man only is free, because he only uses his will to control himself' (Zeller, l.c.) Cic. Parad. 5 ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος καὶ πᾶς ἄφρων δοῦλος. **honoratus** = *ad honores evectus*: 'the wise only know how to obey, and they also only know how to govern' (Zeller). **pulcher,** 'he only is beautiful, because only virtue is beautiful and attractive' (Zeller). **rex regum**: S. 1. 3. 125 n. **108. pituita**: the phlegm produced by the inflammation of any mucous membrane; hence probably here, as in S. 2. 2. 76, of a disordered stomach, or else of catarrh; so that the meaning may be 'except when a cold in the head troubles you.' The word is scanned as a trisyllable, as S. 2. 2. 76; cf. Juv. 13. 255 *fortūĭtus.* Catullus 23. 17 has *pītŭīta nasi.*

EPISTLE II

This Epistle is addressed to Lollius Maximus, probably the elder son of M. Lollius, to whom Od. 4. 9 was afterwards addressed. The date is not certain. Epistle 18 of this book is, probably, also addressed to the same Lollius, and we learn from that (line 55) that he had served under Augustus in the Cantabrian war 25-24 B.C. Perhaps after serving (as *puer*) in that war he returned to Rome, and took up again the practice of declamation, just as Cicero did after his service in the Social War. In that case 23 B.C. would be a plausible date; but the use of *puer* in line 68 is not inconsistent with a date a year or two later. The practice of rhetoric under teachers was often carried on long after the years of manhood had been reached. Cicero studied under Molo when 28.

1-4. *I have been reading through Homer again, and find him a better teacher than all the philosophers.* **1. Maxime**: the cognomen of Lollius, the usual order being inverted as in *Crispe Sallusti* Od. 2. 2. 3; *Hirpine Quinti* Od. 2. 11. 2. **2. declamas**: Roby 1458, S. G. 595. **Praeneste,** abl. always in *e,* except once in Propertius (3. [2.] 32. 3). Praeneste was a favourite retreat for Horace, especially in summer; cf. Od. 3. 4. 22 n. **4. planius** has better authority than *plenius*; besides, Chrysippus is said to have written 750 books, and the *commentarii* of Crantor extended to 30,000 lines (Diog. Laert. 4. 24), so that *plenius* would be a singularly ill-chosen term. On the other hand *planius* points a contrast with the obscure style for which Stoic writers were famous. For Chrysippus, 'the second founder of Stoicism' cf. S. 1. 3. 127 n. Crantor was said to have

been the first to expound the writings of Plato, and Cicero warmly praises his work on Sorrow (περὶ πένθους): he assisted Polemo, the fourth head of the Academy, and *in Academia vel imprimis fuit nobilis* (Cic. Tusc. 3. 6. 12). 5. It is not certain whether **crediderim** would have been *credidi* 'I formed this opinion' or *crediderim* in direct speech; probably the former. **distinet**: undoubtedly right; *detinet* (adopted by many) is only a correction of the corrupt *destinet* found in some MSS.

6-16. *Homer has given us in the Iliad a picture of the suffering caused by the folly and the passions of kings and nations.* 7. **barbariae**, *i.e.* Phrygia; cf. Virg. Aen. 2. 504 *barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi*, with the note of Servius ad loc. πᾶς μὴ Ἕλλην βάρβαρος: Ennius in Cic. Tusc. 1. 35. 85 *adstante ope barbarica.* The Phrygian language was closely related to Greek, but probably not more closely than Latin, a connexion which did not prevent the Greeks from speaking of the Romans as *barbari* (cf. Plaut. Asin. prol. 10), and Italy as *barbaria* (Poen. 3. 2. 21). Homer in the Iliad nowhere represents the Trojans as unintelligible to the Greeks, and uses βαρβαρόφωνοι only of the Carians (2. 867). **duello**, the earlier form of *bellum*, which is derived from it, as *bis* from *duis*, etc. Horace uses this form in 2. 1. 254; 2. 2. 98; Od. 3. 5. 38; 3. 14. 18; 4. 15. 8. Here he employs the word to give a heroic tone to his verse, cf. Od. 1. 34. 5 n. 8. **aestus**, 'fiery passions,' not, perhaps, with any reference to the tide, but rather to the primary meaning of the word (root *idh* 'burn,' as in *aestas*, αἴθω, etc.)

9. **Antenor**: cf. Hom. Il. 7. 350 δεῦτ' ἄγετ', Ἀργείην Ἑλένην καὶ κτήμαθ' ἅμ' αὐτῇ | δώομεν Ἀτρεΐδῃσιν ἄγειν. **censet praecidere**: the inf. because *censeo* contains the idea 'advise,' 'recommend.' 10. **quid Paris?** just like *quid pauper?* 1. 1. 91. Cf. Il. 7. 362 ἀντικρὺς δ' ἀπόφημι, γυναῖκα μὲν οὐκ ἀποδώσω. 11. For the omission of *se* before **posse** cf. Virg. Aen. 3. 201 *ipse diem noctemque negat discernere caelo;* Roby 1346. **Nestor**: Hom. Il. 1. 254 seq.; 9. 96 seq. 12. **inter . . . inter**, repeated exactly as in S. 1. 7. 11. Bentley there (as here) attacks the reading, but it is well supported by Cicero's practice with *interesse*, e.g. de Fin. 1. 9. 30, de Am. 25. 95. Livy 10. 7 has the repetition with *certatum.* **Peliden**: the termination *-en* in the acc. of patronymics is everywhere much better established than the form in *-em*, and is often necessary to the metre, as in S. 1. 7. 11; Roby 473, S. G. 150. In feminine names Horace uses the Greek form in the Odes, the Latin in the Satires and Epistles, except perhaps S. 2. 5. 81. 13. **hunc**, Agamemnon, not Achilles. The 'love' of Achilles is not noticed in the first book of the Iliad, to which Horace is here referring, but in 9. 342 ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν | ἐκ θυμοῦ φίλεον. On the other hand Agamemnon says in 1. 113 καὶ γάρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης προβέβουλα. **urit**, 'fires,' a term as applicable to love (S. 1. 9. 66) as to rage. 14. **quidquid**, Roby 1094, S. G. 461. **plectuntur**: S. 2. 7. 105 *tergo plector*, 'I pay for it with my back.' The word is often used of undeserved or vicarious punishment; cf. Ov. Her. 11. 110 *a miser, admisso plectitur ille meo!* 15. **seditione**: as in the case of Thersites Il. 2. 115 seq. **dolis**: Pandarus, Il. 4. 134 seq. **scelere** perhaps especially referring to Paris, **libidine** including the passion of Paris for Helen, and also the tyrannous caprice of Agamemnon.

17-26. *The Odyssey on the other hand shows us the value of courage and self-control.* 19. **qui domitor . . . undis**: an imitation of Hom. Od. 1. 1-5; cf. A. P. 141. **providus**, a very inadequate substitute for πολύμητις. 21. **dum parat**, 'in trying to secure,' ἀρνύμενος: the attempt was unsuccess-

ful in the case of the *socii*. **23. Sirenum voces**: Od. 12. 39 seq., 154-200. **Circae pocula**: Od. 10. 136 seq. **24. stultus cupidusque**, 'in foolish greed': Odysseus did drink of Circe's cup, but only after he had been supplied by Hermes with a prophylactic antidote (Od. 10. 318). **25. meretrice**: intentionally chosen for emphasis, 'a harlot mistress.' Circe is a type of sensual pleasure, but nothing in the legend attaching to her justifies so strong a term. **turpis**, 'hideous,' *i.e.* in the shape of a brute. **excors**, 'void of reason,' *i.e.* with the intelligence of a brute. For *excors* cf. S. 2. 3. 67 n. Homer leaves the comrades of Odysseus in possession of reason (Od. 10. 239) *οἱ δὲ συῶν μὲν ἔχον κεφαλὰς φωνήν τε τρίχας τε | καὶ δέμας, αὐτὰρ νοῦς ἦν ἔμπεδος ὡς τὸ πάρος περ.*

27-31. *We are not like Odysseus, but like the wooers of Penelope or the Phaeacian nobles, lazy and worthless.* **27. numerus**, 'but ciphers,' a Grecism: cf. Eur. Heracl. 997 *οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἀλλ' ἐτητύμως | ἄνδρ' ὄντα*, Troad. 475 *ἐγεινάμην τέκνα, | οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως, ἀλλ' ὑπερτάτους Φρυγῶν*, Ar. Nub. 1203. Conington gives 'Just fit for counting roughly in the mass.' **fruges consumere nati**: a humorous application of the Homeric *βροτοὶ οἳ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν* (Il. 6. 142); for the inf. see Od. 1. 3. 25 n.; Roby 1363, S. G. 540 (3). **28. sponsi**=*proci*, 'wooers': the desired relation is similarly anticipated in Epod. 6. 13 *Lycambae spretus infido gener;* Virg. Aen. 4. 35 *aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti.* **nebulones**, 'losel,' S. 1. 1. 104; 1. 2. 12. The close imitation in Ausonius (Epist. 9. 13-15 *qualem Penelopae nebulonum mensa procorum | Alcinoique habuit nitidae cutis uncta iuventus*) shows that the word goes with *sponsi.* **Alcinoi iuventus**: cf. Hom. Od. 8. 248 *αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαίς τε φίλη κίθαρίς τε χοροί τε | εἵματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί.* **29. in cute curanda**: so S. 2. 5. 38 *pelliculam curare* of living at ease; cf. 1. 4. 15; Juv. 11. 203 *nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem.* **operata**, 'busied,' an oxymoron. **30. pulchrum** =*καλόν*, *honestum*, 'glorious.' **31. cessatum ducere curam**, 'to lead care to rest.' The Blandinian MSS., however, and Acron read *somnum.* With *somnum* Kiessling explains *cessatum*=*qui cessavit* (cf. Ov. Fast. 4. 617; Met. 10. 669) and *ducere* 'bring on'; Bentley suggests *cessantem*, 'to bring on the sleep that is slow to come,' cf. Od. 3. 1. 20.

32-43. *If men will not practise self-denial to preserve their health, bodily and mental, they will suffer for it. But they care less for the latter than for the former, and are always postponing the effort to live aright.* **32. hominem**: much better than *homines*, not only on MS. evidence, but because *hominem occidere* was the usual phrase for 'to commit murder': cf. 1. 16. 48; Ovid, Amor. 3. 8. 21 *quotiens hominem iugulaverit.* **de nocte**, 'ere night is gone': cf. Ter. Adelph. 5. 3. 54 *rus cras cum filio | cum primo luci ibo hinc. de nocte censeo.* **latrones**, 'bandits.' **33. expergisceris**, in the first place literally, but not without a more general reference: 'won't you wake up?' For the tense cf. Roby 1461, S. G. 597. **34. noles**: sc. *currere.* The connexion of thought is missed by Orelli. Horace does not imply that men never omit proper bodily exercise, because they know that they will become diseased if they do: but says that if they neglect it in health, they will be forced to take to it as a remedy; and in the same way, if men prefer indolent ease to the study of philosophy, they will lose their rest from the disquieting pain caused by jealousy or love. **hydropicus**: cf. Celsus 3. 21 *hydropicis multum ambulandum, currendum aliquando est.* **35. posces librum**: as Horace himself may have done, cf. S. 1. 6. 122 n. **36. studiis**

et rebus honestis: probably not a hendiadys: but *studiis*='studies,' as in 2. 2. 82; S. 1. 10. 21. **37. nam** marks surprise or indignation; cf. Plaut. Aul. 42 *nam cur me verberas?* Ter. Andr. 3. 5. 6 *nam quid dicam patri?* Luke xxiii. 22 τί γὰρ κακὸν ἐποίησεν; The force is the same as that of the interrogative with *nam* suffixed, and some MSS. here have *curnam*. **38. festinas . . . differs**: the omission of the copula is usual in the case of two contrasted questions. **39. est animum**: cf. Hom. Il. 6. 202 ὃν θυμὸν κατέδων, Cic. Tusc. 3. 26. 63 *ipse suum cor edens;* Od. 1. 17. 4 n.

40. dimidium . . . habet: there is a Greek proverb ἀρχὴ δέ τοι ἥμισυ παντός (cf. Soph. Frag. 715), our own 'well begun is half done.' **aude,** 'have courage'; Virg. Aen. 8. 364 *aude, hospes, contemnere opes.* **42. rusticus exspectat,** 'is like the clown waiting.' **defluat**: Roby 1664, S. G. 692. This seems to be a reference to some fable of a rustic waiting by a river until all the water had run by; but as no trace of such a fable has been discovered, it may be only invented by Horace for this passage. Cf. Juv. 14. 25 *rusticus exspectas.* **43. in omne volubilis aevum,** like Tennyson's brook, 'but I go on for ever.' The rapid rhythm is imitative.

44-54. *Men aim at securing the good things of life, but no worldly possessions can give health of body or of mind, and these are both needed for enjoyment.* **44. argentum,** 'money,' as in 1. 18. 23; S. 1. 1. 86; 2. 6. 10, a meaning common in Plautus, Juvenal, and late prose, but not found in good prose. A more common meaning is 'silver-plate,' as in 1. 6. 17; 16. 76; S. 1. 4. 28; Od. 4. 11. 6. **beata,** 'rich,' Od. 1. 4. 14; 3. 7. 3; S. 2. 8. 1; so ὄλβιος for πλούσιος in Homer. **pueris creandis,** 'to bear children.' The phrase is probably a technical one. Gellius (4. 3) says that Sp. Carvilius divorced a wife to whom he was warmly attached, because she bore him no children, regarding this as a religious duty *quod iurare a censoribus coactus erat, uxorem se liberum quaerundum gratia habiturum:* cf. Plaut. Aul. 2. 1. 26 *quod tibi sempiternum salutare sit, liberis procreandis . . . volo te uxorem domum ducere;* Suet. Jul. 52 *uxores liberorum quaerendorum causa.* There is an intentional irony in the use of *beata,* as if a rich wife were needed to bear offspring. **45. pacantur,** 'are brought into subjection' like barbarous lands, subdued by the Roman arms: cf. Ov. Pont. 1. 2. 109 *pacatius arvum.* We speak of the 'struggle' of the pioneers of civilisation with the forests of the backwoods. So Herod. 1. 126 τὸν χῶρον ἐξημερῶται. **46. contingit**: pres. as in 1. 4. 10, from the continuous result produced. **optet,** jussive; Roby 1596, S. G. 668.

48. deduxit: perfect of repeated action; in principal sentences only in Augustan poets and later writers: Roby 1479, S. G. 608. 2 (*d*). **50. cogitat,** 'means'; so often in Cicero's speeches and in lighter prose and verse. **52. tabula,** 'a plank,' sometimes has *picta* added, when it is used='picture'; cf. Plaut. Men. 1. 2. 34 *tabulam pictam in pariete,* but more commonly the epithet is omitted. **fomenta**: the parallelism with paintings and music shows that this denotes something which is agreeable to the healthy, but not to the diseased. Hence any reference to medicinal applications here is quite out of place. Düntzer shows from Seneca (de Provid. 4. 9 *quem specularia semper ab afflatu vindicarunt, cuius pedes* inter fomenta subinde mutata *tepuerunt, cuius cenationes subditus et parietibus circumfusus calor temperavit, hunc levis aura non sine periculo stringet*) that such *fomenta* (? hot-water bottles) were actually used by the luxurious to keep the feet warm: but a man suffering from the gout in his feet would get little pleasure from them. **54. sincerum**

in its primary sense = 'clean.' The connexion of the thought is: an unhealthy body or mind spoils everything, just as a foul vessel turns any contents sour. Then Horace goes on to warn Lollius against various diseases of the mind.

55-71. *Pleasure is not worth the pain it brings: greed is never satisfied: envy is the worst of torments: anger is short-lived madness, and is followed by regret; it must be mastered, and that when one is young, and the task is easy, and the gain enduring.* **56. voto**: dat., cf. S. 1. 1. 92, 106. **57. alterĭus**: the *i* is always short except in Ter. Andr. 4. 1. 4 and Enn. Sat. 6; cf. 1. 17. 15 n. **58. Siculi tyranni**: proverbially cruel, especially Phalaris of Agrigentum, the Dionysii and Agathocles at Syracuse. Cf. Cic. in Verr. 2. 5. 56. 145 *tulit illa quondam insula* (*Sicilia*) *multos et crudeles tyrannos;* Juv. 6. 486 *Sicula non mitior aula.* **59. irae**: *moderor* in classical Latin with dat. = 'curb,' with acc. 'govern,' 'direct.' **60. infectum volet esse**: Menand. 247 ἅπανθ' ὅσ' ὀργιζόμενος ἄνθρωπος ποιεῖ, | ταῦθ' ὕστερον λάβοις ἂν ἡμαρτημένα. **dolor**, 'indignation,' the sting of a wrong suffered, as often. **mens**, like θυμός, 'wrath': Od. 1. 16. 22; Virg. Aen. 2. 519. **61. odio inulto**, dat. 'for his unslaked thirst for vengeance.' **festinat**, 'is eager to exact': for the acc. cf. Od. 2. 13. 26 n. **62. nisi paret, imperat**: *aut servus est aut dominus: nihil enim est tertium*, Bentley. Cf. Plaut. Trin. 2.2.33 *tu si animum vicisti potius quam animus te, est quod gaudeas.* **63. tu**: Od. 1. 9. 16 n.

65. ire viam qua: *qua* has less MS. authority than *quam*, but it is rightly preferred by most editors as the reading more likely to have been corrupted: cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 418 *corripuere viam interea, qua semita monstrat;* Livy 32. 11 *pedites* (*iubet*) *qua dux monstraret viam ire.* For *ire viam* cf. Virg. G. 3. 77 *primus et ire viam.* **venaticus . . . catulus**, 'for hunting, (only) after it has barked at the stuffed stag's hide in the yard, does the young hound see service in the woods.' *venaticus* is thrown forward to mark the change of subject, and *catulus* put last for emphasis, to bring it near to *nunc* and *puer.* It is the *early* training that is needed: the young dog gets it, so must the young lad. **66. latravit** with acc. also in Epod. 5. 58. **aula**, 'courtyard,' as in Homer often (*e.g.* Il. 4. 433), for the usual Latin *cohors* or *cors.* **67. adbibe**, 'drink in'; cf. Od. 2. 13. 32 n. **68. melioribus**, masc.: cf. 1. 1. 48.

69. inbuta, not 'saturated' but 'tinged' for the first time: cf. Quint. 1. 1. 5 *natura tenacissimi sumus eorum, quae rudibus annis percepimus, ut sapor, quo nova inbuas, durat.* **70. quodsi cessas**, etc. Horace here expresses his real sentiments in favour of moderation, but in a humorous half-serious fashion. 'I have said my say: if you lag behind in the race, or are fired with an enthusiasm which carries you on ahead of all others, in neither case can you expect my company: I go on the even tenor of my way, waiting for no one, and treading on no one's heels.' The happy turn thus given to the conclusion is in his regular manner.

EPISTLE III

The date is fixed by line 1 to 20 B.C. Julius Florus was one of the *comites* of Tiberius Claudius in his mission to the East, when he was sent by Augustus to place Tigranes on the throne of Armenia in the room of Artaxias, who had been murdered by his own subjects. According to Porphyrio, Florus wrote satires, 'among them some selected from Ennius, Lucilius and Varro,' *i.e.* he rewrote some of the poems of these earlier authors, adapting them to the

taste of his own day, much as Pope and Dryden rewrote Chaucer's tales. This Epistle gives us a pleasant conception of the literary tastes of the young nobles whom Tiberius had gathered round him in his suite (cf. 1. 9. 4), and a charming picture of the relations of Horace, now in his 45th year, with the younger aspirants to poetic fame, in its tone of kindly admonition.

1-5. *I want news of Tiberius. Are you in Thrace, at the Hellespont, or already in Asia?* **1. quibus terrarum oris,** like Virg. Aen. 1. 331 *quibus orbis in oris* with the notion of 'on what distant shores.' **militet,** 'is serving.' Tiberius was accompanied by a considerable force to secure respect, but fought no battles. **2. privignus,** 'stepson': he was not adopted by Augustus until A.D. 3, after the death of his grandchildren Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the sons of Julia. **laboro**: stronger than *cupio*; cf. S. 2. 8. 19 *nosse laboro.* **3. Thraca**: a poetical form (= Θρᾴκη) used also 1. 16. 13. In the Odes (2. 16. 5; 3. 25. 11) Horace according to his custom uses the Greek form *Thrace*; so does Ovid, Fast. 5. 257; Pont. 4. 5. 5. **Hebrus**: proverbially cold; cf. 1. 16. 13; Od. 1. 25. 20. **4. freta**: the Hellespont. **currentia**: in consequence of the large rivers which flow into the Euxine, there is always a strong current outwards in the Hellespont. Cf. Shaks. Oth. III. iii. 453 'Like to the Pontic sea, Whose icy current and compulsive course Ne'er feels retiring ebb, but keeps due on To the Propontic and the Hellespont.' **turres** of Sestos and Abydos. The tower of Hero at Sestos is often mentioned, and Strabo 13. 22 speaks of πύργον τινὰ κατ' ἀντικρὺ τῆς Σηστοῦ. The *terras* of *vet. Bland.* seems an ingenious critical recension.

6-20. *Tell me too what is being written by you. Who is attempting history? Is Titius still writing Odes, or trying his hand at tragedy? Does Celsus remember the warnings he has received to be more original in his poetry?* **6. cohors,** 'suite.' Mommsen (Hermes 4. 120) writes '*comites* are the attendants selected by the Emperor for a particular journey, *amici* the persons admitted by the Emperor at a reception, especially his more intimate acquaintances. Thus every *comes* is an *amicus,* but by no means every *amicus* also a *comes*: *cohors amicorum* = *comites expeditionis cuiusdam.* The political suite of the Emperor on a journey are generally described as *comites*: on the other hand *cohors amicorum* is more commonly used of those who accompany princes and governors.' Join **quid operum,** 'what sort of works': *quae scripta componit* Schol. **curo** = *scire laboro.* **7. sumit,** 'chooses'; for the infin. after it cf. Od. 1. 12. 2 n. Roby 1362, S. G. 540. **8. paces,** 'times of peace': cf. 2. 1. 102; Lucr. 5. 1230 *ventorum paces.*

9. Titius: possibly a son of M. Titius consul suffectus in the year of the battle at Actium, where he held a high command. Horace does not appear to be 'deriding' him, but combines with the expression of his belief that Rome 'would hear of him before long,' a gentle warning against too high-flown a style. **venturus in ora**: cf. Prop. 4. 9. 32 *venies tu quoque in ora virum;* Virg. G. 3. 9 *victorque virum volitare per ora,* the phrase being borrowed from the epitaph written by Ennius for himself *volito vivus per ora virum* (Cic. Tusc. 1. 15. 34). **10. expalluit haustus**: cf. Od. 3. 27. 28 and 2. 13. 26 n.: Roby 1123, S. G. 469. **11. apertos**: accessible to all, a metaphorical expression for the easier styles of poetry. **12. ut**: S. 2. 8. 1. **13. Thebanos**: *i.e.* of Pindar, 'the Theban eagle.' **auspice**: cf. Od. 1. 7. 27. **14. desaevit,** 'does he work his rage out'; cf. Od. 1. 3. 13 n. **ampullatur,** 'dash on his colours,' a metaphor derived not from the shape of the *ampulla,* but from its use to hold pigments; cf. Cic. ad Att. 1. 14. 3 *nosti illas* ληκύθους,

'you know how I put the paint on there'; Plin. Ep. 1. 2. 4: so ληκυθίζειν in later Greek, and Callimachus called tragedy ληκύθειος Μοῦσα (Frag. 319). The more usual interpretation, however, of *ampullari* is 'to swell,' 'use swelling words,' assuming that the reference is to the round belly of the *ampulla*: cf. A. P. 97. Kiessling says λήκυθος is 'the Adam's apple' in the throat (see Schol. Plat. Hipp. Min. 368 C) and so ληκυθίζειν describes deep-voiced mouthing.

15. **mihi**: Roby 1150, S. G. 473. **Celsus**: probably the Celsus Albinovanus, to whom 1. 8 is addressed. 16. **privatas opes**, 'stores of his own,' avoiding too close an imitation of the classic writers who had already found their place in the public library. Horace is giving a kindly warning rather than gravely censuring Celsus for plagiarism. 17. **Palatinus Apollo**: in 28 B.C. Augustus had built a temple on the Palatine to Apollo in commemoration of his victory at Actium (Dio Cass. 53. 1): and *addidit porticus cum bibliotheca Latina Graecaque* (Suet. Aug. 29). This building was close behind the palace of Augustus, so that when the emperor was in ill-health, the senate was summoned to assemble there. Mr. Burn (Rome, 175) says 'the cloisters which surrounded the temple united it with the famous Greek and Latin library': but it seems rather that the *porticus* contained the libraries, and not a distinct building, of which there is no trace. It is plain, too, from inscriptions in which they are mentioned separately, that the Greek and the Latin Libraries were quite distinct, *e.g.* in the famous *columbarium* discovered in 1852 (Wilmanns, Ex. Inscr. Lat. pp. 125 seq.) we find two sons described as both *a bybliothece Latina Apollinis*, another as *ab bybliothece Graeca templi Apollinis.*; and we find mention also of a *Ti. Claudius Alcibiades mag. a bybliotheca Latina Apollinis item scriba ab epistulis Lat.* The splendid columns, doors and statues of the *aurea porticus* are described by Propert. 3. 29. For the busts of authors which adorned it cf. Tac. Ann. 2. 83. **recepit**, 'has taken under his charge,' so that they may not be touched with impunity. 19. **cornicula**: Horace departs from the familiar Aesopian fable (Babr. 72, Phaedr. 1. 3) in two ways, by substituting a 'crow' or 'rook' for a *graculus* 'jackdaw,' or possibly 'jay,' and by representing the feathers as dropped by various birds, each one of whom comes to reclaim his own. 20. **coloribus**, '*plumis variorum colorum*' Schol.

20-29. *What are you attempting yourself? You have ability enough to win distinction in either oratory, law or poetry, if you would put aside lower aims, and remember your duty to your country.* 21. **agilis**: not of versatility as Orelli, but simply *studio indefesso*, as Ritter says. **thyma**: so Horace compares himself to a bee, gathering honey from the blossoms of the thyme (Od. 4. 2. 27), and Sophocles was called Ἀτθὶς μέλισσα: cf. too Plato, Ion 534 A λέγουσι . . . γὰρ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ ποιηταί, ὅτι ἀπὸ κρηνῶν μελιρρύτων ἐκ Μουσῶν κήπων τινῶν καὶ ναπῶν δρεπόμενοι τὰ μέλη ἡμῖν φέρουσιν ὥσπερ αἱ μέλιτται καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτω πετόμενοι. 22. **hirtum**, 'rough,' as the result of neglect, the metaphor being from land overgrown with weeds: we should say rather 'unpolished.' In good prose an adverb of quality, as distinguished from one of degree, is not used with an adjective, as here, and A. P. 3 *turpiter atrum;* Od. 3. 11. 35 *splendide mendax.* 23. **acuis**: a metaphor derived from sharpening a weapon, Cic. Brut. 97. 331 *tu illuc* (*in forum*) *veneras unus, qui non linguam modo acuisses exercitatione dicendi* etc. So θήγειν γλῶσσαν. The reference is to the practice of declamation, cf. 1. 2. 2. **civica iura respondere**: in prose *ius civile respondere.* For *respondere* with an acc. 'to put forward in a reply,' *disputare* 'to put forward in a discussion,' cf. Reid on

Cic. Acad. 2. 29. 93. *civicus* is poetical for *civilis* (cf. Od. 2. 1. 1; 3. 24. 26), like *hosticus* (Od. 3. 2. 6) for *hostilis*; it is not used by Cicero, except in the technical phrase *civica corona*. **24. amabile,** 'charming,' with no direct reference to amatory poetry, though doubtless including this. **25. hederae:** for ivy as the reward of poets cf. Od. 1. 1. 29 n.

26. frigida curarum fomenta: *fomenta* (from *foveo*) are medical applications whether hot or cold, cf. Suet. (Aug. 81) who says that Augustus *quia calida fomenta non proderant, frigidis curari coactus auctore Antonio Musa*. *curarum* is gen. of material (Roby 1304, S. G. 523); the *curae* form the *frigida fomenta* which serve to chill the ardour of the soul and prevent it mounting on high where 'heavenly philosophy leads.' The *curae* themselves are the 'cares' mentioned in the preceding lines, viz. the study of rhetoric, law, or even of poetry (cf. the silver age use of *curae* = literary work), for all these studies hinder the true philosophic aspirations of the soul. Some take *curarum* as objective genitive, *fomenta* as 'remedies,' and translate *frigida* 'feeble,' 'powerless.' But this is very harsh, and also leaves it quite obscure what is meant by 'the unavailing remedies against cares' which Florus is to abandon. **28. opus:** the task assigned (ἔργον), **studium** the chosen pursuit (προαίρεσις). So Ritter: Orelli's practical and theoretical pursuit of wisdom is less probable. **parvi et ampli:** small and great alike can devote themselves to wisdom. **properemus,** with acc.: cf. Od. 2. 13. 26 n. **29. nobis cari:** cf. 1. 18. 101. *carus* is not so much 'beloved,' as 'highly esteemed.'

30-36. *Let me know if you are on good terms now with Munatius. You ought to be friends, and I shall be glad to see you both safe back again.* **30. sit** has much more authority than *si*: either would stand by itself (cf. 1. 7. 39; Roby 1755, S. G. 747). **31. male sarta gratia:** a metaphor from the sewing up of a wound, which, if it does not heal, will break open again: *sarcire* is the technical term for surgical sewing, and *coire* for a wound joining so as to heal up; cf. Cels. 8. 10 *potest ea ratione et os coire et volnus sanescere;* Ov. Trist. 4. 4. 41 *neve retractando nondum coeuntia rumpam | vulnera.* **32. rescinditur:** Petron. 113 *credo veritus, ne inter initia coeuntis grata cicatricem rescinderet;* Cic. Lael. 21. 76 *amicitiae sunt dissuendae magis quam discindendae.* 'You must write me word of this too, whether you make as much of Munatius as you should. Or does your mutual regard, like an ill-sewn wound, join to no purpose, and break open again, and does some cause—be it your hot blood, or your ignorance of the world—chafe you wild as you are with your untamed necks?' **33. rerum inscitia,** 'ignorance of the world.' **35. indigni rumpere,** ''t were shame to break the ties, which made you once sworn brethren and allies'—Conington. For the inf. cf. Od. 1. 3. 25 n. **36. in vestrum reditum,** evidently, from your Eastern campaign, cf. Od. 1. 36. Note *vestrum,* 'your return,' the return of you both together.

EPISTLE IV

Albius Tibullus the poet was ten or twelve years younger than Horace; he died shortly after Virgil (19 B.C.) when still young. Ovid (Trist. 2. 463) tells us that he was known as a poet only after Augustus became *princeps*, i.e. after 28 B.C. His ancestral estate at Pedum (between Tibur and Praeneste in Latium) had been reduced from what it once had been (Tib. 1. 1. 19), perhaps in consequence of the confiscations of 42 B.C. He speaks of himself as poor, an

expression which, in view of line 7 of this Epistle, may be explained either by poetic modesty, or by the hypothesis of a subsequent addition to his property by the favour of Messala, his patron. The tone of the two (genuine) extant books of his elegies confirms the impression of his character which we derive from the language of Horace. He appears as a gentle, tender, somewhat melancholy soul, marked more by genuineness of natural feeling than by learning or force of expression. Od. 1. 33 is also addressed to him. The date of the Epistle cannot be precisely determined, but it may be safely placed within the limits assigned to the Epistles generally, 24-20 B.C.

1-16. *Are you writing anything, Tibullus, or quietly living a wise man's life? You have all the blessings that heart could wish. Live as if each day were to be your last; and come and see me, when you want amusement.* **1. sermonum**, 'Satires': there is no reason to include any Epistles here, although they seem to be included in 2. 1. 250. **candide**, 'fair,' not necessarily favourable, but unprejudiced; opposed to *niger* as used S. 1. 4. 85. **2. Pedana**: the town of Pedum seems to have disappeared even in the time of Horace; Pliny (3. 69. 30) ranks the Pedani among the Latin peoples who *interiere sine vestigiis.* **3. Cassi . . . opuscula**: Acron tells us that he wrote elegiacs and epigrams, and was *tribunus militum* along with Horace at Philippi, adding *Q. Varus ab Augusto missus, ut eum interficeret, studentem repperit, et perempto eo scrinium cum libris tulit.* Cf. Velleius 2. 87 *ultimus autem ex interfectoribus Caesaris Parmensis Cassius morte poenas dedit, ut dederat primus Trebonius.* This was after the battle of Actium, for Cassius served both with Sex. Pompeius and with Antonius against Augustus. For **opuscula** of literary works cf. 1. 19. 35; Cic. Parad. 5. **4. reptare**, 'stroll': the frequently asserted identity of *repo* and *serpo* is more than doubtful: the meaning differs, *serpo* never being used of men, except metaphorically (A. P. 28), and *repo* often, and the phonetic process assumed is extremely doubtful. **salubres**: cf. 2. 2. 77. Tibullus says of himself (4. 13. 9) *sic ego secretis possum bene vivere silvis, | qua nulla humano sit via trita pede.*

6. eras, 'you used not to be,' *i.e.* when we were together, in antithesis to *nunc* line 2. Prof. Palmer takes *eras*=*es* but stronger, 'you are not and never were,' cf. Prop. 1. 13. 34 *non alio limine dignus eras.* **pectore**: not the 'intellect,' but the 'soul,' including of course the mental faculties, but denoting especially the emotional side. Cf. the famous saying of Augustine '*pectus facit theologum.*' So in Ov. Met. 13. 290 *rudis et sine pectore miles*, 'a rough and soulless soldier': Her. 16. 305 *huncine tu speras hominem sine pectore dotes | posse satis formae, Tyndari, nosse tuae?* where it is a man without 'a soul' for beauty. Often we may best translate 'heart,' *e.g.* de Orat. 3. 30. 121. There are however instances where the intellectual part seems the more prominent: *e.g.* S. 2. 4. 90; Ov. Met. 13. 326, 369; Prop. 3. (4.) 5. 8 *ille parum cauti pectoris egit opus.* **7. dedĕrunt**: S. 1. 10. 45 n.; Roby 577, S. G. 274. **8. quid voveat** . . . 'what greater boon could a nurse implore for her dear foster-child, if he could' etc. The suppressed comparison is 'than he already enjoys, supposing that he' etc. **9. sapere et fari**, 'to think aright and to utter his thoughts'; cf. Pericles in Thuc. 2. 60 *οὐδενὸς οἴομαι ἥσσων εἶναι γνῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα.* **10. contingat**: 1. 2. 46. **11. mundus**, 'decent': cf. Od. 3. 29. 14 n. Some MSS. have *et modus et* which is only a corruption of *mūdus.* **crumena**: Juv. 11. 38 *quis enim te deficiente crumena | et crescente gula manet exitus?*

12. inter . . . iras, 'in the midst of,' not felt by Tibullus himself especi-

ally, but marking human life generally. Cf. 1. 6. 12 n. **13. diluxisse . .** 'that every day which breaks is your last': cf. Bp. Ken's Morning Hymn, 'and live this day as if thy last.' *dilucesco* is less common than *illucesco*: the former describes the light as breaking *through* the clouds, the latter as shining *upon* the earth. **14. grata**: Ter. Phorm. 2.1.21 *quidquid praeter spem eveniet, omne id deputabo esse in lucro;* Plut. de Tranq. An. 16 ὁ τῆς αὔριον ἥκιστα δεόμενος, ὥς φησιν Ἐπίκουρος, ἥδιστα πρόσεισι πρὸς τὴν αὔριον. **15. me**: *i.e.* I have observed the Epicurean rule, which I give you, as you will find, when you come and see me. **pinguem**: cf. Intr. p. ix. **nitidum**, 'sleek,' S. 2. 2. 128. **bene curata cute**, 'in fine condition'; cf. 1. 2. 29. **vises**: Roby 1466, S. G. 602 'you must come and see'; cf. Od. 1. 20. 1 n. **16. voles**: it is better to place a comma after this, so that *porcum* is in apposition to *me*, not the object of *ridere*. **grege**: common for a philosophic 'school'; cf. S. 2. 3. 44 n., but here used to lighten the metaphor in *porcum*. Epicurus himself was not open to the charge of undue indulgence in sensual pleasures. Cf. Aelian, Var. Hist. 4. 13 'Epicurus the Gargettian cried aloud and said, "To whom a little is not enough, nothing is enough. Give me a barley-cake and water, and I am ready to vie even with Zeus in happiness"'; Od. 2. 11. 4 n.

EPISTLE V

For Torquatus see Od. 4. 7 Intr. Horace invites the busy and wealthy advocate to a simple dinner with him, if he can put up with the plain fare which he will furnish. There is nothing to exactly determine the date of the Epistle, but it must have been written (cf. line 4) at least a year or two, probably somewhat more, after the second consulship of Statilius Taurus in 26 B.C.

1-6. *If you can put up with my humble home and fare, I shall expect you to dinner this evening. I will give you the best wine I have, and all shall be ready.* **1. Archiacis**, so called from the maker Archias (cf. *Phidiacus* from *Phidias*, *Pausiacus* from *Pausias*), a *faber lectorius* at Rome, whose couches were evidently not luxurious. **recumbere**, as in Od. 3. 3. 11 and elsewhere, for the more usual *accumbere*. **2. omne** generally explained as 'all sorts of,' 'any kind that may be served up.' But it is better to take it as 'nothing but,' as in Cic. de Nat. D. 2. 21. 56 *omnis ordo*, 'nothing but order': cf. Halm on Cic. Cat. 3. 2. 5. So πᾶς is sometimes used in Greek: cf. Dobree's note on Dem. F. L. § 86 in Shilleto's edition (not. crit.) **patella**: dim. from *patina*, as *femella* from *femina*, *lamella* from *lamina*; Roby 869. **3. supremo sole**, 'at sunset' (cf. Ov. Met. 9. 93 *primo sole;* Phaedr. 3. 19. 8 *medio sole*), later than was usual, the ninth hour being that generally chosen for dinner (1. 7. 70, 71; Mart. 4. 8. 6). A late dinner would be, according to the Roman notions, a modest one; just as a banquet which began early was supposed to be a luxurious one (cf. S. 2. 8. 3). Torquatus would also have time to finish his business, as in S. 2. 7. 33 Maecenas is too busy to dine before the lamps are lit. Cf. Juv. 1. 49 *exul ab octava Marius bibit*, Mayor's note.

4. iterum: sc. *consule*. T. Statilius Taurus was consul (along with Augustus) for a second time in 26 B.C., having been consul (*suffectus*) for the first time in 37 B.C. In 36 B.C. he commanded a fleet against Sex. Pompeius in Sicily; in 34 B.C. he received a triumph for successes in Africa; at Actium in 31 B.C. he commanded the land forces of Augustus; and in 29 B.C. he defeated the Cantabri and other Spanish tribes. In 16 B.C. he was left in charge of Rome and Italy during the absence of the Emperor. *iterum* is the word

always used of a second consulship. **diffusa**, 'racked off' from the *dolium* or cask into the *amphora* or jar, which was then sealed up and labelled with the date of the year. Some MSS. have *defusa*, 'poured out.' **palustres**: the ground round Minturnae on the Appian Way, near the mouth of the Liris in Latium, was very marshy. In these marshes Marius attempted to conceal himself 88 B.C. **5. Minturnas**: the Roman colonies at Minturnae and at Sinuessa (more than nine miles to the south) were founded at the same time in 296 B.C. (Livy 10. 21), and were *coloniae maritimae* with the right of Roman citizens: the two are often mentioned together. The famous *Mons Massicus* overlooked Sinuessa, but the wine grown in the plain was not of a first-rate quality: cf. Mart. 13. 111 *de Sinuessanis venerunt Massica prelis:* | *condita quo quaeris consule? nullus erat.* **6. arcesse**: here the word has its less common meaning 'send,' one as legitimately derived from the primary force 'make to approach,' as the more usual 'fetch,' which is here quite out of place. **imperium fer**, 'put up with my directions.' Horace represents himself as the *dominus convivii* (Gell. 13. 11), cf. Od. 1. 14. 8 n.

7-15. *Lay aside all your cares. To-morrow is a holiday, and so we will be merry to-night.* **7. splendet**: not of the brightness of the fire, which would not be lit in summer, but of the cleansing of the hearth or rather brazier, and the images of the Lares. **8. certamina divitiarum**, 'the struggle for wealth' (for the gen. obj. cf. Livy 1. 17 *certamen regni et cupido*), possibly of the clients of Torquatus, for the *lex Cincia* as confirmed by a *senatus-consultum* of the time of Augustus (Dio Cass. 54. 18) forbade an advocate to receive any fee under pain of refunding four times the amount: and in any case no reproach to the invited guest, as some have strangely supposed. **9. Moschi**: said to be a famous rhetorician of Pergamum, accused of poisoning, in whose trial the most eminent orators of the day were engaged. **nato Caesare.** By a Roman under Augustus *Caesar* thus used without qualification must = Augustus. Horace uses it in 32 other places, and in all but two (S. 1. 9. 18; Od. 1. 2. 44 where the context shows that Julius Caesar is meant) of the Emperor. So that July 12 the birthday of Julius Caesar cannot be meant. As, however, the birthday of Augustus fell on Sept. 23, some question *aestivam*; but the *heat* of Rome in September is intense (Juv. 14. 129); nor is the difficulty that Horace and his friends would be absent from Rome in September insuperable, for in 1. 7 we have Maecenas expecting Horace at Rome in September. Moreover, the whole poem is a fancy piece not necessarily in close relation with facts. **10. somnumque**, *i.e.* to sleep late into the day, not of the noon-day siesta. **dies**: the birthday of Augustus is marked in the calendars as NP, a sign which, as Mommsen (C. I. Lat. 1. 367) has shown, denotes a *dies feriatus*, on which no business was to be done. Hence Torquatus would not have to appear in the law-courts.

12. quo mihi fortunam: MSS. are in favour of *fortunam* rather than *fortuna*. For this use of *quo* (='to what end' or 'purpose?') followed by an accusative, cf. Ov. Am. 2. 19. 7 *quo mihi fortunam, quae numquam fallere curet?* 3. 4. 41 *quo tibi formosam, si non nisi casta placebat?* 3. 7. 49 *quo mihi fortunae tantum?* Phaedr. 3. 18. 9; Cato, Distich. 4. 16 *quo tibi divitias, si semper pauper abundas?* Ar. Lysistr. 193 ποῖ λευκὸν ἵππον; The accusative is governed by some verb understood, though what particular verb is to be supplied was probably not distinctly conceived (cf. Roby 1128, 1441; S. G. 472, 583). Conington on Aen. 4. 98 endeavours to defend *fortuna* here. **fortunam** = 'wealth,' for which the plural is much more common in classical

Latin. **13. ob heredis curam**: cf. Od. 4. 7. 10. The bitterness with which the prospect of wealth passing to an heir was viewed was naturally increased by the childlessness so common at this time at Rome. Augustus, Maecenas, Horace, and Virgil all left no son: cf. Pind. Ol. 11. 88 ἐπεὶ πλοῦτος ὁ λαχὼν ποιμένα | ἐπακτὸν ἀλλότριον | θνάσκοντι στυγερώτατος. **14. adsidet,** 'is next door to.' The word seems used nowhere else in this sense. **15. vel inconsultus,** 'a madman, if you will': cf. Od. 2. 7. 28; 3. 19. 18; 4. 12. 28.

16-20. *Wine has wonderful power to open the heart, to raise the spirits and to quicken the wits.* **16. dissignat**: unquestionably right, as better supported than *designat*, and as the rarer word being more likely to be corrupted. *dissignare* is properly 'to break the seal,' hence 'to open.' **operta,** 'the secrets of the heart': cf. 1. 18. 38; A. P. 434; S. 1. 4. 89; Plat. Symp. 217 E εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ λεγόμενον οἶνος ἄνευ τε παίδων καὶ μετὰ παίδων ἦν ἀληθής, Theocr. 29. 1. 2. Compare the proverbs *in vino veritas* and οἶνος καὶ παῖδες ἀληθεῖς. **17. spes**: cf. Ar. Eth. Nic. 3. 8. 13 ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀνδρεῖοι διὰ τὰ προειρημένα θαρραλέοι . . . τοιοῦτον δὲ ποιοῦσι καὶ οἱ μεθυσκόμενοι· εὐέλπιδες γὰρ γίγνονται. **inertem,** 'coward' (Od. 3. 5. 36 n.), common in the language of the camp as contrasted with *strenuus miles*: cf. 1. 11. 28 and Tac. Hist. 1. 46 *iners pro strenuo*: hence much better than the reading *inermem*, the point being the inspiriting power of wine, not the follies which it can cause. Our 'Dutch courage.' **18. addocet**: only here and Cic. Cluent. 37. 104 *addocti iudices*, the *ad* being intensive, or denoting increase and progress; Roby 1833-4. **19. fecundi,** 'teeming' like our own 'flowing bowl': or perhaps 'pregnant,' like our 'pregnant wit.' *facundi*, which has good MS. support, would lead to an intolerable tautology with *disertos*. **20. contracta,** 'cramped.'

21-31. *I will take care that all is in good order, and that the guests are well chosen, so let nothing keep you away.* **21. imperor,** 'I charge myself,' apparently with the reflexive force of the passive. For the rare use of verbs which govern the dat. in pass. cf. A. P. 56 *invideor*; Munro, Lucr. 2. 156. **22. turpe,** 'dirty.' **toral,** 'hangings' in front of the couch, quickly soiled with falling bits etc.: cf. S. 2. 4. 84 n. For the form cf. *capital, cervical.* **23. conruget nares,** 'make you turn up your nose' in disgust. **ne non . . . ostendat,** 'that . . . fail not to show you.' **24. ne fidos** . . . cf. the 'catch' in Mart. 1. 27. 7 μισῶ μνάμονα συμπόταν. **25. eliminet,** 'carry abroad,' a word used in the early poets in a literal sense, and here in a somewhat more extended application: cf. Pomponius in Non. 38 *vos istic manete: eliminabo extra aedes coniugem.* The force of the English derivative seems to be due to mathematicians of a later age.

26. iungaturque pari: for as Seneca (Ep. 19) says, *ante conspiciendum cum quibus edas et bibas, quam quid edas et bibas.* **Butram . . . Septiciumque,** unknown persons, friends of Torquatus. **27. cena prior,** 'an earlier engagement.' **potiorque puella,** 'a girl whom he prefers': *-que* appears here to have the force of coupling alternatives, which are regarded as both acting to prevent his presence, though not together; hence it is virtually disjunctive, as in Virg. G. 2. 87, 139, 312; 3. 121 (Conington), and often in Lucretius (cf. Munro's index): the engagement is not necessarily to the *puella*, though it may be. Martin rightly renders 'unless he be engaged elsewhere or flirting with some girl whom he prefers to any company.' **28. adsumam,** 'I will have S. too.' Almost all MSS. have *ad summam.* **umbris,** 'guests whom you may bring': the *umbrae* were guests not invited by the host, but brought by

an invited guest of distinction, as Maecenas brought Vibidius and Balatro to the dinner given by Nasidienus (S. 2. 8. 22). **29. premunt,** 'annoy.' **caprae** = *hircus: caper* is similarly used by Catull. 69. 5; 71. 1, and by Ov. A. A. 3. 193: the feminine form only here. **30. quotus esse velis,** 'how large you would like the party to be,' 'name your number': cf. Mart. 14. 217 *dic quotus et quanti cupias cenare. quotus* asks a question, the answer to which is to be given by an ordinal: hence we may compare the Gk. phrase ᾑρέθη πρεσβεύτης δέκατος αὐτός. Cf. 2. 1. 35. **31. postico,** 'the back-door' such as has been found in many Pompeian houses. **falle,** 'give the slip to.'

EPISTLE VI

Nothing is known of the Numicius to whom this Epistle is addressed, nor is there any hint to assist us in determining the date. Its general purpose is to recommend a philosophic calm as the true way of regarding the various objects of human desire. But from line 31 to the end Horace adopts a tone of strong irony, urging Numicius, if he will not accept this theory of life, to pursue with resolute energy whatever end he may choose to propose to himself.

1-8. *The happy man is he who cares for nothing over-much. Some can gaze unmoved even on the grand phenomena of the heavens. How do you think that we ought to feel with regard to wealth and honour?* **1. nil admirari** corresponds to Tennyson's 'wise indifference of the wise'; it is the ἀθαμβία of Democritus (Cic. de Fin. 5. 29), cf. Strabo 61 C τὴν ἀθαυμαστίαν, ἣν ὑμνεῖ Δημόκριτος: the ἀταραξία of the Epicureans; the ἀπάθεια of the Stoics. The *admirari* would naturally bring along with it the *optare* and *expetere*, with which it is often conjoined; *e.g.* Cic. de Off. 1. 20. 66, where one of the marks of a '*fortis animus et magnus*' is *cum persuasum est nihil hominem nisi quod honestum decorumque sit aut admirari aut optare aut expetere oportere.* **3. hunc,** 'yon.' **4. momentis,** 'courses,' the τροπή of Epicurus (Diog. Laert. 10. 76); cf. 1. 10. 16. **formidine,** 'dread,' *i.e.* superstitious alarm. **5. inbuti**: cf. 1. 2. 69 n.; Cic. de Fin. 1. 18. 60 *superstitio, qua qui est inbutus, quietus esse nunquam potest:* translate 'without a touch of dread.' **quid censes,** 'what think you of?' 'what about the gifts . . . ?' The words rhetorically introduce a fresh subject; Orelli quotes Cic. de Off. 2. 7. 25 *quid censemus superiorem illum Dionysium, quo cruciatu timoris angi solitum?* pro Rosc. 17. 49 *quid censes hunc ipsum Sex. Roscium, quo studio et qua intelligentia esse in rusticis rebus?* **7. ludicra quid, plausus . . .** This line is punctuated and explained in many ways: (1) *ludicra quid, plausus, et . . . , ludicra* being taken = 'games,' but (*a*) though the sing. has this sense, the plur. is without authority, (*b*) with *et* following another copula is needed before *plausus;* (2) *ludicra quid plausus et . . . , plausus* being gen. after *ludicra* 'the toys of applause,' *i.e.* 'worthless applause,' so that line 7 refers to the prizes of ambition as line 6 to those of covetousness, but (*a*) *plausus* is not a word which lends itself naturally to this genitival construction, and (*b*) Horace would hardly, in asking what value is to be set upon these things, express his own opinion in the very form of the question; (3) *ludicra? quid . . .* connecting *ludicra* with *maris,* but (*a*) this is open to the last objection, and (*b*) *ludicra maris* is less natural than *munera maris;* (4) *ludicra quid, plausus et . . .* where *plausus et dona* are in apposition to *ludicra,* 'what of such toys as the cheers and honours . . . ?' This involves the same prejudging of the question as (2) and (3), but is perhaps safest. **dona:** sc.

honores et imperia; cf. Od. 1. 1. 7. **Quiritis**, collective, as so often in Livy, but apparently not elsewhere before his time: cf. Tac. Germ. 37 *non Samnis, non Poeni.*

9-16. *The fear of loss or suffering is not less disturbing than the greed for gain or honour, and they are alike in their effects: virtue herself should not be pursued to an extreme.* **9. fere**, 'as a rule'; cf. Caes. B. G. 3. 18 *fere libenter homines id quod volunt, credunt.* **miratur**, etc., 'over-esteems them in the same way as he who craves.' For *mirari* in this sense of caring about, with some feeling of dread, cf. Luc. 2. 28 *necdum est ille dolor, sed iam metus; incubat amens,* | *miraturque malum.* **10. pavor**, 'the excitement' (cf. Cic. Tusc. 4. 8. 19 *pavorem, metum mentem loco moventem*): the θάμβος or ἔκπληξις which is inconsistent with real happiness. Cf. Virg. Aen. 5. 137 *exsultantiaque haurit* | *corda pavor pulsans* of the excitement of a race. **utrobique**, 'in either case.' **11. simul**=*simul ac;* Roby 1717, S. G. 721. **species**, 'appearance' of any object of fear or desire. **exterret**, 'flutters' with the *pavor* which it excites. Jacobs, approved by Lachmann, conjectures *externat* (i.e. *exsternat*, 'scares,' cf. *consternat*); but *exterret* is sufficiently defended by Virg. Aen. 11. 806 *fugit ante omnes exterritus Arruns,* | *laetitia mixtoque metu;* Lucr. 2. 1040 *novitate exterritus ipsa.*

12. gaudeat . . . 'whether he rejoices or fears, . . . what matter? This classification of the emotions under four heads originated with the Stoics, but had become a commonplace. Cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 733 *hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque;* Plat. Phaed. 83 B ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ λυπῶν καὶ φόβων. **13. spe**, 'expectation,' with the ambiguous meaning shown also in *pavor* and *exterret.* This is more common with the verb *spero* (cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 543, 2. 658) than with the substantive; but cf. Sall. Jug. 88. 1 *contra spem suam laetissimis animis excipitur.* **14. defixis oculis**, 'you stare, look blank, grow numb from top to toe'—Con. **16. ultra quam satis est** . . . The need of moderation in pursuit even of virtue is a commonplace with philosophers: cf. Cic. pro Mur. 30. 63 *nostri illi . . . a Platone et Aristotele, moderati homines et temperati, aiunt . . . omnes virtutes mediocritate quadam esse moderatas;* Tusc. 4. 25. 55 *studia vel optimarum rerum sedata tamen et tranquilla esse debent.*

17-27. *Set your affections on the treasures of art, on fame and on wealth, if you will: but remember that you will soon have to abandon all.* **17. i nunc**, 'go now,' an ironical command to do something which after what has been said is impossible, or absurd; usually followed by *et*, as in 2. 2. 76. Cf. Juv. 10. 310; 12. 57; Pers. 4. 19 *i nunc . . . suffla* where Jahn remarks '*irridentis vel exprobantis formula.*' **argentum**, here 'plate,' as S. 1. 4. 28; not 'money.' **artes**, 'works of art,' cf. Od. 4. 8. 5 n. **18. suspice**, opp. of *despice.* **colores**, 'dyes,' i.e. *vestes purpureas.* **19. loquentem**, very rarely used, as here, of public speaking, which is almost always *dicere*, opposed to conversational talk (*loqui*): cf. Cic. Orat. 32. 113 *nec idem loqui est quod dicere;* de Orat. 3. 10. 38 *neque enim conamur docere eum dicere, qui loqui nesciat;* Eupolis (Dem. 8) λαλεῖν ἄριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν. **20. forum** for business purposes, as in 1. 19. 8, not for legal or political pursuits: cf. *cedere foro*=to become bankrupt, and Cic. de Imp. Pomp. 7. 19 *haec ratio pecuniarum . . . quae in foro versatur.* **vespertinus**: Roby 1017, S. G. 452. **21. dotalibus**, coming to him through his wife, and therefore not due either to inheritance, or to his own energy and skill. **emetat**, only found here. **22. Mutus**, probably a real person, known to Horace's

readers. **indignum**, an exclamation, as in Ov. Met. 5. 36 *nisi post altaria Phineus | isset, et, indignum, scelerato profuit ara;* Am. 1. 6. 1 *ianitor, indignum, dura religate catena.* So *malum, mirum, nefas,* etc. **quod sit:** Roby 1740, S. G. 740.

24. quidquid . . .: cf. Soph. Aj. 646 ἅπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος | φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται. . **in apricum,** 'to the light of day' = *in apertum;* if the word be, as is commonly supposed, contracted from *aperi-cu-s* it is used here, but apparently here only, in its primary sense (Roby 774). **26. porticus Agrippae**: erected by M. Vipsanius Agrippa in honour of Neptune, and adorned with paintings of the exploits of the Argonauts; hence called *porticus Vipsania,* or *Neptuni,* or *Argonautarum* (Juv. 6. 153). It was thrown open to the public in 25 B.C. (Dio Cass. 53. 27) and would naturally be a fashionable lounge. **via Appi**: the *regina viarum* (Stat. Silv. 2. 2. 12) led to Capua and Brundisium (S. 1. 5. 6), and would often be crowded by Roman nobles travelling to their villas in Campania, or to Greece and the East. **27. Numa** and **Ancus** are joined, as being the two most popular of the early kings; cf. Ennius' line adopted by Lucr. 3. 1025 *lumina sis* [=*suis*] *oculis etiam bonus Ancu' reliquit;* Od. 4. 7. 14.

28-35. *If you are suffering in body, seek the remedy. So, if virtue is the true path to a happy life, aim at securing this. If wealth, then do your utmost to grow rich.* **29. vis**: a direct statement for a hypothetical one. Roby 1553, S. G. 651. **recte,** 'aright,' here = *beate,* not in a moral sense as in 1. 2. 41. **30. virtus una,** as the Stoics taught. **31. hoc age,** 'attend to this alone'; cf. S. 2. 3. 152 n. **deliciis** = *voluptatibus.* **verba,** 'mere words'; cf. the last utterance of Brutus in Dio 47. 49 ὦ τλῆμον ἀρετή, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ'· ἐγὼ δέ σε | ὡς ἔργον ἤσκουν· σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐδούλευες τύχῃ. **32. lucum ligna,** 'a sacred grove but logs.' Notice **virtutem verba** and **lucum ligna**: they sound the same, are they the same? **portus occupet,** 'reaches the port before you,' and so anticipates you in the market. **33. Cibyra** was in the extreme S. of Phrygia on the borders of Lycia and famous for its iron. **Bithynia** had some important ports, and large navigable rivers, which brought down the produce of the interior, especially timber and marble: cf. Od. 1. 35. 7; 3. 7. 3. **34. rotundentur,** 'be rounded off,' an expression not elsewhere used, but Petron. 76 has *uno cursu centies sestertium corrotundavi.* **altera,** a second set of talents, as numerous, *totidem* being equivalent to *mille talenta:* cf. Catull. 5. 7 *basia mille, deinde centum, | dein mille altera, dein secunda centum;* Virg. Ecl. 3. 71 *aurea mala decem misi: cras altera mittam.* **35. quadrat**: better supported than *quadret,* which seems a careless assimilation to the preceding subjunctives: 'the part which squares the heap' is a periphrasis for a fourth thousand.

36-48. *Wealth of course brings many blessings in its train, and a rich man is better off than a king; so if this is your goal, push on towards it stoutly.* **36. fidemque,** 'credit,' not solely in money matters; cf. Juv. 3. 143 *quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca | tantum habet et fidei.* **37. regina Pecunia,** 'queen cash': Juv. 1. 112 *inter nos sanctissima divitiarum | maiestas, etsi, funesta Pecunia, templo nondum habitas.* **38. Suadela** = Πειθώ, also called *Suada* by Ennius in Cic. Brut. 15. 59 *ut quam deam in Pericli labris scripsit Eupolis sessitavisse, huius hic medullam nostrum oratorem fuisse dixerit.* **39. Cappadocum rex,** Archelaus: Cicero says of his predecessor Ariobarzanes in ad Att. 6. 1. 3 *nullum aerarium nullum vectigal habet . . . nihil illo regno spoliatius, nihil rege egentius.* The Cappadocian

slaves were regarded as of little value: cf. Pers. 6. 77; Mart. 10. 76. 3. **41. si posset**: Roby 1754, S. G. 748. **42. qui**: Roby 379, S. G. 206. The chlamys, being a Greek garment, would not naturally be found in large numbers in a Roman house. **44. tolleret**: Roby 1783, S. G. 765; the subject is the giver of the show, who had made the request. **46. fallunt** = λανθάνει. **furibus**, 'pilferers,' whether slaves of the house or others. **48. repetas**, 'return with each new day to.'

49-55. *If the honours of the state are what you desire, then busily canvass for them.* **49. species**, 'state,' especially of a magistrate: Tac. Ann. 4. 6 *sua consulibus, sua praetoribus species.* **gratia**, 'popularity.' **50. qui dictet nomina**, the *nomenclator*, who accompanied a candidate on his canvass (*ambitio*), in order to whisper to him the names of voters. Cf. Cic. pro Mur. 36. 77 *quid? quod habes nomenclatorem? in eo quidem fallis et decipis, nam si nomine appellari abs te cives tuos honestum est, turpe est eos notiores esse servo tuo quam tibi.* In 72 B.C. when Cato was standing for the military tribuneship, the employment of *nomenclatores* was forbidden by law, though the law was rarely obeyed. Nine years later it had been repealed or was regarded as obsolete, even by Cato. **51. fodicet**, 'nudge': the *nomenclator* is of course on the outside of the path, his master having the wall to his right: cf. S. 2. 5. 17. For the action cf. Ter. Hec. 3. 5. 17 La. *dic iussisse te.* Ph. *noli fodere. iussi.* Almost all MSS. have *saevum* for **laevum**. **cogat**, 'press,' with energy. **trans pondera**: the old interpreters explain of 'stepping-stones' placed in the road: thus Comm. Cruq. *pondera lapides qui per vias porriguntur aut* (*qui per*) *latera viarum positi altiores* (*sunt*). Gesner (followed by Lachmann, Haupt, Conington) gives *ultra aequilibrium corporis cum periculo cadendi*, 'at risk of tumbling down'; cf. Ov. Met. 1. 12 *nec circumfuso pendebat in aere tellus | ponderibus librata suis;* Lucr. 2. 218, 6. 574; Lucan 1. 57. Orelli takes it of the weights on the counter of a shop, supporting his interpretation by the picture of a shop at Pompeii; but is it possible to understand so important a limiting notion as 'of the shop'? The first view has recently been advocated by T. Mommsen and Krüger. Overbeck *Pompeii*[3] 56 describes the broader streets as having three such stepping-stones (Fig. 19), the narrower, one. It is admitted that there is no evidence, except in the scholiasts, that these were called *pondera*: but their view must have been based upon some traditional authority. The picture thus suggested is that of a candidate in the cumbrous whitened toga, pressed by his attendant to hurry across the street in order to shake hands with an influential elector on the path opposite. The street was usually narrow, in Pompeii never more than about 24 feet broad, and often only 9 or 10, inclusive of the paths (*margines*), but the latter were as a rule much raised.

52. Fabia: sc. *tribu*, one of the original country-tribes. **Velina**, one of the two added latest, in 241 B.C. **53. hic**: sc. a third man. **cui** *dare* **libet**: the forms of free election were allowed to remain during the time of Augustus, who himself took part in the canvassing (cf. Suet. Oct. 40 *comitiorum ius pristinum reduxit*), and the elections of 19 B.C. gave rise to serious disturbances: it was only Tiberius who made the sanction of the *comitia* merely formal. **curule ebur**: the *sella curulis*, a distinction enjoyed by the curule aediles, praetors, and consuls. **54. inportunus**, 'making himself awkward,' cf. S. 2. 5. 96 n. **55. facetus** = *blande et comiter*, 'politely,' apparently a colloquial usage: cf. Ter. Heaut. 3. 2. 10 *mulier commoda, faceta haec meretrix.*

adopta: Spartianus says of the emperor Didius Julianus (c. 4) *senatum et equestrem ordinem in palatium venientem admisit, atque unumquemque, ut erat aetas, vel patrem vel filium vel parentem affatus blandissime est.*

56-64. *If good dining is good living, then be off to the market betimes, to secure its choicest dainties, and take Gargilius for your model.* **56. lucet,** 'day has dawned,' *i.e.* it is time to be off in quest of dainties. **57. piscemur, venemur**: not of real 'fishing' and 'hunting' but, as in the case of Gargilius, of buying fish and game in the market-place. **59. differtum forum populumque**=*forum differtum populo.* Bentley took objection to the repetition of *populum* and *populo* (which is due to a desire to emphasise the presence of the people as spectators), and very confidently read *campum* for *populum.* But, while the *forum* was crowded in the morning, the *campus* was not frequented till the afternoon. **60. unus . . . e multis,** 'one of all the train.' **61. crudus,** properly 'raw' (connected with *cruor*, κρέας, etc.), is applied alike to undigested food, and (as here) to the eater who has not yet digested it. Indulgence in a hot bath too soon after dinner is censured as a mark of a glutton; Juv. 1. 142; Pers. 3. 98. It was regarded as a means of hastening digestion, though one dangerous to health. **62. Caerite cera**=*Caeritibus tabulis,* the lists of those citizens who were without the franchise (*sine suffragio*). Gellius 16. 13 states that the inhabitants of Caere were made *municipes sine suffragii iure* because they took charge of the Roman *sacra* at the time of the Gallic invasion (cf. Livy 5. 40): and that the name was afterwards applied *versa vice* to those whom the censors degraded and deprived of their votes. **63. remigium**: cf. 1. 2. 24 seq. **64. interdicta voluptas,** *i.e.* the slaughtering of the sacred cattle of the Sun-god: Hom. Od. 1. 8; 12. 340 seq. **65. Mimnermus**: an elegiac poet of Colophon, contemporary with Solon; a fragment is preserved in Stobaeus (Frag. 1, Bergk) τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσέης Ἀφροδίτης; | τεθναίην ὅτε μοι μηκέτι ταῦτα μέλοι. Propertius (1. 9. 11) says of him *plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero.* **67. istis,** 'than what you have now before you.' **68. candidus,** 'frankly.'

EPISTLE VII

'This Epistle will always rank among the most valued of Horace's poems, It shows the man in his most attractive aspect,—simple, frank, affectionate. tactical, manly, and independent. No one can read it without feeling that dear as Maecenas was to Horace, and deeply grateful to him as he was for his generosity, and for the friendly spirit without which generosity itself would have been odious to the poet, not even for him would Horace forego a tittle of that freedom of thought and action which he deemed to be essential, not less for his self-respect than for his personal happiness'—Sir T. Martin.

1-13. *I have stayed away from Rome much longer than I told you I should: but I am sure you will excuse me, Maecenas, for I am afraid to be in town at such an unhealthy season. I intend to go down to the sea for the winter, but I shall be back again with you in the spring.* **1. quinque dies,** 'five days or so,' a colloquial phrase, for any short period: cf. S. 1. 3. 16. **rure**: this form for the locative *ruri* occurs again in 1. 14. 10, twice in Ovid and twice in Tibullus. With an epithet the form *rure* is always used. **2. Sextilem**: this month received the name 'August' in 8 B.C. **desideror**: Roby 1460; S. G. 596. **3. sanum recteque valentem,** 'free from disease, and in sound health,' as in 1. 16. 21. Cf. Cic. Acad. 2. 7. 19 *si* (*sensus*) *et sani sunt ac*

valentes. **4. mihi das aegro,** 'you are ready to give me, if I am sick.' **5. ficus prima:** the fig ripens towards the end of August and the beginning of September; cf. Od. 3. 23. 8 *pomifero grave tempus anno.* There were also early spring figs, formed even before the leaves (cf. Plin. H. N. 15. 18. 71 *sunt praeterea serotinae et praecoces, biferae, alba ac nigra, cum messe vindemiaque maturescentes;* 16. 26. 113; Matt. xxi. 19; Trench *Miracles,* 451), but these are of course not referred to here. **6. dissignatorem:** this form only, and not *designator,* is found in good MSS. and inscriptions; cf. 1. 5. 16. The *dissignator* was the man who marshalled the funeral procession. Acron says here *designatores dicuntur qui ad locum (? lucum) Libitinae in funere praestanti conducuntur, ut defuncti cum honore efferantur.* The name was also given to the officials who assigned places in the theatre: cf. Plaut. Poen. prol. 18. **7. pueris:** cf. Mart. 10. 62. 12 *aestate pueri si valent, satis discunt.* **8. officiosa,** 'in showing attentions': for *officia* in the sense of the duties of civility due from clients and from citizens generally see Mayor on Juv. 3. 126. The term would include the morning *salutatio,* the *deductio in forum,* visits to the sick, attendance at weddings, funerals, or when the *toga virilis* was assumed, and the like. **opella,** 'petty business': cf. 2. 2. 67. **9. testamenta resignat,** 'unseals wills,' *i.e.* causes deaths. A will was usually written on tablets of wood or wax; a senatus-consultum of the time of Nero (Suet. Ner. 17) enacted that they were to be tied up with a triple thread, and then wax was to be put over the thread and sealed by the testator, and also by witnesses. When sealed a will was deposited with some friend, or in a temple, or with the Vestal virgins. After the testator's death as many of the witnesses as possible were collected, and after they had acknowledged their seals, the thread was broken, and the will read.

10. quodsi: cf. Virg. Aen. 5. 64 *praeterea, si nona diem mortalibus almum | Aurora extulerit:* Catull. 14. 17 *si luxerit* 'come dawn' (Ellis). So we find often *dicam . . . si prius dixero:* Cic. Acad. 2. 20. 64; de Off. 2. 6. 22; Plaut. Capt. 248, etc. **Albanis:** the snow would naturally lie on the Alban hills earlier than on the plain of the Campagna. **11. vates tuus,** *i.e.* the humble friend whom you honour with the exalted title of 'bard': cf. Od. 1. 1. 35 *quodsi me lyricis vatibus inseres;* 2. 6. 24 *vatis amici,* etc. This old-fashioned name fell into contempt in the early Latin poetry, and regained all its earlier honour with Virgil (*e.g.* Ecl. 9. 34). Cf. 2. 1. 26; Munro on Lucr. 1. 102. **12. contractus,** 'huddled up,' ἐπικεκυφώς as in Lucian Saturn. 9. 9 ἐπικεκυφότες . . . ἀμφὶ τὴν κάμινον, with a secondary idea of 'in retirement.' **13. hirundine:** the return of the swallow was the first sign of spring: cf. Ov. Fast. 2. 853 *veris praenuntia venit hirundo;* Anth. Pal. 2. 279 ὁ πλόος ὡραῖος. καὶ γὰρ λαλαγεῦσα χελιδὼν | ἤδη μέμβλωκεν, Ar. Eq. 419 ὥρα νέα, χελιδών.

14-24. *You have not enriched me, as the boor did his guests, with what had no value for him. This would have been a natural reason for ingratitude. But you, while ready to satisfy the wants of those who deserve it, know the value of your gifts, and I will meet you worthily.* **14. Calaber.** The name is chosen only to make the story more vivid. **16. benigne,** 'I'm much obliged,' a polite phrase for refusing the offer (cf. line 62), like καλῶς, κάλλιστα in Gk. (Ar. Ran. 503 seq.) **20. spernit et odit,** 'does not value and in fact dislikes.' **22. dignis,** 'for the worthy,' *i.e.* to meet their needs. **ait esse paratus,** a Gk. construction, cf. Plaut. Asin. 634 *quas . . . Diabulus ipsi daturus dixit;* Catull. 4. 1 *phaselus ille . . . | ait fuisse navium celerrimus;* Od. 3. 27. 73; Roby 1350. **23. lupinis** used to represent

money on the stage, or for counters in games. They are still so used in Italy. **24. dignum pro laude,** 'worthy in accordance with the renown of my benefactor'; *laude* is the praise which Maecenas receives, not that which he gives. For *dignum pro* cf. Munro on Lucr. 5. 1. **merentis**: sc. *bene merentis*, 'my benefactor'; cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 664 *quique sui memores alios fecere merendo;* Prop. 5. 11. 101 *sim digna merendo;* Ov. Pont. 2. 2. 89 *laurea decreta merenti.* So very often in inscriptions.

25-28. *But the service I can render must be proportional to my powers, and I am not young as I once was.* **25. usquam,** with a verb of motion, also in S. 1. 1. 37; 2. 7. 30: *quoquam* and *nequoquam* are not common after Terence. **26. latus,** chest, *i.e.* lungs: cf. 1. 12. 5; Quint. 12. 11. 2 *neque enim scientia modo constet orator . . . sed voce, latere, firmitate.* **nigros**: Horace describes himself as *praecanus* (1. 20. 24): at this time he could not have been more than 45 at most. A *frons angusta* or *tenuis* (Od. 1. 33. 5) or *brevis* (Mart. 4. 42. 9), *i.e.* one on which the hair grew down low, was regarded as a beauty: Pliny describes the statue of an old man as having *rari et cedentes capilli, lata frons* (Ep. 3. 6. 2). **27. loqui** = τὸ λαλεῖν, 'my pleasant voice and laugh, the tears I shed'—Con. **28. Cinarae,** perhaps the only one of the women's names mentioned by Horace, which points to a real attachment on his part: cf. 1. 14. 33; Od. 4. 1. 3 *bonae Cinarae;* 4. 13. 21.

29-36. *If I am attacked as being like the fox which could not escape from the corn-bin in which it had eaten its fill, I will give you back everything: I am sincere in my preference of a simple life, and prefer my freedom to boundless wealth.* **29. vulpecula**: Bentley protests that a fox cannot eat corn, and confidently restores *nitedula* 'a shrew-mouse,' which Lachmann and Conington accept: but the soundest verdict is Munro's, 'Bentley's famous *nitedula* for *vulpecula* deserves all praise: it is brilliant; is what Horace ought to have written:—but I sadly fear did not write, not from ignorance probably, but because he had in his thoughts some old-world fable, whose foxes were not as our foxes.' **30. cumeram**: cf. S. 1. 1. 53 n. **pasta,** the participle of the reflexive form *pascor*, used actively. Roby, S. G. 567. **31. pleno**: of a distended body: cf. Aesop ἀλώπηξ ἐξογκωθεῖσα τὴν γαστέρα: so Babr. lxxxvi. **32. procul,** 'hard by': cf. S. 2. 6. 105 n. **33. cavum**: for a mouse's hole in S. 2. 6. 116. **34. compellor,** 'assailed': cf. S. 2. 3. 297 n. **resigno,** 'I transfer back to you': Fest. 281 M *resignare antiqui dicebant pro rescribere;* cf. Od. 3. 29. 54; S. 2. 3. 76 *dictantis quod tu numquam rescribere possis.* **35. satur altilium,** *i.e.* only when I have myself had my fill of dainties. Od. 3. 16. 21-44 is the best commentary on this passage.

37-45. *You know that I have always been modest and grateful: but I will gladly give back your gifts which, if purchased at the cost of my independence, would be as unfit for me to receive, as horses were for Telemachus.* **37. verecundum,** *i.e.* my modesty in not pushing my own claims, although, Horace goes on to add, I have always fully acknowledged my debts to you, both in your presence and in your absence. **rex,** 'patron,' as in 1. 17. 20, 43. **38. audisti,** 'you have been addressed': cf. S. 2. 6. 20 n. **39. si possum**: Roby 1755, S. G. 747. **reponere** = *resignare.* **40. Telemachus**: Hom. Od. 4. 601 ἵππους δ' εἰς Ἰθάκην οὐκ ἄξομαι, 605 ἐν δ' Ἰθάκῃ οὔτ' ἂρ δρόμοι εὐρέες οὔτε τι λειμών· | αἰγίβοτος καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπήρατος ἱπποβότοιο. | οὐ γάρ τις νήσων ἱππήλατος οὐδ' εὐλείμων. **patientis**: the Homeric πολύτλας, πολυτλήμων, ταλασίφρων. **42. spatiis,** cf. στάδιον, Dor. σπάδιον, 'courses': cf. 1. 14. 9; Virg. G. 1. 513, etc. **43. Atridē**:

but S. 2. 3. 187 *Atridă, vetas cur?* Roby 473, S. G. 150. **tibi**: both with *apta* and *relinquam*. **44. regia** of Rome as the *princeps urbium* (Od. 4. 3. 13), the *domina* (Od. 4. 14. 44) not merely 'magnificent,' as in Od. 2. 15. 1. **45. vacuum**: cf. 2. 2. 81 *vacuas Athenas*: 'quiet,' free from disturbance. **inbelle**, 'peaceful': cf. S. 2. 4. 34 *molle Tarentum*.

46-98. *A story will show how ill-suited gifts often bring ruin to the recipient.* **46. Philippus**, L. Marcius (consul 91 B.C.), an orator distinguished for his energy and biting wit. Cf. Cic. de Orat. 3. 1. 4 *homini et vehementi et diserto et imprimis forti ad resistendum, Philippo*; Brut. 47. 173 (there was in Philippus) *summa libertas in oratione, multae facetiae: . . . in altercando cum aliquo aculeo et maledicto facetus.* He was an adherent of Sulla in the civil wars. **fortis** refers to his boldness in oratory. **47. octavam circiter horam**, *i.e.* between 1 and 2 P.M. Philippus had had a long morning's work: Martial (4. 8) says *in quintam varios extendit Roma labores: | sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit.* After the work of the day followed exercise and the bath. **48. Carinas**: a quarter (*vicus*) lying chiefly in the fourth *regio* of Rome, on that part of the Esquiline Mount, towards the west or south-west, which in earlier times was called the M. Oppius, above the Subura. It was a fashionable quarter (cf. Virg. Aen. 8. 361 *lautis . . . Carinis*) where Q. Cicero had a house, and also Pompeius, Tiberius, and others. **nimium distare**: the farthest part of the Carinae can hardly have been more than half a mile from the Forum. **49. ut aiunt**, 'as the story goes': cf. 1. 6. 40; 17. 18. **50. adrasum**: not *abrasum*, which is badly supported and incorrect, for *homo adraditur, barba abraditur: ad* is intensive (Roby 1834, S. G. 801), 'closely shaven.' **umbra**, 'booth,' as in Greek σκιά for σκηνή. The booth was empty, because the busier customers had been trimmed earlier in the day; the man was sitting, leisurely paring his own nails, a duty generally undertaken by the barber (cf. Plaut. Aul. 2. 4. 33 *quin ipsi pridem tonsor ungues dempserat*; Mart. 3. 74), and his comfortable repose attracted the interest of Philippus.

52. non laeve = οὐ σκαιῶς: the adverb is not found elsewhere. Demetrius was the usual *pedisequus* of Philippus. **53. unde domo**, 'where he comes from': cf. Virg. Aen. 8. 114 *unde domo* = πόθεν οἰκόθεν. **54. quove patrono**: a freedman had no father in the eyes of the law, but his place was taken to a certain extent by his *patronus*. In the account brought back by Demetrius the mention of the name *Menas* (a Greek name contracted from *Menodorus*, like *Hermas* for *Hermodorus*, *Demas* for *Demodorus*) sufficed to show that he was a freedman; hence no further answer is given to this question, for *Vulteius* must have been his patron. **55. Vulteium**: several of this *gens* are mentioned in history. *esse* is understood, and the following accusatives are in apposition. **56. praeconem**: line 65 shows that he was not an official herald, but an auctioneer; cf. A. P. 419; Cic. de N. D. 3. 34. 84 *haec per praeconem vendidit.* **sine crimine**: for a preposition with its case serving as an adjective cf. Ov. Am. 1. 3. 13 *sine crimine mores*; Trist. 4. 10. 71 *sine crimine coniunx*; Cic. de Orat. 1. 23. 105 *loquacitatem sine usu.* **notum properare**, 'well known for working with energy': for the construction cf. Od. 1. 3. 25 n. **57. loco**, 'at the right time,' ἐν καιρῷ: cf. Od. 4. 12. 28. **cessare**, 'taking holiday': *cessare otiari et iucunde vivere* Comm. Cruq.; cf. 1. 10. 46; 2. 2. 183, etc. **58. parvis**, 'humble' like himself. **lare certo**, 'a house of his own.' **59. ludis**: sc. *scaenicis et circensibus*: these were held only on days of general holiday, so the limitation *post decisa negotia* is not needed in this case. **campo**; sc. *Martio*; cf. Od. 1. 8. 4 n.

61. non sane=οὐ πάνυ, but in both cases the question has been raised whether the negative is strengthened or weakened by the added particle. The former seems to be the case: cf. 2. 1. 106; S. 2. 3. 138; Cope's Gorgias App. ii.; Cic. de Orat. 2. 1. 5; de Off. 2. 2. 5 *haud sane intellego.* **62. benigne**: cf. line 16 n. **63. neget,** 'is he to refuse me?' Roby, S. G. 674. **inprobus,** 'the impudent fellow,' from the point of view of Demetrius.

64. mane, 'next morning.' **65. tunicato**: the cumbrous toga was seldom worn by the poorer classes at Rome, except on ceremonial occasions. Augustus was annoyed at the disuse of the national dress, and forbade the citizens to appear in the forum or circus without the toga (Suet. Aug. 40). In the country it was still less used: Juv. 3. 171 *pars magna Italiae est . . . in quo nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus;* Mart. 10. 47. 5 *toga rara;* 51. 6 *tunicata quies.* **scruta,** 'odds and ends.' **66. occupat**=φθάνει, comes upon him before he sees him. **prior**: the inferior would naturally be the first to offer a salutation; cf. Mart. 3. 95. 1 *numquam dicis 'ave,' sed reddis, Naevole, semper . . . cur hoc expectes a me, rogo, Naevole, dicas, | nam puto, nec melior, Naevole, nec prior es.* **67. excusare,** 'began pleading . . . as his reason': Cic. Phil. 9. 4. 8 *excusare morbum.* **mercennaria**: all good MSS. here give *nn*, where the first *n* represents the assimilated *d* of *merced*, the second a suffix *-on*: cf. Roby 942. 1. The meaning therefore cannot be 'the bonds of buying and selling,' which would involve no *merces*, but 'his salaried duties,' 'hireling bonds': cf. S. 1. 6. 86 *si praeco parvas . . . | mercedes sequerer.* **68. domum venisset**: for the morning *salutatio*, which would be expected from an inferior after the compliment of such an invitation. **69. providisset**: cf. Plaut. Asin. 2. 4. 44 *non hercle te provideram: quaeso ne vitio vortas;* Ter. And. 2. 1. 12 *erus est, neque provideram.* **sic . . . si,** 'on condition that.' **70. ut libet,** 'as you please,' *i.e.* if you wish it.

72. dicenda tacenda, *i.e.* whatever came into his head, with no suggestion of blame, as in Demosth. de Cor. § 157 καὶ βοᾷς ῥητὰ καὶ ἄρρητα ὀνομάζων. There is a similar asyndeton in *fanda nefanda* Catull. 64. 405: cf. Cic. Tusc. 5. 39. 114. **74. piscis**: the particle of comparison is omitted, and the metaphor is incorporated with the main clause, as often: cf. 1. 1. 2. **75. certus,** 'regular,' one who could be relied upon. **76. rura,** 'estates,' has the construction of *rus.* **indictis Latinis**: the *feriae Latinae* were not *statae* but *conceptivae*, i.e. were held at a time fixed each year by the consuls, and proclaimed by a *praeco.* Until they had held this festival on the Alban Mount, the consuls were not allowed to leave Rome (Livy 21. 63). The festival was made the occasion for a general holiday, and was always accompanied by a *iustitium*, so that Philippus had no legal business to keep him in the city.

77. inpositus mannis, not 'on horseback,' in which case the plural would barely be justifiable; but in a carriage drawn by *manni*: cf. Ov. Pont. 3. 4. 100 *filius et iunctis, ut prius, ibit equis;* Virg. Aen. 12. 735 *cum prima in proelia iunctos | conscendebat equos.* Homer often has ἵπποι in this sense, *e.g.* Il. 5. 13 τὼ μὲν ἀφ' ἵπποιιν, 46 ἵππων ἐπιβησόμενον. **manni** 'were small Gallic horses (cobs) famous for swiftness and evidently in great demand at Rome for use in harness,' Munro on Lucr. 3. 1063 *currit agens mannos ad villam praecipitantes.* Cf. Od. 3. 27. 7; Ov. Am. 2. 16. 49 *rapientibus esseda mannis.* **arvum caelumque,** *i.e.* the fertility of the soil and the pleasant climate. **Sabinum**: the shortness of the holiday (six days) prevented Philippus from visiting any of the sea-side retreats in Campania. **79.**

requiem, 'recreation.' **risus**, 'amusement': S. 2. 2. 107. **undique**, 'from any source.' **80. dum . . . donat**, 'by giving him': *dum* is used with an intentional negligence in two slightly varying senses. **80. septem sestertia**: about £60. **83. nitido**, 'trim townsman': Martin 'dapper cit.' **84. crepat**: cf. Od. 1. 18. 5; S. 1. 3. 12 *reges atque tetrarchos,* | *omnia magna loquens*: 'has nothing but furrows and vineyards on his lips.' **praeparat ulmos**, *i.e.* for vines, which were trained to grow up them, as still in Italy: cf. Od. 4. 5. 30 n.; 2. 15. 4; Epod. 2. 10. **85. studiis**, dat. as in Quinct. 9. 3. 73 *inmori legationi.* **senescit**: 2. 2. 82.

87. mentita: Od. 3. 1. 30 *fundus mendax;* 3. 16. 30 *segetis certa fides;* Sil. Ital. 7. 160 of the Falernian district *dives ea et numquam tellus mentita colono.* **enectus**: cf. Livy 21. 41 *fame frigore, illuvie squalore enecti;* Cic. Tusc. 1. 5. 10 *enectus siti Tantalus* (in a quotation from an unknown poet). *enecatus* seems only found in Pliny. Ritter thinks that Menas worked his ox to death in trying to make up for his losses: it is simpler to suppose that the soil of the farm was stony. **88. media de nocte**, 'while it is still the middle of the night' (cf. 1. 2. 32; Roby 1911, S. G. 812): he will not wait for the daylight before he carries out his impatient resolve. **caballum**: usually of a riding horse, as in 1. 14. 43; S. 1. 6. 59, but here probably of a cart-horse, as in 1. 18. 36. Menas is not likely to have kept a 'cob,' as some render it. **91. durus** = *duri patiens laboris:* cf. 1. 16. 70. **attentus** *ad rem* (Ter. Ad. 5. 3. 48): cf. S. 2. 6. 82 *attentus quaesitis.*

92. pol: cf. 2. 2. 138. This expression was used both by men and women (Gell. 11. 6; Macrob. 1. 12. 28), though the latter preferred as a rule *mecastor*, probably because of the resemblance in sound to *castum* and *castitas* (Preller, Röm. Myth. 653). **93. ponere** = *inponere*: cf. S. 1. 3. 41 *isti* | *errori nomen virtus posuisset honestum:* so τιθέναι ὄνομα. **94. quod**, 'wherefore': Roby 2214, S. G. 871. 5. Cf. Virg. Aen. 2. 141 *quod te per superos . . . oro;* Ter. And. 1. 5. 54 *quod ego per hanc te dextram oro et genium tuum.* **Genium**: for this tutelary spirit cf. 2. 2. 187 and Preller, Röm. Myth. 567: 'the genius as such is always good, and the source of the good gifts and hours which brighten the life of the individual man, and also the source of his physical and mental health, in a word, his good spirit: hence the oaths and conjurings by one's own genius or that of another, in which latter case along with the genius of a friend, his right hand, *i.e.* his honour, his eyes, *i.e.* the light of his body, or his Penates, *i.e.* the sanctities of his house and home, are often named.' **96. qui semel aspexit . . .** Horace, after his fashion, sums up the lesson of the foregoing story in brief. *semel* is found only in one MS.: all others have the meaningless *simul.* **98. pede**: apparently only a variation of the idea in **modulo**, 'foot-rule.' **verum**, 'right': cf. 1. 12. 23; S. 2. 3. 212.

EPISTLE VIII

This Epistle was written in 20 B.C., and is addressed to the Celsus Albinovanus who is mentioned in 1. 3. 15 as one of the suite accompanying Tiberius in his expedition to Armenia. The tone is curiously self-reproachful; it is not likely to have been adopted by Horace simply in order to relieve his own feelings: such a view would be inconsistent with the relations which seem to have existed between Horace and Celsus, who was probably young enough to have been his son. It is more likely assumed to prepare for, and at the same

time to soften, the kindly warning to a friend whose pride in his advancement at court seemed to require a check.

1-12. *Bear my greetings, Muse, to Celsus; and if he asks of me, tell him that I am but ill content with my own temper, sloth and fickleness.* 1. **gaudere et bene rem gerere,** 'greeting and good wishes' = χαίρειν καὶ εὖ πράττειν: cf. Plaut. Trin. 3. 3. 43 *salutem ei nuntiet verbis patris: illum bene gerere rem et valere et vivere.* Perhaps there is here a reference also to his duties as secretary (*scriba*): 'wishes for his success in his new office.' **Albinovano:** an instance of an *agnomen* added to a *cognomen*, as in the case of the poet *Pedo Albinovanus.* The origin of the name is obscure; Ritter suggests *Albium Intimalium* (now *Ventimiglia*) in Liguria as its possible derivation. 2. **rogata:** sc. *a me,* 'at my request.' **refer,** 'bear,' 'deliver,' as often with *mandata* etc., where *re* has the meaning not of 'back,' but of execution of a duty; cf. the similar use of ἀποδίδωμι. **comiti:** cf. 1. 3. 6 n. 3. **multa et pulchra minantem,** 'in spite of many fine promises,' not limited to literary work, but extending to the conduct of life generally. For the phrase see S. 2. 3. 9. 4. **grando:** cf. Od. 3. 1. 29. 5. **momorderit:** S. 2. 6. 45. **aestus:** Od. 1. 17. 18. 6. **longinquis:** cattle were driven from farms in the mountains to the 'distant' pastures of Apulia and Lucania in the summer-time. Cf. 2. 2. 177 n.; Epod. 1. 27 n. 8. **velim:** reported reason after *dic.* 10. **cur,** '(asking) why'; Od. 1. 33. 3 *decantes elegos cur* . . . ; Cic. ad Att. 3. 13. 2 *me saepe accusas, cur hunc meum casum tam graviter feram;* in Verr. 3. 7. 16 *illud accuso, cur in re tam vetere quicquam novi feceris.* **arcere:** the construction is as in 1. 1. 31; A. P. 64. 12. **ventosus,** 'fickle as the wind'; cf. 1. 19. 37. *vet. Bland.* and some other MSS. have *venturus,* against the express testimony of Servius on Aen. 4. 244, which is older than any of our MSS. It is evidently only the correction of a grammarian who thought that *Tibure* must mean 'from Tibur.' **Tibur:** for Horace's fondness for Tibur cf. Od. 1. 7. 13-21; 2. 6. 5, etc.

13-17. *If all is well with him, bid him bear his fortune wisely, if he wishes to retain our regard.* 13. **rem gerat et se,** 'he prospers in his duties and in himself.' 14. **Iuveni:** at this time 23 years of age. **ut:** cf. 1. 3. 12. 15. **subinde,** 'then'; not as in S. 2. 5. 103 'from time to time.' The word is often used in both senses by Livy: cf. 8. 27. 1 *aliud subinde bellum* with 9. 16. 4 *itaque subinde exsecuntur legati:* but is not used by any earlier author. 17. **ut tu** . . . The tendency to vanity, which seems to have exposed Celsus to the danger of publishing poems with little originality in them (1. 3. 15), here called for a friendly warning, strangely misunderstood by some editors, who have found in it a serious censure.

EPISTLE IX

Septimius, on whose behalf this charming letter of introduction was addressed to Tiberius Claudius, was undoubtedly the friend who is greeted with so much affection in Od. 2. 6. There is nothing to determine the date.

1-13. *Septimius of course knows better than I do, Claudius, what influence I have with you. I have tried to excuse myself, but I would rather appear forward than selfish, and therefore I venture to introduce him to you as worthy of your friendship.* 1. **nimirum,** 'of course'; used by Horace ironically in S. 2. 2. 106, but not in 1. 14. 11; 15. 42; 2. 2. 141; S. 2. 3. 120.

Lucretius and Cicero seem always to use the word seriously: Livy and Tacitus have the ironical force. **unus**, 'is the only man who, not quite 'better than all others' as in S. 2. 6. 57 and often with superlatives. **3. scilicet**, 'you must know,' *i.e.* just fancy! S. 2. 2. 140. **tradere**, 'introduce'; cf. S. 1. 9. 47 n. **4. mente**, 'judgment,' *i.e.* approval. **Neronis**, 'of a man like Nero,' more emphatic than *tua*. **legentis honesta**: cf. Tac. Ann. 6. 51 of Tiberius *egregius vita famaque, quoad privatus vel in imperio sub Augusto fuit;* 1. 3. 6. The discretion of Tiberius was so conspicuous at an early age that he was called ὁ πρεσβύτης: cf. Philo, Leg. ad Caium § 26 πρὸς τὸ σεμνότερόν τε καὶ αὐστηρότερον σχέδον ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐπικλινῶς εἶχεν. Horace shows admirable tact in the manner in which he adapts his language at once to the elevated tastes and the reserved temper of Tiberius. **honesta**, 'all that is virtuous'; more general, and therefore more complimentary, than if the masculine had been used, as in S. 1. 6. 51 *cautum dignos adsumere.* **6. valdius**, 'better'; cf. A. P. 321.

8. mea minora, *i.e.* my influence as less than it really was. **9. dissimulator**: like the εἴρων who δοκεῖ ἀρνεῖσθαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἢ ἐλάττω ποιεῖν (Ar. Eth. 4. 3). **opis**, 'power'; cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 601 *non opis est nostrae.* **commodus**, 'willing to oblige.' **10. maioris culpae**, *i.e.* selfishness. **11. frontis urbanae**, the cool assurance of a man accustomed to society (1. 15. 27), as opposed to the *pudor rusticus* (cf. Cic. ad Fam. 5. 12. 1 *deterruit pudor quidam paene subrusticus*). *frons* never (like *os*, e.g. Cic. de Orat. 1. 38. 175) carries in itself the meaning of boldness or impudence, but derives this force from the adjective: cf. Od. 2. 5. 15 *proterva | fronte;* Quint. 2. 4. 16 *inverecunda frons.* **praemia**, not 'prizes,' but 'privileges' or advantages. **descendi**, 'I have made up my mind to avail myself' with a certain notion of reluctance: cf. Cic. ad Fam. 8. 8. 9 *alteram utram ad condicionem descendere vult Caesar;* Virg. Aen. 5. 782 *preces descendere in omnes.* **12. depositum laudas pudorem**, 'you praise me for putting my blushes by.' **13. tui gregis**, 'as one of your company,' not = *cohors* 'suite,' but much more general: cf. Cic. de Orat. 2. 62. 253 *gregales*; ad Fam. 7. 33. 1 *gregalibus illis, quibus te plaudente vigilamus amissis.* For the gen. cf. Od. 3. 13. 13 *fies nobilium tu quoque fontium;* Cic. pro Caec. 35. 102 *Ariminenses, quos quis ignorat duodecim coloniarum fuisse?* Cf. Roby 1290, S. G. 520. **fortem bonumque**, a conventional phrase of commendation like καλὸν κἀγαθόν, 'true-hearted worthy man': cf. S. 2. 5. 102.

EPISTLE X

Aristius Fuscus was an intimate friend of Horace, addressed by him in Od. 1. 22, and mentioned also S. 1. 9. 61; 10. 83, in the former case as playing a mischievous joke upon him, in the latter among other friends as *optimus.* Some MSS. here have the heading *Ad Aristium Fuscum Grammaticum*, and Acron on S. 1. 9. 61 says *hic fuit grammaticus illius temporis doctissimus:* here he says he was a writer of tragedies, while Porphyrion calls him a writer of comedies. It is clear that he was a literary man, and from this epistle it appears that he did not share Horace's love for the country and its pursuits.

1-11. *Greeting to my friend Fuscus, so like me in everything, except that he is a lover of the town, I of the country; for I can now only enjoy a simple life.* **1. iubemus**, plural for the singular, as so commonly in Cicero: it is less common to have a plural substantive: but cf. Cic. ad Att. 1. 1. 2 *excurremus*

legati ad Pisonem: Roby 2298, S. G. 904. **3. at cetera**: many MSS. give *ad cetera*, the grammatical correction of a copyist, who did not see the construction of *cetera* 'as to all other things,' as below in line 50; cf. Od. 4. 2. 60; Virg. Aen. 3. 594 *at cetera Graius.* Translate 'A lover of the country, I send my greeting to Fuscus, a lover of the city. In this one matter, to be sure, much unlike, but in all else all but twins, with the hearts of brothers; whatever one denies, the other denies too, and we assent alike: we are like a pair of pigeons long attached and well known to each other, but you keep your nest, I praise' etc. The punctuation of the lines is however very uncertain (see Wilkins). Krüger and Kiessling give *gemelli fraternis animis (quidquid negat alter et alter) adnuimus pariter, vetuli notique columbi. tu' nidum . . .* thus bringing *adnuimus* into close connexion with *columbi* in reference to the well-known 'billing' (*columbari*) of doves. **5. vetuli**: Fuscus appears intimate with Horace in S. 1. 9, *i.e.* about fifteen years before this Epistle. **7. circumlita**, 'overspread': the word suggests the smooth softness of the moss.

8. quid quaeris? 'in short': a very common phrase, especially in Cicero's letters, when a writer drops details and makes a general statement. **regno**, 'I feel myself a king.' **9. effertis**: too strongly supported to allow us to reject it as simply a gloss on *fertis* of many MSS. Cf. Cic. ad Fam. 9. 14. 1 *te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt.* **rumore secundo**, 'with loud applause,' lit. 'with approving cries.' The phrase seems to have been a poetical common-place, being found in Ennius (Ann. 7) *populi rumore secundo;* an old poet in Cic. de Div. 1. 16. 29 *solvere imperat secundo rumore adversaque avi;* Virg. Aen. 8. 90; Tac. Ann. 3. 29. **10. liba**, 'cakes' made of flour and milk or oil (Athen. 3. 125 πλακοῦς ἐκ γάλακτος ἰτρίων τε καὶ μέλιτος ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι λίβον καλοῦσι), and often spread with honey. Cato de R. R. 75 directs that they should be made of pounded cheese, fine flour, and an egg. For the *placenta* (which is here identical with the *libum*) he gives much more elaborate directions in c. 76. *placenta* is a curious instance of a Greek loan-word (πλακόεντα acc.) transformed by popular etymology (=*quod placet*) at an early stage: *libum* is identical with our *loaf*, and has lost an initial *c*, as that has lost an *h* (A. S. *hláf*). The priest's slave ran away, because he was tired of being fed on the sacrificial cakes.

12-21. *There is no place better than the country for leading a life of simple conformity with nature: the climate is so mild, the herbage so fragrant, the water so pure.* **12. naturae convenienter**, *i.e.* if we are to take the rule of the Stoics as our guide, which makes it the *summum bonum* ὁμολογουμένως τῇ φύσει ζῆν: this Cicero (de Off. 3. 3. 13) explains to mean *cum virtute congruere semper, cetera autem, quae secundum naturam essent, ita legere, si ea virtuti non repugnarent.* But probably Horace used the phrase in a looser fashion. **13. ponendaeque domo**: the thought is compressed, and, if expanded, would run somewhat thus, 'and if the first thing to be done is to choose the suitable sphere, as you would first choose the site if you were building a house.' **15. tepeant**: of course the winters are not milder in the country than in town; but Horace is thinking of his own country-house, sheltered by hills from the colder winds. **16. rabiem Canis**: the dog-star rises on July 20th, but becomes visible only on July 26th. The sun enters the constellation Leo on July 23rd. **momenta**: perhaps best taken as in 1. 6. 4 of 'motions,' *i.e.* the celestial movements which bring the Sun near to the Lion, which his keen rays are represented as stinging into a fury,

thus causing intense heat. Others give 'influence' or 'attacks.' *momentum* means sometimes a motion, sometimes a moving force. **18. divellat**=*abrumpat*; better than the v. l. *depellat*, both as better supported on the whole, and as a less obvious reading. Cf. Virg. G. 3. 530 *somnos abrumpit cura.*

19. olet: the mosaic pavements, so well known to us from the remains of Roman villas, were often sprinkled with perfumes. **Libycis**: Numidian marble is often mentioned, *e.g.* Od. 2. 18. 4. **lapillis**: 2000 distinct pieces of coloured marble have been counted in a single square foot of one of the mosaics at Pompeii. **20. vicis**, 'quarters' or 'streets' of the city. **plumbum**: in the time of Horace water was brought into Rome by five or six large aqueducts (afterwards increased to fourteen), each supplying one large reservoir (*castellum*). Sometimes leaden pipes (*fistulae* or *tubuli*) were used instead of or within the water-channel (*specus*) of the aqueduct; but more commonly they were employed to distribute the water from the *castellum* to the public pools and fountains (*lacus et salientes*), from which water was fetched for domestic purposes (cf. S. 1. 4. 37), or afterwards to *castella privata.*

22-25. *Even those who live in towns endeavour to imitate the charms of the country: so powerful is nature.* **22. nempe**, 'why,' quoting something which is universally admitted; cf. S. 1. 10. 1. **varias**, 'variegated,' referring to the diversified colours of the marble. Becker, Gallus 1. 36, mentions six different kinds of variegated marble in fashion at Rome, Numidian, Phrygian (or Synnadic), Taenarian, Laconian, Thessalian, and Carystian. **silva**: at the back of a Roman house there was often a garden surrounded by a colonnade (*peristylium*), cf. Od. 3. 10. 5. **23. quae prospicit agros**, *e.g.* like the *turris Maecenatis*, cf. Od. 3. 29. 10 n. **24. expelles**, not *expellas*, is found in all the best MSS. The tense seems to carry here the notion of an incomplete action, *i.e.* a fruitless endeavour. For the same metaphor used for violent and contumelious ejection, cf. Catull. 105. 2 *Musae furcillis praecipitem eiciunt;* Cic. ad Att. 16. 2. 4 *furcilla extrudimur;* Ar. Pax 637 *δικροῖς ὠθεῖν.* **25. mala fastidia**, 'perverse daintiness.' **furtim**: 1. 1. 18.

26-33. *A knowledge of the truth, indifference to fortune, and contentment with a little are the true essentials to happiness.* **26. Sidonio . . .** the very expensive true Tyrian or Sidonian purple was imitated by a dye extracted from a kind of lichen or litmus (now called archil or cudbear): cf. Quint. 12. 10. 75 *ut lana tincta fuco citra purpuras* (*i.e.* without any admixture of the genuine purple) *placet; at si contuleris Tyriae lacernae, conspectu melioris obruatur.* Aquinum was at this time a large and flourishing city, but there is nowhere else any reference to its dye-works. **callidus**, 'as a connoisseur,' S. 2. 7. 101. **28. propiusve medullis**, 'closer to his heart,' *i.e.* one which he will feel more deeply. **30. plus nimio**, *ὑπεράγαν*, 'quite too much,' lit. much more than they should: *nimio* is the abl. of measure, and is used in the sense so common in comedy, =*multo.* So not only in a letter by Antonius (Cic. ad Att. 10. 8 A) but five or six times in Livy, *e.g.* 1. 2. 3 *tum nimio plus quam satis tutum esset accolis rem Troianam crescere ratus;* 2. 37. 4 *nimio plus quam vellem nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia.* It is somewhat conversational, but cf. Od. 1. 18. 15; 33. 1. **31. quatient**: Od. 3. 3. 4 *mente quatit solida.* **pones**, 'lay down' as in 1. 1. 10; 16. 35; S. 2. 3. 16; Od. 3. 10. 9. **33. reges**, 'princes,' *i.e.* the wealthy, as in S. 1. 2. 86.

34-50. *The horse who took a rider in order to drive away the stag never got rid of him again, and the man who, through fear of poverty, devotes himself to money-making may soon become its slave.* **cervus equum**:

this familiar story is said to have been invented by Stesichorus, in order to warn the people of Himera not to place themselves in the power of Phalaris (Arist. Rhet. 2. 20. 5). **35. minor** = ἥττων, as **melior** = κρείττων. **36. opes**, 'help,' cf. 2. 2. 136 n. **37. victor violens**: the adj. emphasises his conduct when victorious as violent and outrageous, and so glaringly in contrast with his former lack of spirit. Haupt (followed by Munro and L. Müller) conjectured *victo ridens*. **40. inprobus**, 'in his greed.'

42. olim: of any indefinite time, cf. S. 1. 1. 25 n. **43. uret**, 'will gall'; cf. 1. 13. 6; Prop. 4. (5.) 3. 23 *num teneros urit lorica lacertos?* so *uri*, 'to smart,' 1. 16. 47. As in 1. 1. 2; 7. 74, etc. the main thought and the comparison are blended in the form of the expression. If a man has a fortune too large for his position and needs, he will be led into extravagance and so ruined; if he has too small a one, he will be pinched. **44. laetus**, 'if you are well pleased with your lot': **vives** is the future after an expression, equivalent to a hypothetical clause, analogous to the subjunctives in Roby 1534; but **dimittes** is equivalent to an imperative, Roby 1589, S. G. 665 (*b*). **46. cessare**: 1. 7. 57. **48. tortum digna sequi . . . funem**: the general meaning of the metaphor is plain enough: its exact reference has been much disputed. Various commentators have thought of a prisoner led by his captor, an animal led to sacrifice, a rope wound round a windlass, a tow-rope, the 'tug of war.' As *tortus* is a standing epithet of a rope (Virg. Aen. 4. 575; Ov. Met. 3. 679; Pers. 5. 146), no special force need be assigned to it here: hence the first or second view is the simplest. Wickham, however, makes *tortum* emphatic by position, and refers it to the turning of a rope on a windlass. **49. dictabam**: the epistolary past imperfect, used from the point of view of the recipient, Roby 1468, S. G. 604. **putre**, 'crumbling': an extant inscription refers to the restoration of this very temple, '(*vetus*)*tate dilapsam*,' by Vespasian; and the ruins of the temple have been discovered. **Vacunae**: the name of a Sabine goddess very variously identified. Acron quotes Varro as identifying her with Victoria; others compared her with Minerva, Bellona, Diana, Ceres or Venus, so little did her attributes suit any goddess in particular. The fact that Vespasian in restoring her temple dedicated it to Victoria proves that this identification became the official one. But Horace is here playing on an assumed connexion of her name with *vacare*, as the patron goddess of holidays. **50. excepto**: Roby 1250, S. G. 505. **esses**: Roby 1744, S. G. 740. 2. **cetera**: line 3 n.

EPISTLE XI

Bullatius is unknown, and there is nothing to determine the date.

1-6. *What did you think of the famous cities of Asia? Have they no charm in your eyes in comparison with Rome? Or are you enchanted with one of the towns in Pergamus? Or are you so tired of travelling that you are contented with any quiet resting-place?* **1. quid tibi visa**, 'what did you think of?' **nota**: as the birthplace of Sappho and Alcaeus. **2. concinna**, 'handsome,' apparently from the fine buildings which adorned it, especially the famous temple of Juno. Augustus spent two winters there, 31-30 B.C., and 30-29 B.C. **regia**, 'royal seat.' **Sardis**: nom. plur. αἱ Σάρδεις. **3. Zmyrna**: no good MSS. give *Smyrna*, either here or in Cicero (cf. de Rep. 1. 8. 13; pro Balb. 11. 28; Phil. 11. 2. 5). **minorave fama**: a much disputed passage. MS. evidence seems decidedly in favour of *minorave*, not *minorane*. Keller warmly supports the former, reading *fama?* and takes it 'what did you

think of the other towns, whether greater or less in repute?' *e.g.* Ephesus, Miletus, Pergamum, etc. Munro has the same reading, without comment. It is not possible to translate 'were they greater or less than their reputation?' for *-ve* is never used in disjunctive questions, where two alternatives are contrasted. If this is to be the meaning, it is necessary to read *minorane fama?* But it is better with Dillenburger to place a comma after *minorave fama*, translating 'are all, whether greater or less than their reputation, of little account in your eyes compared with?' etc. **4. campo**: at once the finest part of Rome, since the erection of stately buildings there by Agrippa and others, and the scene of its most fashionable life. **5. an venit**, etc., 'or are you setting your heart upon one of the cities of Attalus as your home?' *e.g.* Pergamum, Apollonia, Thyatira. **6. Lebedum**: a small town on the sea between Smyrna and Colophon. **odio maris . . .** cf. Od. 2. 6. 7 *lasso maris et viarum;* Tac. Ann. 2. 14 *taedio viarum ac maris.*

7-10. *Lebedus is a desolate place, but I should be glad to live there in retirement, watching the raging sea.* These lines are marked in *vet. Bland.* as a dialogue between Bullatius and Horace, thus: B. *scis . . . sit?* H. *Gabiis . . . vicus.* B. *tamen . . . furentem.* We need not assign *Gabiis . . . vicus* to Horace: but it is very probable that the whole passage is to be regarded as spoken by Bullatius. There is a close parallel in 1. 16. 41-43, where the answer of a supposed interlocutor is similarly brought in without any introductory word, and Horace demurs with a sentence beginning with *sed.* **7. Gabiis**: cf. Juv. 6. 56, 10. 100, where Gabii and Fidenae are coupled as unimportant places. Of Gabii, Dionys. Hal. Ant. R. 4. 53 says *νῦν μὲν οὐκέτι συνοικουμένη πᾶσα, πλὴν ὅσα μέρη πανδοκεύεται κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν* (*i.e.* the road to Praeneste), *τότε δὲ πολυάνθρωπος καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλη μεγάλη.* **8. Fīdenis**: but Virg. Aen. 6. 773 *urbemque Fĭdenam.* **vellem**: Roby 1536, S. G. 644. **9. oblitus**, 'my friends forgetting, by my friends forgot'—Conington; cf. Pope, Eloisa to Abelard, 207: 'How happy is the blameless Vestal's lot, | The world forgetting, by the world forgot.'

11-16. *Nay, but what may be good enough for a time, will not satisfy one always.* **12. caupona**: the metaphor of an inn was commonly employed by the philosophers of the time, *e.g.* Arrian, Epict. 2. 23. 36. Dean Alford had inscribed on his tomb DEVERSORIUM VIATORIS HIEROSOLYMAM PROFICISCENTIS. **13. frigus collegit**, 'has got thoroughly chilled': cf. Virg. G. 3. 327 *ubi sitim collegerit hora.* It is more common to find *frigus contrahere.* **furnos**, public bake-houses, cf. S. 1. 4. 37. Horace means to say that when a man has got very cold, he will go anywhere where he can be well warmed, without meaning to stay there.

17-21. *The pleasure resorts of the East do not suit one who is in sound health.* **17. incolumi facit** (id) **quod**, 'is to a healthy man what.' Editors generally quote as parallel the use of *facere* with the dative = 'to suit,' as in Prop. 4. (3.) 1. 20 *non faciet capiti dura corona meo*, or more commonly with *ad*, Ov. Her. 6. 128 *Medeae faciunt ad scelus omne manus.* But in this construction an object is never expressed or (as here) implied. **18. paenula**: a rough woollen or leather cloak worn in rainy weather: cf. Juv. 5. 79 *cum . . . multo stillaret paenula nimbo.* The Greek form *φαινόλης* is perhaps only an attempt at assimilation from the better-established *φελόνης*: cf. 'Westcott and Hort' on 2 Tim. iv. 13. Nothing is known of the derivation of the word. **campestre**, i.q. *subligaculum*, a light apron, originally worn under the toga in the place of the tunic, a custom retained by candidates for

office, and by some old-fashioned people (cf. on A. P. 50), but more commonly retained only as the sole garment worn in the exercises of the Campus. **19. Tiberis**: for bathing in the Tiber, cf. Od. 3. 12. 6; S. 2. 1. 8. **caminus** (whence our *chimney*, Fr. *cheminée*), a fixed 'stove,' as compared with the moveable *foculus* or brazier. **20. vultum**, 'look,' expression; cf. Ov. Trist. 1. 5. 27 *dum iuvat et vultu ridet Fortuna sereno.* **21. laudetur**: 'be praised (but not visited),' cf. Virg. G. 2. 412 *laudato ingentia rura,* | *exiguum colito.*

22-30. *Enjoy then thankfully and without delay any happiness that Heaven may grant you, and never mind where you are living. That does not secure happiness; it is not a change of place but a tranquil mind which makes one happy.* **22. fortunaverit**, 'has made a happy one.' **23. in annum**: of an indefinite time, as in 1. 2. 38. **24. vixisse libenter**, 'that you have enjoyed your life.' **26. arbiter**, 'that commands,' quite like our own idiom. Lebedus stands quite out into the sea, and commands a view of the Caystrian gulf. **27. non animum mutant**: cf. 1. 14. 12; Od. 2. 16. 19; Aesch. in Ctes. § 78 οὐ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τόπον μόνον μετήλλαξεν. **28. strenua inertia**, 'busy idleness,' oxymoron: cf. Senec. de Tranq. 12. 2 *inquieta inertia*, de Brev. 11. 3 *desidiosa occupatio.* **exercet**, 'torments.' **30. Ulubris**: called *vacuas* by Juv. 10. 102; a dull village in the Pomptine marshes.

EPISTLE XII

In Od. 1. 29 Iccius is represented as about to join the unsuccessful expedition of Aelius Gallus against the Arabs (25 B.C.), and Horace makes merry over his abandonment of philosophical studies for military aspirations. From this Epistle, written about five years later (line 26), we learn that he had been placed in charge of the Sicilian estates of Agrippa, and that he was now acting as his agent (*procurator*), a position with which, Horace tells him, he ought to be well content. Agrippa had doubtless received land in Sicily in acknowledgment of his services in the war against Sextus Pompeius (36 B.C.), possibly also when he was summoned to Sicily to marry the emperor's daughter Julia (22 B.C.) This letter seems to be an answer to one from Iccius, in which he appears to have lamented that the claims of his duties left him little leisure for his studies. Pompeius Grosphus, to whom Od. 2. 16 is addressed and whom Horace here introduces to his friend, was a rich Sicilian knight.

1-6. *You need pray for no greater blessings, Iccius, than are within your reach already. With health, a competence is all that is to be desired.* **1. fructibus**, 'revenues,' lit. produce. **2. recte**: not 'wisely,' or 'with discretion,' but 'aright,' as you are entitled to. **non est ut** = οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως: cf. Od. 3. 1. 9 *est ut viro vir latius ordinet* | *arbusta sulcis*; Lucr. 5. 146 *illud item non est ut possis credere.* **3. tolle querellas**, 'a truce to murmuring,' Con. **4. rerum usus**, 'the right to enjoy things,' as contrasted with the actual ownership: cf. 2. 2. 158 seq. **suppetit**, 'is sufficiently supplied': cf. Cic. de Orat. 3. 35. 142 *cui res non suppetat.* **5-6.** From Theognis 719 ἶσόν τοι πλουτοῦσιν ὅτῳ πολὺς ἄργυρός ἐστιν . . . καὶ ᾧ τὰ δέοντα πάρεστιν | γαστρί τε καὶ πλευραῖς καὶ ποσὶν ἁβρὰ παθεῖν. **5. lateri**: cf. 1. 7. 26.

7-11. *A man who is accustomed to live simply, will not change his habits, if he grows wealthy.* **7. in medio positorum**, 'what is within your reach'; cf. S. 1. 2. 108 *transvolat in medio posita et fugientia captat*, Cic. de Orat. 1. 3. 12. The genitive is governed by *abstemius*: cf. Plin. H. N. 22. 24. 115 *mulieres vini abstemiae*: Roby 1336, S. G. 530. **8. urtica**, 'nettles' (Plin. H. N. 21.

55. 15), a common article of food among the poor, as indeed they are still. Sea-urchins (*urtica marina*) are a delicacy, and cannot be meant here. **sic vives protinus**, 'you will go on to live in the same way.' **ut**, 'even if,' 'although.' **9. fortunae rivus**: Midas, by bathing in the Pactolus, transferred to that river his gift of turning all that he touched to gold. Cf. Ov. Met. 11. 142-5; Prop. 1. 14. 11 *tum mihi Pactoli veniunt sub tecta liquores.* **10. vel quia . . . vel quia**: *i.e.* if a man's previous abstemiousness was due to a love of economy, this will not be changed with his fortune; or if it was due to a contempt for pleasure in comparison with virtue, this will be equally unchanged. **11. cuncta**: as the Stoics would teach.

12-20. *You have shown much greater wisdom than Democritus in not neglecting your duties, and yet continuing your interest in philosophy.* **12. miramur**, 'we wonder,' not in admiration, but rather in astonishment that a philosopher should be so abstracted, although it is much more astonishing that you with all your business cares should find leisure for such profound enquiries. **pecus edit agellos**: cf. Cic. de Fin. 5. 29. 87 *Democritus . . . ut quam minime animus a cogitationibus abduceretur, patrimonium neglexit, agros deseruit incultos.* **13. peregre est**, 'was roaming.' **14. cum tu**, 'and that though you.' **inter**, 'surrounded by,' cf. 1. 4. 12. **scabiem et contagia lucri**, 'contagious itching for pelf.' Iccius must have been frequently brought into contact with men whose hearts were set upon making money, but was not carried away by their example. **15. nil parvum**: litotes; cf. Thuc. 7. 87. 4 οὐδὲν ὀλίγον ἐς οὐδὲν κακοπαθήσαντες. **adhuc**, 'still, as of old.' **sublimia** = τὰ μετέωρα, *caelestia*, themes such as those mentioned in the following lines. **16. quae mare . . .**: cf. Virg. G. 2. 479 *qua vi maria alta tumescant | obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa residant.* **quid temperet annum**, *i.e.* causes the various seasons: cf. Od. 1. 12. 15. **17. sponte** as the Epicureans would maintain. **stellae** here are probably the planets; cf. Cic. de Rep. 1. 14. 22 *earum quinque stellarum quae errantes et quasi vagae nominarentur.* **iussae** as the Stoics held, who believed in a controlling Deity. **18. premat obscurum**, 'hides in darkness': *obscurum* is predicative. The reference is to the phases of the moon, not to eclipses. **19. quid velit et possit**, 'what is the purpose, and what the effects of . . .' **concordia discors**: oxymoron; cf. 1. 11. 28. So Seneca, Nat. Quaest. 7. 27. 3 *non vides quam contraria inter se elementa sint? gravia et levia sunt, frigida et calida, umida et sicca, tota huius mundi concordia ex discordibus constat.* The doctrine of Empedocles was (Diog. Laert. 8. 76) στοιχεῖα μὲν εἶναι τέτταρα, πῦρ, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἀέρα, φιλίαν τε ᾗ συγκρίνεται καὶ νεῖκος ᾧ διακρίνεται. **20. Stertinium acumen**: for Stertinius cf. S. 2. 3. 33 n., and for the word used as adj. Od. 1. 15. 10 n. Translate 'whether E. or the shrewdness of Stertinius dotes.'

21-24. *Whatever your views on philosophy, it will be worth your while to make a friend of Grosphus.* **21. seu pisces seu**, etc., *i.e.* whatever the simple fare that you are living on, for simple I know it is. Fish is probably not mentioned here as a delicacy, as it is in 1. 15. 23; S. 2. 2. 120; 4. 37; and the thought *sive laute sive parce vivis* (Comm. Cruq.) is out of place in connexion with the philosophic Iccius. **trucidas** satirises the Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis, accepted by Empedocles: cf. Hieronym. ad Iovin. 2. 331 *probabo non Empedoclis et Pythagorae nos dogma sectari, qui propter* μετεμψύχωσιν *omne quod movetur et vivit edendum non putant, et eiusdem criminis reos arbitrantur, qui abietem quercumque succiderint, cuius*

parricidae sunt et venefici. 'Whatever the lives which you are butchering for your food, whether those of fishes, or only those of leeks and onions,' *i.e.* whether you follow Empedocles in believing that even vegetables have souls, or do not. **22. utere,** 'make a friend of'; cf. 1. 17. 2. **ultro**: perhaps after *si quid petet*='readily' rather than 'unasked.' **23. verum,** 'right,' cf. 1. 7. 98; Milton, P. L. 4. 750. **24. vilis est annona,** 'the price is low'; cf. Xen. Mem. 2. 10. 4 νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰ πράγματα εὐωνοτάτους ἔστι φίλους ἀγαθοὺς κτήσασθαι, but whereas Socrates there means to say 'the times are so bad, that a small service is enough to secure a man's friendship,' Horace's thought seems to be rather that when a good man is in want, his demands are not likely to be exorbitant, and hence it will not cost much to secure his friendship.

25-29. *I can send you news from Rome of victories in the West and East, and of an excellent harvest.* **25. ne ignores . . . loco res**: for the accidental Leonine verse, produced by the assonance of these two phrases, cf. 1. 14. 7; Wagner on Virg. G. 1. 157; Aen. 9. 634 *i, verbis virtutem inlude superbis*, where the rhythm is perhaps intentional. For the construction cf. 1. 1. 13; 18. 58; 19. 26; 58; 2. 1. 208. **26. Cantaber**: cf. Od. 2. 6. 2 n. **27. Armenius**: the submission of Armenia to Tiberius had been a bloodless one. Cf. Tac. Ann. 2. 3. At the request of the Armenians Augustus had sent to them Tigranes, a prince who had been living in exile at Rome, to take the place of a king whom they had dethroned and murdered. For the various coins of Augustus, bearing the legend ARMENIA CAPTA, cf. Mommsen Mon. Ancyr. p. 77. **28. genibus minor**=*supplex: genibus* is to be referred to Prahates, 'inferior by his (bended) knees,' *i.e.* thus testifying his humbled position, not, as Orelli, at the knees of Caesar. In the Mon. Ancyr. (p. 84 Momms.) Augustus says *Parthos trium exercituum Romanorum spolia et signa reddere mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi.* For the surrender of the standards of Crassus 20 B.C., cf. Od. 1. 2. 22 n. For *Prahates* Od. 1. 26 Intr.

EPISTLE XIII

This Epistle is nominally addressed to a certain Vinius, who has been charged with the delivery of some of Horace's poems to Augustus. From the jest in line 8 it is clear that his cognomen was Asina, or perhaps (as Porphyrion calls him) Asella; the more usual form of the name being however Asellus (*e.g.* Claudius Asellus, Cic. de Orat. 2. 64. 258; Annius Asellus, Cic. in Verr. Act. 2. 1. 41, 104). From his possession of three names it is clear that he was not a slave: on the other hand the tone, which Horace adopts in addressing him, shows that he was not, as some have supposed, a friend of the Emperor: possibly he was one of the five yeomen farmers on Horace's Sabine estate (1. 14. 3). The real purpose of the letter was doubtless to indicate to Augustus that Horace had no intention to thrust his trifles upon him, when not in the humour for them. It has been generally assumed that the *volumina* contained the first three books of the Odes, which were published together probably in 23 B.C. (but see Wilkins).

1-9. *Give my volumes, Vinius, to Augustus, if you find he is in the humour for them, but do not annoy him by obtrusiveness. If the burden is too much for you, drop it rather than deliver it clumsily.* **2. reddes**: cf. 1. 10. 44 n. **3. validus**: Augustus was always a valetudinarian (Suet. Aug. 81 *graves et periculosas valetudines per omnem vitam aliquot expertus est*), and had several serious illnesses at this time of his life. Cf. S. 2. 1. 18 *nisi dextro tempore, Flacci | verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem;* Ov. Trist. 1.

1. 93 *si poteris* (sc. *liber*) *vacuo tradi, si cuncta videbis* | *mitia, si vires fregerit ira suas.* **4. ne pecces**: '(I say this) lest you blunder'; *ne* final. **5. sedulus,** 'officious': cf. 2. 1. 260; S. 1. 5. 71. **opera vehemente,** 'by your impetuous zeal.' **6. uret,** 'galls,' cf. 1. 10. 43. **sarcina**: the quantity of the *i* is to be accounted for by the fact that *sarcio* has also the shorter stem *sarc-*. **chartae**: 'In Catullus' days the Romans used only papyrus, never parchment, for a regular *liber* or *volumen.* Books made up like ours and written on parchment seem to have come into use about Martial's time'—Munro on Catullus 53. **7. perferre** like *abicito* has for its object *sarcinam,* not *clitellas.* To **quo** supply the antecedent *ibi,* to go with **inpingas,** 'dash down.' **8. ferus,** 'wildly,' like an unbroken animal. **9. fabula,** 'the talk of the town': cf. Epod. 11. 8 *fabula quanta fui.*

10-19. *Push on to Rome: but don't carry my book like a clown, a drunken slave-girl, or a humble guest: nor tell every one that you are on your way to Caesar. Take good care of it.* **10. lamas**: *lacunas maiores, continentes aquam pluviam seu caelestem,* ἀπὸ τοῦ λαιμοῦ, *quae ingluvies est et vorago viarum seu fossae fluviorum. hinc quoque dictae sunt Lamiae puerorum voratrices. Ennius:* silvarum saltus, latebras lamasque lutosas—Comm. Cruq. The derivation which he suggests is of course absurd: *lāma* is for *lac-ma* (cf. *lūna* for *luc-na, exāmen* for *exag-men, limus* for *lic-mus*), while *Lămia* (A. P. 340) = Λάμια is akin to λαμυρός 'greedy.' The word is found nowhere else except in Festus, and seems to have belonged to the popular dialect. 'Push on stoutly over hills, streams and bogs.' **11. victor propositi,** 'achieving your purpose,' ἐγκρατὴς τοῦ σκοποῦ: 'But when you've quell'd the perils of the road'—Con. **12. sic . . . ne**: A. P. 152; Roby 1650, S. G. 684. **13. rusticus agnum**: *imaginem ridiculam propter continuas bestiolae motus et curam hominis ne in solum desiliat, ne ab ipso fortasse laedatur*—Or. **14. Pyrria** or the corrupted *Pirria* is the reading of all MSS. collated by Keller. Most editors have adopted the form *Pyrrhia,* but as Lachmann (on Lucret. p. 408) first remarked *neque Graecae neque Romanae feminae nomen est.* The derivation of the word is unknown, but the name of a *male* slave, *Pyrria,* in the Andria of Terence seems a corruption of Πυρρίας, which occurs in Aristophanes and elsewhere, and is derived from πύρρος, 'red.' The Scholiasts tell us that Pyrria was the name of an *ancilla* in a play by Titinius, who stole a ball of wool, but being drunk at the time, carried it so clumsily that she was easily detected. **15. tribulis** properly means a man of the same tribe, and perhaps it is best taken so here, the notion being that a wealthy man at Rome has invited to dinner a poor member of the same tribe, living in the country, doubtless with a view to his vote and interest. But as the *tribus* came to be used in contrast with the *equites* and the Senate (cf. Mart. 8. 15. 3 *dat populus, dat gratus eques, dat tura Senatus, et ditant Latias tertia dona tribus*) so *tribulis* acquired the meaning of plebeian: cf. Mart. 9. 50. 7 of a toga *nunc anus et tremulo vix accipienda tribuli,* ib. 58. 8. Hence it is *possible* that this may be the meaning here: but we have no evidence of this force of the word in the time of Horace. The humble guest comes bringing under his arm the dress-shoes (*soleae*) in which he would be expected to appear in the dining-room, although he would put them off when he took his place at table (S. 2. 8. 77), and the felt cap which he would need when he went home at night. He cannot afford to come in a litter, nor even to have a slave to attend upon him. **16. ne** has far more support than *neu.* **ne narres** is most simply taken as imperative, cf. S. 2. 3. 88 and perhaps line 4 above. Some, however, prefer *ne narres . . . nitere,* 'that you may not say . . . keep

steadily on.' **ferendo** is emphatic: Vinius is not to tell everybody that he is in such hot haste because he is carrying a book to Augustus. **18. nitere porro,** 'push on.' Horace humorously supposes that people will come crowding round his messenger, eager to know what he has brought. For **porro** of place, not time, cf. Liv. 1. 7. 6 *agere porro armentum occepit;* 9. 2. 8 *si ire porro pergas.* **19. cave**: scanned *căvĕ*; cf. S. 2. 3. 38 n. **titubes,** often used, like our 'trip,' of blundering generally, and so perhaps **mandata frangas** (cf. *fidem, iura, leges frangere*), 'bring the task entrusted to you to grief'; but it is better to take both expressions literally, the poems being regarded as fragile ware which Asina breaks by stumbling.

EPISTLE XIV

Nominally addressed to Horace's farm-bailiff, but really an apology for his love for the country, intended for his friends at Rome. It thus takes up the theme of 1. 10 and of the earlier part of 1. 7, while it is the reverse of S. 2. 7.

1-5. *Come, bailiff, let us see whether you or I best do our duty.* **1. vilice**: the form invariably found in good MSS. and inscriptions. Lachmann on Lucr. 1. 331 showed that *l* not *ll* was used between a long *i* and a short one: so *mille* but *milia, villa* but *vilicus*: cf. Roby 177. The *vilicus* was the head slave on a farm, whose duty it was to look after the proper discharge of all farm works: Cato de Re Rust. 142 *vilici officia quae sunt, quae dominus praecepit, ea omnia quae in fundo fieri oportet, quaeque emi pararique oportet, eadem uti curet faciatque moneo, dominique dicto audiens sit.* **mihi me reddentis,** 'that makes me my own master again,' *i.e.* where I can live as I please, without being distracted by the endless claims made upon me at Rome. The woods on Horace's Sabine estate are mentioned 1. 16. 9; Od. 3. 16. 29. **2. habitatum quinque focis,** 'though it furnishes a home for five families.' Horace in S. 2. 7. 118 speaks of his *familia rustica* as consisting of eight *operae* ('hands'). But perhaps they tilled the 'home-farm' under the *vilicus,* while the **patres** were free *coloni* (Od. 1. 35. 6 *pauper ruris colonus;* 2. 14. 12 *sive inopes erimus coloni*), who tilled the rest of the estate, paying to Horace as the *dominus* either a fixed rent, or as so often now in Italy (the *métayer* system) a portion of the produce. Others, as Ritter, explain 'which was *once* inhabited by five households of free *coloni,*' but we cannot so force the meaning of *habitatum.* **focis,** 'households': cf. Herod. 1. 176 *αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἱστίαι αὗται ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι, καὶ οὕτω περιεγένοντο.* **3. Variam,** a town on the Anio, eight miles above Tibur, on the *via Valeria,* just where the valley of the Digentia, in which Horace's estate lay, joined that of the Anio. The *patres* probably went there to market, and for local elections, etc. It is now called Vicovaro. **4. spinas,** used of vices or lesser failings in 2. 2. 212: cf. also S. 1. 3. 34-37. 'Let us see which can root out the thorns the more stoutly, I from my breast, or you from the land.' **5. res**=*fundus.*

6-10. *We differ very widely in our views of town and country life.* **6. Lamiae pietas et cura,** 'Lamia's love and trouble': this cannot mean, as some have taken it, 'my love for Lamia': *pietas* seems never to be used with an objective genitive, and it does not seem often to denote an affection not based upon any natural ties, such as exist in the case of parents or kinsmen. For L. Aelius Lamia see Od. 3. 17 Intr. **moratur** has much more authority than *moretur*; for **quamvis** in Horace cf. S. 2. 2. 30 n. **7. maerentis . . . dolentis**: the assonance is imitative; cf. 2. 2. 79. *maereo* is to express grief,

doleo is to feel it: cf. Cic. ad Att. 12. 28. 2 *maerorem minui, dolorem nec potui, nec, si possem, vellem.* **8. insolabiliter,** a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. About eighty of these have been noted in the works of Horace. **istuc,** 'where you are now,' *i.e.* to the woods and fields. **mens animusque** = νοῦς καὶ θυμός: *mens meliora intellegit, animus adesse cupit,* Ritter; 'my judgment and my heart.' **9. fert,** 'would fain hurry me.' **amat,** 'would gladly': cf. Od. 3. 9. 24 *tecum vivere amem.* **spatiis**: cf. 1. 7. 42. **claustra**: the bars in front of the *carceres* or stalls, in which the chariots and horses were posted, kept them from the course, until the signal was given. **10. rure**: cf. 1. 7. 1 n.: 'you praise the townsman's, I the rustic's state'—Con.

11-17. *The fault is not in the place. You are fickle, but I am consistent.* **11. nimirum,** 'of course,' carries with it no irony here: cf. 1. 9. 1 n. **12. stultus,** 'in his folly.' **uterque**: although Horace passed in line 11 from the case of his bailiff and himself to a general reflexion, he still has in his mind the position of two men wishing to exchange stations. We may retain the indefiniteness of 'either' in translation. **inmeritum,** 'innocent': Od. 1. 17. 28 *inmeritam . . . vestem;* S. 2. 3. 7 *inmeritus . . . paries.* **13. se effugit**: cf. Od. 2. 16. 20. **14. mediastinus,** 'drudge,' one who was placed *in medio*, at every one's beck and call. The Scholiasts suppose some connexion with ἄστυ, and limit the use to town-slaves; but the word may be used of any kind of drudge: cf. Columella 1. 9. 3 *mediastinus qualiscumque status potest esse, dummodo perpetiendo labori sit idoneus. astu* was not indeed unknown to archaic Latin: but more probably the word was formed after the analogy of *clandestinus.* **tacita prece**: cf. 1. 16. 60; Pers. 5. 184 *labra moves tacitus.*

18-30. *You care only for the low sensual pleasures of the town; and hate hard work.* **18. miramur**: cf. 1. 6. 9. **disconvenit**: cf. 1. 1. 99. **19. tesqua,** 'wilds.' The Scholiasts call this a Sabine word; it seems to have no extant cognates, except perhaps in the Sanskrit *tuk'k'ha* (phonetically equivalent to *tuska*), 'empty.' Lucan, Phars. 6. 41 has *saltus nemorosaque tesca*: otherwise the word is found only in archaic writers. **20. amoena**: 1. 16. 15. **21. fornix,** 'brothel,' originally an arched vault; Juv. 3. 156; 11. 171. **uncta,** 'greasy.' Orelli prefers the explanation of the Comm. Cruq. *nidore redolens, et optimis cibis plena,* because Horace elsewhere uses the word in the sense of 'luxurious' or 'rich': 1. 15. 44; 17. 12. But here some contempt is evidently implied: cf. S. 2. 4. 62 *quaecumque inmundis fervent allata popinis.* The *popina* 'cook-shop' was a place of low resort: the form of the word points probably to a Campanian origin; it would regularly correspond in Oscan to a Latin *coquina,* only found in late writers. **22. incutiunt,** 'inspire'; more commonly with *metum, timorem,* and the like: but cf. Lucr. 1. 19 *omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem.* **23. angulus iste**: a contemptuous term used by the *vilicus,* as we might say 'hole and corner.' Pepper and frankincense of course did not grow in Italy at all; Horace nowhere speaks of wine as produced on his own estate (cf. 1. 16; Od. 2. 18. 14): the *vile Sabinum* of Od. 1. 20. 1 may have been bought in the *dolium* and only bottled by Horace. **uva** = *quam uvam.*

24. taberna: the *villa* of Horace was some three or four miles from the nearest high road, which might be expected to be supplied with *tabernae diversoriae;* cf. Varro de R. R. 1. 2. 23 *si ager secundum viam et opportunus viatoribus locus, aedificandae tabernae diversoriae, quae sunt . . . fructuosae.* **26. strepitum,** 'strains'; not contemptuously = 'din,' as Orelli takes it:

cf. 1. 2. 31; Od. 4. 3. 18 *dulcem strepitum.* **terrae gravis**, 'with lumbering tread,' lit. 'a heavy burden to the earth.' **et tamen**, *i.e.* and yet, though you can get no diversions as you complain, you have to work hard. **27. iampridem**: either a reproach to the *vilicus* who ought to have seen to these fields long before, or implying that the land had been long neglected when it came into the hands of Horace. **28. strictis frondibus**: Virg. Ecl. 9. 60 *hic ubi densas agricolae stringunt frondes.* This was done when the herbage was parched, in the summer and autumn: cf. Columella 6. 3 *tota aestate et deinde autumno (boves) satientur fronde.* **29. pigro**, *i.e.* if you have nothing else to do. **rivus**, the Digentia (1. 18. 104). **30. docendus**: cf. A. P. 67 *amnis | doctus iter melius.*

31-39. *I once liked a gay town-life: now I care only for the quiet of the country.* **31. nostrum concentum dividat**, 'breaks up our harmony.' **32. tenues . . . togae**, opposed to *crassae* (S. 1. 3. 15), were worn by men who cared about their dress. They were of a 'finer' stuff than the ordinary toga. **nitidi**, *i.e.* with perfumed oils, not only at banquets, but in some cases all day long: cf. Cic. in Cat. 2. 10. 22 *pexo capillo nitidos;* pro Sest. 8. 18 *unguentis affluens, calamistrata coma;* Ov. A. A. 3. 443 *nec coma vos fallat liquido nitidissima nardo, | . . . nec toga decipiat filo tenuissima.* **33. inmunem**, 'though I brought no gift': cf. Od. 3. 23. 17; 4. 12. 22. **Cinarae**: 1. 7. 28 n. **34. liquidi**, 'clear,' *i.e.* strained through a *colum*, or otherwise refined: cf. S. 2. 4. 51-58; Mart. 12. 60 *ut liquidum potet Alauda merum, | turbida sollicito transmittere Caecuba sacco.* This process was necessary for the stronger wines. **36. incidere**, 'to cut short'; Virg. Ecl. 9. 14 *novas incidere lites.* There is a kind of zeugma, *puderet* being understood with *incidere.* 'No shame I deem it to have had my sport: | The shame had been in frolics not cut short'—Con.

38. limat, from *lima*, 'a file,' hence 'to diminish' or 'disparage.' But Horace also intends a play upon the phrase *limis oculis* (S. 2. 5. 53) = 'askance.' **morsuque**: cf. Od. 4. 3. 16 *iam dente minus mordeor invido.* **39. rident**: doubtless good-humouredly, but Horace's figure and habits must have unfitted him for active service. Madvig (Advers. Crit. 2. 61) would punctuate *moventem cum servis. urbana . . .* The emphasis, he says, lies upon *urbana*, which must therefore be brought into prominence, and *cum servis* is out of place in the second sentence, for the *vilicus* would be in the company of slaves quite as much in the country as in the town. But a *vilicus* would not be allowanced in the country, and, besides, *horum* becomes unintelligible. The juxtaposition of *servis* and *urbana*, though not quite a hypallage, naturally suggests to the mind the notion of town-slaves, which *horum* takes up.

40-44. *You would fain change your place, though others envy you. Every one should be contented with what he is most fit for.* **40. rodere**, 'munch,' suggests poor and limited fare. **41. horum voto ruis**, 'you would fain hasten to join their number.' **invidet usum . . .** Nonius 164 quotes from Pomponius the Atellan poet, *longe ab urbe vilicari, quo erus rarenter venit, | non vilicari sed dominari est mea sententia.* **42. calo**: properly a soldier's servant, then a groom (S. 1. 6. 103), or any low servant, or drudge (S. 1. 2. 44; Senec. Ep. 110. 17 *lectica formosis inposita calonibus*): hence here = *mediastinus.* **argutus**, 'shrewd,' as in S. 1. 10. 40; A. P. 364: the man is sharp enough to know where he would be better off. **43. piger** goes best with *caballus*; it is not only laziness which makes one dissatisfied with his condition; and the ox would have had a more active life, if

he could have taken the place of the horse. The rhythm points in the same direction, but not very cogently: cf. 1. 5. 7; 6. 48; 2. 2. 75. Kiessling puts a comma after *piger*. **44. quam scit . . .** The line of Aristophanes (Vesp. 1431) *ἔρδοι τις ἣν ἕκαστος εἰδείη τέχνην* had passed into a proverb: cf. Cic. Tusc. 1. 18. 41 *bene enim illo proverbio Graeco praecipitur: 'quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exerceat.'*

EPISTLE XV

This Epistle must have been written after the famous physician Antonius Musa had brought the cold-water treatment into fashion by his cure of Augustus in the year 23 B.C.; and probably not long after. Horace writes to a friend, who is called in the MSS. inscriptions C. Numonius Vala, to tell him that he cannot spend the coming winter, as he had previously done, at Baiae, and to make enquiries about Velia and Salernum. He humorously compares himself to a certain Maenius who liked to have the best of fare, when he could get it, but put up readily with plain dishes, when nothing better offered.

1-25. *You must tell me all about the climate, the food, the water, the game and fish of Velia and Salernum; for my doctor tells me I may no longer winter at Baiae, much as the place grumbles at my desertion.* **1. sit** (like **pascat** in line 14, **bibant** in 15, **educet** in 22, and **celent** in 23) depends upon *scribere* in line 25. The involved structure of these lines, with their two long parentheses, is intended to preserve the negligent tone of a familiar letter. **Veliae**: a town of Lucania founded by the Phocaeans, when driven out of Corsica, where they had for a time found a home after the destruction of Phocaea, about 540 B.C. Its Greek name was Ὑέλη or Ἐλέα. It was a prosperous commercial town, and was noted for its excellent climate, so that Aemilius Paullus, the conqueror of Perseus, was sent there by his physicians when suffering from a troublesome disease (Plut. Aem. 35). Not long after its foundation it became the seat of the famous Eleatic School (Xenophanes, Parmenides, Zeno). **Salerni**: a Campanian town delightfully situated on the north shore of the modern gulf of Salerno. It was of much importance in the Middle Ages, and still has a population of over 20,000. **2. via**: Horace would travel from Capua as far as Salernum by the excellent *via Popilia*, a branch of the *via Appia*: he could get on to Paestum (about half way to Velia) by a fair branch road; but there seems to have been no Roman road for the rest of the way. **Baias**: the Brighton of Rome; cf. Od. 3. 4. 24 n. **3. Antonius Musa**, a freedman physician, had cured Augustus in 23 B.C. of a serious liver complaint by the cold-water treatment (Suet. Oct. 81) and by a free use of lettuces (Plin. N. H. 19. 8. 38). He now recommended the former to Horace, who therefore had no need to resort to the vapour baths over the sulphur springs at Baiae. **tamen**: although it is Musa's fault, not mine. **4. gelida**: Plin. H. N. 29. 1. 5 mentions a certain Charmis of Massilia, who *frigida etiam hibernis algoribus lavari persuasit. mersit aegros in lacus.* **cum**, 'now that.

5. murteta, 'myrtle groves' above Baiae, in which were natural jets of sulphurous vapour; cf. Celsus 3. 27 *siccus calor est . . . quarundam naturalium sudationum ubi a terra profusus calidus vapor aedificio includitur, sicut super Baias in murtetis habemus.* **6. cessantem**, 'chronic,' lingering. **nervis**: apparently these vapour baths were especially efficacious in cases of muscular rheumatism. **elidere**, 'to drive out,' a technical medical term: cf. Cels. 2. 15 *gestatio utilissima est . . . eis quibus lentae morborum reliquiae*

remanent, neque aliter eliduntur. Baiae is represented as bearing a grudge against invalids who have courage to follow Musa's severe régime. **8. caput**: Celsus (1. 4; 4. 5) recommends the douche for strengthening the head and stomach. **9. Clusinis**: we do not know of any baths at Clusium, but at S. Casciano de Bagni, about twelve miles to the south, there are baths of ancient date, and it has been suggested (Dennis, Cities of Etruria, 2. 291) that Horace may have been referring to these. But perhaps his language does not require anything more than the ordinary springs, not wanting in the hilly country round Clusium itself. **Gabios**: cf. 1. 11. 7; Strabo 5. 3 *ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ τούτῳ ὁ Ἀνίων διέξεισι καὶ τὰ Ἄλβουλα καλούμενα ῥεῖ ὕδατα ψυχρὰ ἐκ πολλῶν πηγῶν, πρὸς ποικίλας νόσους καὶ πίνουσι καὶ ἐγκαθημένοις ὑγιεινά.*

10. nota: sc. *equo*. The horse wanted to turn down to the right, as usual, where the road branched off, and led through Cumae to Baiae. This was apparently at Capua: the *via Domitiana*, which led straight from Sinuessa to Cumae along the coast, was made by the Emperor Domitian (Stat. Silv. 4. 3). **12. stomachosus habena**, 'pulling angrily at the rein': *habena* is abl. of instrument; 'venting his anger with.' **13. sed**, *i.e.* but it is no good *saying* anything, for, etc. **equis**: Bentley, regarding this clause as a general reflexion, substituted the plur. for *equi* of most MSS. **14. populum**, not an uncommon expression for the inhabitants of a *municipium*: cf. Wilmanns, Ex. Inscr. Lat. 1194, 1804, 1809, etc., where we have S. P. Q. T. of Tibur. **15. collectos . . . imbres**, *i.e.* in tanks (*lacus*). **16. iugis** might seem redundant after **perennes**: hence some read *dulcis* with *vet. Bland.* and a few other MSS. But *dulcis* is here out of place: rain-water is not less *dulcis*, i.e. not more salt or bitter, than spring-water. *iugis* may be used either of the water (Cic. de Div. 2. 13. 31 *aquae iugis colore;* S. 2. 6. 2) or of the spring (de Div. 1. 50. 112 *haustam aquam de iugi puteo;* de N. D. 2. 9. 25 *ex puteis iugibus aquam calidam trahi*). **nihil moror**, 'I don't care about': cf. Plaut. Trin. 2. 2. 21 *nil ego istos moror faeceos mores.* Horace knew that the wine was indifferent, and was therefore prepared to take his own supply with him. The wine of Surrentum, not far from Salernum, was a thin light wine, recommended to convalescents (Plin. H. N. 14. 8), called by Tiberius *generosum acetum* and by Caligula *nobilis vappa*, though Persius speaks of it as *lene* (3. 93). Cf. S. 2. 4. 55 n.

17. quidvis, 'anything,' not 'any kind of wine,' which would necessarily have been *quodvis*. **19. cum spe divite . . .**: cf. 1. 5. 17. **21. Lucanae** shows that Horace is now thinking of Velia, not of Salernum. **iuvenem**, *i.e.* as though I were young again. **22. apros**: Lucanian boars are mentioned in S. 2. 3. 234; 8. 6. **educet**, 'rears,' cf. Ov. Pont. 1. 10. 9 *quod mare, quod tellus, adpone, quod educat aer.* **23. echinos**, 'sea-urchins': cf. S. 2. 4. 33 *Miseno oriuntur echini;* Juv. 4. 143 *semel aspecti litus dicebat echini:* Plin. Ep. 1. 15. 3 mentions *ostrea, vulvas, echinos* as the dainties at a banquet. Athenaeus 3. 41 says '*echini* if eaten with vinegar and honey, parsley and mint, are sweet and easy of digestion.' **24. Phaeax**, *i.e.* like one of the courtiers of Alcinous: cf. 1. 2. 28.

25-46. *Maenius of old liked to get the daintiest fare he could, by the exercise of his wit; but if at any time his gluttony was reduced to satisfy itself on plain coarse food, he was a merciless censurer of epicures. I am like him, and fully appreciate comfort when I can get it.* **26.** Many MSS. begin a new Epistle here, failing to notice the connexion between this sketch of Maenius

the glutton, and Horace's humorous expression of his intention to live on the best fare that he can get. **Maenius**, a character attacked also by Lucilius; cf. S. 1. 1. 101 n. **27. fortiter**, 'in a spirited fashion'; ironical, like Pers. 6. 21 *hic bona dente | grandia magnanimus peragit puer.* **urbanus** (cf. 1. 9. 11) is best connected with **scurra**, as in Plaut. Most. 15 *tu urbanus vero scurra, deliciae popli, rus mihi tu obiectas?* From Plaut. Trin. 1. 1. 165 *urbani assidui cives, quos scurras vocant*, we see that *scurra* had not quite the same sense as in Horace, but meant rather 'lounger,' 'gossip.' In Catull. 22. 2 the *urbanus* equals the *scurra* of 5. 12, a 'wit,' quite in a good sense, a meaning which is found even in Cicero (pro Quinct. 3. 11 *nam neque parum facetus scurra Sex. Naevius neque inhumanus praeco est umquam existimatus*), although from de Orat. 2. 60. 247 it appears that the bad sense was beginning to be predominant. Horace, S. 1. 5. 52, shows the change complete; *scurra* =*parasitus* 'spunger.' **28. praesaepe**, 'crib': cf. Plaut. Curc. 2. 1. 13 *tormento non retineri potuit ferreo | quin reciperet se huc esum ad praesepim suam:* so Eur. Eurysth. fr. 6 ἤν τις οἴκων πλουσίαν ἔχῃ φάτνην. **29. inpransus**, *i.e.* if he had had no meal that day: the *prandium* was the first substantial meal of the day, usually taken at mid-day. **civem . . . hoste**, 'friend from foe.' **30. fingere saevus**: for the inf. cf. Od. 1. 3. 25 n. **31. pernicies . . . macelli**, 'the ruin, and storm and abyss of the market,' because he burst down upon it, carrying havoc with him, and swept off everything into his insatiable maw. For *barathrum* cf. S. 2. 3. 166. *macellum* originally a slaughter-house (cf. μάχαιρα, *macto*), thence a meat-market, and so a market for all kinds of provisions. **32. donabat**: the main verb.

33. nequitiae, 'his wicked wit.' **35. vilis** is evidently needed with **agninae** more than with **omasi** (like 'tripe' a Keltic word) which was always a cheap coarse food; there are many instances in the Satires of *et* in the second place in its clause: *e.g.* 1. 3. 54; 6. 11; 10. 71 etc. Plautus (Capt. 4. 2. 40) complains of the butchers who sold lamb dear: apparently he expected it to be cheap. It is nowhere mentioned as a dainty. **36. lamna**: contracted for *lamina* (better spelt *lammina*), as in Od. 2. 2. 2. Torture by the application of red-hot plates of metal is often mentioned, *e.g.* Plaut. As. 3. 2. 4; Lucr. 3. 1017 *verbera, carnifices, robur, pix, lammina, taedae.* **scilicet ut diceret**: the man's coarse fare is humorously represented as entitling him to censure severely epicures and spendthrifts. **nepotum**, 'prodigals'; cf. Epod. 1. 34 and note; S. 1. 4. 49 *nepos filius.* The word is also common in Cicero in this sense, but not apparently elsewhere. **37. Bestius**: unknown, but evidently an extravagant liver so long as his means held out, and afterwards an unsparing critic of extravagance. Most MSS. have **correctus**, some few *correptus*: the latter gives no good sense; but the former may well be interpreted 'like Bestius after his reformation.' Lambinus asserted that he had found 'in antiquissimo codice' *corrector*, which would give good sense, 'a Bestius turned censor.' **Maenius** is of course the subject of **diceret**, and **Bestius** is in apposition.

39. verterat in fumum: a proverbial expression for 'consumed.' **miror . . . si**: Roby 1757, S. G. 747; cf. θαυμάζω εἰ. **41. turdo**: S. 2. 2. 74; 5. 10. **vulva**: the *matrix* of a sow was and still is considered a great delicacy in Italy. It was prepared with spices and vinegar, and eaten as a relish with wine (Athen. 3. 59). Prof. Palmer quotes very happily Alexis (Meineke, Com. Graec. 738 ed. min.) ὑπὲρ πάτρας μὲν πᾶς τις ἀποθνήσκειν θέλει, | ὑπὲρ δὲ μήτρας Καλλιμέδων ὁ Κάραβος | ἐφθῆς ἴσως προσεῖτ' ἂν

ἄλλως ἀποθανεῖν. **42. hic**: cf. 1. 6. 40, 'such an one.' **44. unctius,** 'richer' of food, as in 1. 17. 12 of persons; cf. Mart. 5. 44. 7 *unctior cena.* **46. fundata,** 'based upon,' not quite 'invested in': the meaning seems to be that no man is in this case considered wise and fortunate, unless all can see from his handsome marble (*nitidis*) villas how firm is the basis on which his financial prosperity rests. Cf. Cic. p. C. Rab. Post. 1. 1 *fortunas fundatas atque optime constitutas.* The wealthier Romans possessed a surprising number of country seats. Cicero was never accounted a very rich man; but he had fourteen or fifteen, eight of them of considerable size and beauty.

EPISTLE XVI

The tone adopted in line 17 seq. makes it pretty clear that the Quinctius who is addressed was younger than Horace. The Eleventh Ode of Book II is addressed to a Quinctius Hirpinus, who is probably the same man. He appears to have already attained conspicuous success in his ambitious career; and may possibly be identified with T. Quinctius Crispinus, the consul of 9 B.C. The date is uncertain.

1-16. *I will tell you all about my Sabine estate, Quinctius, that you may not have the trouble of asking me as to its produce. It lies in a shady valley: the climate is good, trees abundant, and the stream as cool and clear as the Hebrus. This dear and charming retreat keeps me in health even in autumn.* **1. ne**: not imperative, but dependent on *scribetur* line 4. **2. arvo**: properly land prepared for corn, but not yet sown: cf. Varro, R. R. 1. 29. 1 *seges dicitur quod aratum satum est; arvum, quod aratum necdum satum est*: but the word is commonly used for corn-land generally. **opulentet**: a rare word, found for the first time here. **3. an pratis**: Bentley restored *an* from *vet. Bland.* and other good MSS. *et pratis* would join two substantives not more closely connected than any other two in the list. **amicta**: cf. Od. 4. 5. 30 n. **4. forma,** 'nature' or 'character': Varro, R. R. 1. 6. 1 *formae cum duo genera sint, una, quam natura dat, altera, quam sationes imponunt* etc. **loquaciter**: *i.e.* with all the fulness of a proud owner. For recent descriptions of the estate cf. Martin's Horace 2. 233; Antiquarian Magazine, June, 1883; Milman's Life of Horace 101; G. Boissier *Proménades Archéologiques* vol. II. pp. 1-62. The main point at issue is whether the farm lay on an elevated plateau near Rocca Giovane (as Rosa thinks), or on the right bank of the Digentia, two or three miles further up the valley, opposite to the village of Licenza. The latter view is far more probable.

5. continui montes: not quite, as Conington, 'in long continuous lines the mountains run': there are no marked mountain chains in this part of the Sabine territory, but rather a broad continuous mass, broken only by the valley of the Digentia, running from north to south. The most conspicuous of these mountains is the Monte Gennaro (4163 ft.), rising high above the rest as seen from the plain of the Campagna, and this was probably Horace's Lucretilis. **ni,** 'except that': with **continui** we must understand *sunt*; a general statement is made, and then a qualification is introduced, which modifies it (Roby 1574, S. G. 654). The full expression of the thought would be 'the mass of the hills is unbroken, at least it would be, supposing they were not to be parted by' etc. Kiessling (with Keller) accepts the *si* of some MSS. and places a comma after **vaporet,** making *temperiem laudes* apodosis to *si . . . dissocientur,* which he explains as 'a subjective representation,' like *si . . .*

ferant line 8; 'if you represent to yourself that the continuous chains of mountains are only parted by a valley which runs from north to south, and which is therefore not too cold and also not exposed to the noontide sun, you can imagine how mild it is here.' **6. sed ut**, limiting: the valley is on the whole shady, but yet such that the sun shines upon one side of it in the morning, upon the other in the evening. **dextrum**: *i.e.* the side of the valley on the right, *i.e.* the western bank of the river. **7. vaporet** may mean simply 'warms' as often in Lucretius *vapor* means 'heat' (cf. 5. 1131); but perhaps it is better to interpret with Orelli 'tepido vapore obducat.'

8. quid, si ferant: sc. *dicas*. The subj. pres. does not here suggest that the hypothesis is merely imaginary, but *ferant* is attracted into the mood of *dicas*: 'if you were to learn this, you would say' etc. Several good MSS. omit *si* and have *et* in line 9, and some have *quodsi* here, which facts seem to point to some corruption. Certainly *quid si* as it stands here, seems quite unparalleled. **benigni** has better authority, and is more poetical than *benigne*: some MSS. have *benignae*: Lucretius 4. 60 uses *vepris* as a feminine, and Priscian (5. 8. 42) says that the gender was common with '*vetustissimi*'; but Virgil (G. 3. 444; Aen. 8. 645) and Columella treat it as masculine. **9. vepres**, 'bushes': usually thorn-bushes, as in Virg. G. 3. 444 *hirsuti secuerunt corpora vepres;* but not necessarily, nor apparently here, for although the sloe-tree (*prunus spinosa*) has thorns, the wild cherry (*cornus mascula*) has not. The wild cherry is indigenous in Italy, although the cherry proper was only introduced in Cicero's time. For sloes cf. Plin. N. H. 15. 13. 44 *pruna silvestria ubique nasci certum est.* **10. fruge**: here equivalent to *glandibus*, but in Cic. Or. 9. 30 of corn contrasted with acorns: *ut inventis frugibus glande vescantur.* **11. Tarentum**: the charms of Tarentum are sung of in Od. 2. 6. 9-20, where Horace places it next to Tibur. **12. fons**: identified by the scholiasts with the *fons Bandusiae* of Od. 3. 13. 1: but it is not even certain that the latter was not in Apulia. The name of this spring must have been the same as that of the stream, *i.e.* Digentia (1. 18. 104). **dare idoneus**: cf. Od. 1. 3. 25 n. **13. frigidior**: cf. 1. 3. 3 n. **ambiat**, 'flows winding through,' not 'flows around.' We should say rather 'so that Hebrus is not cooler or clearer in its winding course through Thrace.' **14. capiti . . . alvo**: cf. 1. 15. 8 n. **15. dulces**, 'dear to me.' **amoenae**, 'charming in themselves,' objectively. Bentley read *et* (*iam si credis*), 'and, if you believe it, now that you have heard my account', but there is sufficient distinction between *dulces* and *amoenae* in meaning, to bear the weight of the **etiam** 'and even.' **16. Septembribus horis**: cf. 1. 7. 5 seq.; S. 2. 6. 19.

17-24. *You are universally accounted a happy man: but don't trust the judgment of others in this: for they may not know your weak points, and no one is really happy but the good.* **17. quod audis**, 'what you are said to be': cf. 1. 7. 38; S. 2. 3. 298; 6. 20; Xen. Mem. 2. 6. 39 ἀλλὰ συντομωτάτη τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτη καὶ καλλίστη ὁδός, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ὅ τι ἂν βούλῃ δοκεῖν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, τοῦτο καὶ γενέσθαι ἀγαθὸν πειρᾶσθαι, translated by Cic. Off. 2. 12. 43. **18. iactamus . . . omnis te Roma**: for the construction cf. Od. 4. 2. 50 *non semel dicemus, io Triumphe,* | *civitas omnis.* **19. plus quam tibi**: for the thought cf. Pers. 1. 7 *nec te quaesiveris extra.* **20. alium sapiente**, 'other than the wise man'; for the construction cf. S. 2. 3. 208 n. **21. sanum**: the metaphor, as is frequently the case in these epistles, is made the main proposition. We should say rather 'and act like a man who should conceal a disease' etc. **22. sub**, 'towards, just before'; cf. Od. 1. 8. 14 n.

23. unctis: food was commonly taken in the fingers, forks being unknown except for kitchen purposes, and spoons little used: cf. Ov. A. A. 3. 755 *carpe cibos digitis.* **24. pudor malus**, 'a false shame.'

25-31. *Praise only suited to Augustus you would refuse to take to yourself. Why take credit for wisdom and virtue?* **25. tibi** with **pugnata**, 'by you.' **26. vacuas**, 'open' to flattery; called by Persius 4. 50 *bibulas aures.* **27-28. tene . . . Iuppiter**: a quotation, according to the scholiasts, from the Panegyricus Augusti by L. Varius, the tragic poet. **30. pateris . . . vocari**: a Grecism, cf. 1. 5. 15 and Od. 1. 2. 43 *patiens vocari | Caesaris ultor.*

31-40. *The pleasure naturally derived from a reputation for virtue rests on no sure basis: and unfounded praise is as worthless as groundless blame.* **31. sodes**: cf. 1. 1. 62 n. **respondesne . . .** *i.e.*, as Wickham puts it, 'do you virtually claim the title?' The metaphor is derived from a levy or a census, where the citizen answers, when he hears his own name called; cf. Livy 3. 41 *edicitur dilectus: iuniores ad nomina respondent.* **nempe** admits the justice of the implied assertion: 'to be sure I do, for' etc. **33. qui**: sc. *populus.* **34. indigno**: sc. *cui deferantur fasces.* **detrahet** has somewhat better support than *detrahit.* The illustration is not very suitable: for the *abrogatio imperii*, although theoretically possible, was exceedingly rare. **35. pone** = *depone*; Od. 3. 2.19 *nec sumit aut ponit secures | arbitrio popularis aurae.* The object of *pone* is *hoc*, i.e. *nomen viri boni et prudentis;* the intervening mention of the *fasces*, being thrown in parenthetically by way of comparison. If we take *fasces* as the object, we are compelled to give a forced meaning to **meum**, 'it is my prerogative to give and to take away offices': besides, we lose the contrast between *tristis* and *delector.*

36. idem, i.e. *populus.* **furem**: sc. *me esse.* **pudicum**: always in a sense more restricted than our 'chaste,' of freedom from the worst forms of vice. **37. laqueo collum . . .** used for the extreme of villainy, cf. Od. 2. 13. 5; Epod. 3. 1. **38. colores**: much better supported than *colorem.* Bentley admitted that the singular was much more common (cf. Od. 1. 13. 5; 4. 13. 17), but held that the plural could be explained of the colour coming and going, the man turning red, then pale, then red again. And this is probably right. He quotes Prop. 1. 15. 39 *quis te cogebat multos pallere colores?* Lucian, Eun. 11 *παντοῖος ἦν ἐς μυρία τραπόμενος χρώματα.* So too Plato, Lys. 222 B *παντοδαπὰ ἠφίει χρώματα.* **40. medicandum**: unquestionably right, being supported alike by the weight of MS. authority, and by the requirements of the sense. The old reading *mendacem* involves a false antithesis: for there is no reason why *mendax infamia* should terrify *mendaces* especially. The genesis of this blunder is made clear by the various readings in the inferior MSS.: a copyist's slip must have given *mendicandum* by assimilation to *mendax* and *mendosum*, and from this came by conjectural correction *mendacem* and *mendicum.* A *mendosus* requires *curatio*; he is conscious of serious faults, though not those which a *mendax infamia* ascribes to him.

41-45. *The popular judgment of a man is often erroneous, being based on mere external correctness of conduct.* **41. qui servat**: the definition of the 'good man' is that which would be given by the popular judgment, one having in view only external rectitude of conduct, and a good reputation. But Horace shows that these may go along with grave moral defects, known to all who are familiar with the man as he really is. Schütz well reminds us of the Pharisees of the Gospels. **consulta patrum**, *i.e.* the man is *bonus* in Cicero's sense of the word, a 'good' Conservative. **leges iuraque**: *leges*

are the positive enactments or 'statutes' of the *comitia centuriata*, with which the *plebiscita* of the *comitia tributa* came to be practically identical: *ius* is 'law' in its widest sense, *iura* being either the various component parts of *ius*, or 'rules of law,' legal provisions, either contained in the XII Tables, or added by the praetors. Cf. Gaius 1. 2 *constant autem iura populi Romani ex legibus, plebis consultis, constitutionibus principum, edictis eorum qui ius edicendi habent, responsis prudentium.* **42. iudice**: in private suits a single *iudex* decided questions of fact, after a praetor had put the case into the proper form for hearing, and settled any question of law involved. **43. res sponsore**: *all* MSS. except *vet. Bland.* have *responsore*, but *responsor* is never used for *qui iura respondet*, and if it was, the word would be out of place here, for a good man is not required to be a learned lawyer. On the other hand *sponsor* is the regular word for one who stands as surety, and thus secures a man his property; cf. Corn. Nep. Att. 9 *ipsi autem Fulviae tanta diligentia officium suum praestitit, ut nullum stiterit vadimonium sine Attico, sponsor omnium rerum fuerit.* **44. vicinia**: the people of the same quarter or *vicus*; 1. 17. 62; S. 2. 5. 106.

46-56. *A man may possess some merits without possessing all, and he may be kept from sin only by the fear of detection.* **47. loris non ureris**: cf. Epod. 4. 3. *Ibericis peruste funibus.* **49. bonus et frugi**, '*bonus* servus honesta sequitur, *frugi* domino utilia'—Ritter. **negitatque** is unquestionably right, although many good MSS. have carelessly enough *negat atque.* **Sabellus**: Porphyrion says this means Horace himself, being = 'a plain Sabine like myself.' Lachmann takes it as = 'a man who speaks his mind,' any one who is plain and straightforward like a Sabine. **50. foveam**, 'the pitfall': A. P. 459. Cicero, Phil. 4. 5. 12, compares Antonius to an *inmanis tetraque belua quae in foveam incidit.* **51. opertum**: sc. *escā*; cf. 1. 7. 74. **miluus**, a dactyl, as in Epod. 16. 32, and always in Plautus and Phaedrus; the trochaic scansion appears first in Pers. 4. 26. The 'kite-fish' is mentioned by Pliny, H. N. 9. 26. 82, along with the *hirundo* as a flying fish.

53. **tu** is anybody, not Quinctius in particular nor the slave addressed. **in te** added because of the indefiniteness of **nihil**: with a more definite object like *scelus, dedecus, facinus*, it would not have been used. **54. sit**, jussive: cf. Mart. 8. 56. 5 *sint Maecenates, non deerunt, Flacce, Marones.* **miscebis**, 'you will make no difference between': cf. A. P. 397. **55. unum**: sc. *modium*: the suggested *unam* would involve a ridiculous exaggeration. **56. non facinus**: Horace is not adopting the Stoic paradox that all sins are equal, which he ridicules in S. 1. 3. 96; but he simply asserts that if the extent of the pilfering is limited only by the fear of detection, this does not affect the character of the act, a view in which there is nothing paradoxical.

57-62. *One who is virtuous to outward appearance may cherish evil desires in secret.* **57. omne forum**: not 'all the *fora*,' but like *omnis domus* in line 44, 'the whole forum.' At the date of this Epistle the *forum Augusti* was probably not finished, and only the *forum Romanum* and the small *forum Iulium* were in use. There were several *tribunalia* in the forum, but the *vir bonus* would only attract the eyes of those around the one, at which he happened to be acting at the time as *iudex.* **59. clare**: Martial (1. 39. 6) quotes among the signs of a good man *nihil arcano qui roget ore deos;* and the rule of Pythagoras was μετὰ φωνῆς εὔχεσθαι. This passage of Horace is imitated by Pers. 2. 3-16; and in Ovid, Fast. 5. 675-690, a merchant is represented as coming to the fountain of Mercury near the Capene gate, in order to

get the god's pardon for his deceit in the past, and his aid for similar tricks in the future. **60. Laverna**, the Roman equivalent to our Saint Nicholas: cf. Shakespeare, 1 Henry IV, II. i. 67 'if they meet not with Saint Nicholas' clerks, I'll give thee this neck.' Schol. Cruq. derives the name from *latere*, because thieves, he says, were once called *laterniones* and *laverniones* (cf. Gadshill's words in Shakespeare, l. c. 95 'we have the receipt of fern-seed, we walk invisible'). Acron connects it with *lavare*, thieves being called *lavatores*, perhaps because they 'clean out' travellers. But the only legitimate derivation is from the root *lu* or *lau* 'to gain,' found in ἀπο-λαύ-ω, λῃΐς, *lucrum*, *latro*, etc. (Curt. Gr. Etym. 536). **61. da** with inf., as *dones* in Od. 1. 31. 17. **iusto sanctoque** restored by Bentley from *vet. Bland.* and other good MSS. for the old reading *iustum sanctumque*, which is only a copyist's alteration: cf. S. 1. 1. 19 *atqui licet esse beatis*, 1. 6. 25; Roby 1357, S. G. 537 (*c*).

63-72. *One who is a slave to his baser passions is no free man, but should be treated as a cowardly prisoner of war, and set to some useful toil.* **63. qui**, 'how': cf. 1. 6. 42; S. 2. 2. 19; 3. 241, 260, 275, 311, etc. **64. in triviis fixum**: repeated by Pers. 5. 111 *inque luto fixum possis transcendere nummum*, where the scholiast says that it was a common joke with boys at Rome to solder a coin to the pavement (*assem in silice plumbatum infigere*) in order to ridicule those who stooped to pick it up, crying 'try again!' **66. mihi**, 'in my eyes.' **67. perdidit arma**, *i.e.* is a ῥίψασπις, a coward who has flung away his arms. **69. captivum**, *i.e.* a man who is absorbed in the pursuit of money, is not worthy of the name of a free man: treat him as a captive, and let him do the work for which he is fit. **70. durus**, 'unsparingly': 1. 7. 91. **72. annonae prosit**, *i.e.* let him serve to keep down the price of corn, by bringing in plenty from abroad. For the effect of imported corn on agriculture in Italy, cf. Mommsen, Hist. 3. 77. **penusque**: this neuter form is quoted from Horace by Servius and Priscian: some inferior MSS. have *penum*: Roby 398, S. G. 121. Cf. Cic. de Nat. D. 2. 27. 68 *est omne, quo vescuntur homines, penus.*

73-79. *A truly good man will maintain his fearless independence.* An admirably vivid and dramatic adaptation of Eur. Bacch. 492-498. Dionysus, in the guise of a young Lydian stranger, is brought before Pentheus, king of Thebes, charged with introducing the Bacchic orgies among the Theban women. **74. patique**: cf. 1. 15. 17; Cic. Tusc. 2. 7. 17 *patietur, perferet, non succumbet.* **75. indignum**: cf. line 34. **bona**, in Euripides the long tresses and the thyrsus, borne in honour of the god. **76. lectos**, the most valuable part of the furniture of the house. Cf. Cic. Parad. 1. 8 *neque ego umquam bona perdidisse dicam, si quis pecus aut supellectilem amiserit.* **argentum**: cf. 1. 6. 17. **in manicis**: εἱρκταῖσι τ' ἔνδον σῶμα σὸν φυλάξομεν, Eur. **79. hoc sentit . . .** in Eur. the delivery is brought about by a miraculous shaking of the palace of Pentheus (line 605), but Horace interprets to suit his own purpose. **moriar**: cf. Sen. de Prov. 6. 7 *ante omnia cavi (deus), ne quid vos teneret invitos: patet exitus: si pugnare non vultis, licet fugere.* **linea**, the *calx* or winning line (our 'tape') at the end of a race-course = γραμμή: cf. Eur. Antig. fr. 13 ἐπ' ἀκρὰν ἥκομεν γραμμὴν κακῶν, Electr. 955 πρὶν ἂν τέλος | γραμμῆς ἵκηται καὶ τέλος κάμψῃ βίου.

EPISTLE XVII

This Epistle contains advice to a certain Scaeva as to the course which should be adopted to secure and to profit by the favour of the great. There is no

indication of its date, unless perhaps in writing line 33 Horace had in mind the triumph of Augustus in 29 B.C. But in any case the Epistle must have been written after that date. Some critics have found grievous fault with the tone which Horace here adopts. But it does not come to much more than this, that a cynic's life is not necessarily the best, and that modesty is the best policy: no very degrading doctrine, if not ideally elevated.

1-5. *I will give you some advice, Scaeva, as your elder, though I know you do not need it.* **1. consulis**: 1. 14. 6 n. **2. tandem**: for the rare use of the impatient interrogative *tandem* in indirect questions, cf. Cic. Cat. 3. 20. 72 *quaerenti qua tandem re fretus sibi obsisteret.* **uti**, 'to associate with'= χρῆσθαι. **3. docendus** with **amiculus**: it would be superfluous, if referred to Scaeva. The diminutive='your humble friend.' **4. aspice si quid**: Roby 1754, S. G. 748. **5. cures**=*velis.* For the perf. inf. cf. A. P. 98; S. 2. 3. 187; the construction is archaic and poetic, not in Cicero or Caesar.

6-12. *Choose the line of life which has most attractions for you. There is much to be said for a life of retirement, as well as for one of self-advancement.* **6. primam in horam**: the client would have to be up and out before sunrise, in order that he might greet his patron betimes: cf. Mart. 4. 8. 1 *prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora.* **8. laedit**: most MSS. have *laedet*, a careless assimilation to *iubebo.* **Ferentinum**, a lonely place in the Hernican country, according to the Schol. Cruq. *municipium viae Labicanae ad xlviii lapidem.* The town is often mentioned by Livy: Horace evidently speaks of it as a proverbially quiet place, although the extant remains show that it was a considerable town. There is no mention of it in history after 211 B.C., so that it may have been a decaying place in the time of Horace. **10. fefellit**, 'has passed unnoticed,'=λέληθεν. Cf. 1. 18. 103; Ovid, Trist. 3. 4. 25 *crede mihi bene qui latuit, bene vixit*: both Horace and Ovid borrow the thought from the saying ascribed to Epicurus, λάθε βιώσας. **11. prodesse tuis**: cf. line 46. **12. siccus**: not quite, as in 1. 19. 9; Od. 1. 18. 3; 4. 5. 39; S. 2. 3. 281, 'sober,' but rather 'hungry' as in S. 2. 2. 14; cf. *faucibus siccis* of hungry wolves in Virg. Aen. 2. 358. **ad unctum**: Comm. Cruq. explains *pauper et tenuis ad opulentum et locupletem.* But it is very doubtful whether *unctus* applied to persons ever has this force. On the other hand *unctum* is used several times for 'a rich meal': cf. A. P. 422; Pers. 6. 16 *cenare sine uncto*; so 1. 15. 44 *melius et unctius.* Hence it is better taken here too as neuter. Kiessling gives *unctus*=*unguentis delibutus.*

13-42. *A life such as Aristippus led is pleasant and profitable* (13-22), *fits a man for any position* (23-32), *and is no dishonour* (33-42). **13. si pranderet holus . . .** The story is told by Diog. Laert. 2. 8. 68 παριόντα ποτὲ αὐτὸν ('Αρίστιππον) λάχανα πλύνων Διογένης ἔσκωψε καὶ φησίν, εἰ ταῦτα ἔμαθες προσφέρεσθαι, οὐκ ἂν τυράννων αὐλὰς ἐθεράπευες. ὁ δὲ καὶ σύ, εἶπεν, εἴπερ ᾔδεις ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλεῖν, οὐκ ἂν λάχανα ἔπλυνες. **pranderet**, simply 'make a meal of,' as S. 2. 3. 245, with no special reference to the *prandium.* **patienter**, 'contentedly.' **regibus**: the words of Diog. Laert. show that we need not take this here='the wealthy,' as in S. 1. 2. 86: the reference is to Dionysius the elder, at whose court Aristippus spent some time. **14. si sciret regibus uti**: Orelli quotes the saying of Epicurus (Diog. Laert. 10. 121) καὶ μόναρχον ἐν καιρῷ θεραπεῦσαι τὸν σοφόν. **15. utrĭus**: Horace has *illĭus* always with the exception of S. 1. 10. 67, and so *alterĭus, utrĭus, utrĭusque, ullĭus, unĭus* (but *unīus* in Od. 4. 9. 390), *nullĭus* (but *nullīus* in

line 22, and in 1. 1. 14). **18. eludebat,** 'parried': the reading *illudebat* has poor authority and is unsuited to the passage, in which there is no mockery.

19. mihi, 'for my own profit.' **hoc,** 'this conduct of mine,' not referring to the latter of the two alternatives, but to that which is nearer to the thought of the speaker. Cf. S. 2. 2. 29. **20. equus ut me portet:** Bentley first showed that this goes with *officium facio*, not as previous editors had taken it with *est.* The phrase was proverbial in Greek: ἵππος με φέρει, βασιλεύς με τρέφει: cf. Diogen. Paroem. 5. 31, where a certain Corraeus in service under Philip so answers his mother when she begs him to ask for his discharge. **21. officium facio,** 'I pay my court': for *officia* in this sense cf. 1. 7. 8 n. **vilia, verum:** the reading of the Scholiast, supported by *all* MSS. of any critical value, and rightly adopted by most editors, as Ritter, Schütz and Keller. *vilia rerum* might be defended by *ficta rerum* S. 2. 8. 83; *vana rerum* S. 2. 2. 25; *abdita rerum* A. P. 49: but on the other hand Horace is fond of ending a line with *verum*; cf. 1. 1. 80; 2. 2. 70 (where some MSS. have *rerum*, as here, against the sense), 106; S. 1. 2. 92; A. P. 303: hence there is no reason for departing from the great preponderance of authority. The construction apparently is *tu poscis vilia, verum poscis dante minor*, i.e. but in making your demand you place yourself in a position of inferiority to the bestower. **22. fers,** 'you boast.' **nullius** is masculine: *neminis* occurs in Plaut. Capt. 3. 5. 106, but fell out of use before the time of Cicero.

23. color, 'form of life': S. 2. 1. 60 *quisquis erit vitae color.* **24. temptantem,** 'aiming at.' **praesentibus aequum:** cf. Od. 3. 29. 33 *quod adest memento | componere aequus.* **praesentibus** appears to be dat. of the neuter plural, 'equal to the circumstances of the moment'; although some take it as abl., 'content with his present lot.' But is there any parallel to this use of *aequus*? **fere:** 1. 6. 9 n. Diog. Laert. 2. 8. 66 says of Aristippus ἦν ἱκανὸς ἁρμόσασθαι καὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ καὶ προσώπῳ καὶ πᾶσαν περίστασιν ἁρμοδίως ὑποκρίνασθαι· διὸ καὶ παρὰ Διονυσίῳ τῶν ἄλλων εὐδοκίμει μᾶλλον ἀεὶ τὸ προσπεσὸν εὖ διατιθέμενος. **25. duplici panno,** the διπλοΐς of the Cynics, a large cloak (*abolla*) also called τρίβων, worn doubled to serve at once as a χιτών (*tunica*) and χλαμύς (*pallium*). Cf. Mayor on Juv. 3. 115 *audi facinus maioris abollae:* Diog. Laert. 6. 22 τρίβωνα διπλώσας πρῶτος, κατά τινας διὰ τὸ ἀνάγκην ἔχειν καὶ ἐνεύδειν αὐτῷ, πήραν τε ἐκομίσατο. **panno,** 'rag,' ῥάκος, is used contemptuously. **patientia** = καρτερία 'endurance,' like *patienter* above.

27. alter, sc. Aristippus: cf. Diog. L. 2. 8. 67 διό ποτε Στράτωνα, οἱ δὲ Πλάτωνα πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν· σοὶ μόνῳ δέδοται καὶ χλαμύδα φορεῖν καὶ ῥάκος. **29. non inconcinnus,** 'not disagreeably': cf. 1. 18. 6; S. 1. 3. 50. **utramque,** *i.e.* of the richly-dressed man, or of the ill-clad one. **30. Mileti:** for the purples of Miletus cf. Virg. G. 3. 306 *quamvis Milesia magno | vellera mutentur Tyrios incocta rubores.* As a rule it is the wool of Miletus, not its dye, which is celebrated: cf. Ar. Lys. 729, Ran. 541, Theocr. 15. 125, etc. **cane et angui:** the dog and the snake were both regarded as animals of evil omen; cf. Ter. Phorm. 4. 4. 24 *monstra evenerunt mihi: | introiit in aedis ater alienus canis, | anguis in impluvium decidit de tegulis.* **peius vitabit:** a less natural expression than *peius timet* Od. 4. 9. 50. Serenus in Stob. Flor. 5. 46 tells a story which admirably illustrates Horace's account of Aristippus: Διονύσιος Ἀρίστιππον ἔπειθεν ἀποθέμενον τὸν τρίβωνα πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον περιβαλέσθαι, καὶ πεισθεὶς ἐκεῖνος τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Πλάτωνα ποιεῖν ἠξίου. ὁ δὲ ἔφη "οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην θῆλυν ἐνδῦναι στολήν." καὶ Ἀρίστιππος· τοῦ αὐτοῦ,

ἔφη, ἐστὶ ποιητοῦ· "καὶ γὰρ ἐν βακχεύμασιν οὖσ' ἥ γε σώφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται." The quotations are from Euripides, Bacchae 836, and 317, 318.

33. res gerere: there is a general reference here to the successes of Augustus, but probably no direct allusion to his triumph of 29 B.C. **34. caelestia temptat**, *i.e.* is the way to scale the sky: cf. Od. 3. 2. 21. **36. non cuivis**, etc., 'it is not the lot of every one to be able to visit Corinth,' *i.e.* every one has not the means to indulge in the pleasures provided so abundantly, but at so high a price, at Corinth. According to the testimony of Gellius (1. 8. 4), Strabo (8. 6. 20), and others, the proverb οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς originated in the exorbitant demands made by Lais and other courtesans of the place, on those who sought their favours. But the context shows that this origin had been almost if not entirely forgotten, or Horace could not have used it thus of the prizes due to pre-eminent virtue. The old notion that *contingere* was *only* used of good fortune has long been discarded. Cf. note on Cic. Cat. 1. 7. 16; Mayor on Phil. 2. 7. 17.

37. sedit, 'renounces the attempt'; like καθῆσθαι of remaining inactive: cf. Ter. Ad. 4. 5. 38 *an sedere oportuit domi tam grandem virginem*, where Donatus remarks '*sedere* proprie ignavae cessationis est': Virg. G. 3. 456 *meliora deos sedet omnia poscens.* The perfects are 'gnomic'; cf. 1. 2. 48 n., A. P. 343. **non succederet**, impersonally 'things should not go well with him'; cf. Ter. Andr. 4. 1. 46 *hac non successit; alia adgrediemur via.* Sometimes *succedo* has *res*, or *inceptum*, but never like our 'succeed' a person as the nominative. **esto**, 'very good': cf. 1. 81 n. **38. fecitne**=*nonne fecit*, as so often in Plautus and Terence. **39. hic**, *i.e.* in the answer which we give to this question. **42. recte petit**, 'is right in seeking.' **experiens**, 'enterprising': Cic. pro Cluent. 8. 23 *A. Aurius vir fortis et experiens:* in Verr. II. 3. 21. 53 *homo navus et industrius, experientissimus* (*ac diligentissimus*) *arator.*

43-62. *One who is paying court to a great man should abstain from* (1) *direct begging* (43-51) *and more indirect attempts to extract money* (52-62), *or real causes of complaint will not meet with attention.* **43. sua** has far less authority than *suo*, but it certainly gives more point to say 'those who say nothing before a patron of *their own* poverty.' The great probability that *sua* would be assimilated to *rege* by transcribers, influenced, it may be, by the caesura, outweighs the MS. evidence. **45. atqui**, etc., 'but this was the main point, this the source of your conduct': **erat**, referring back to lines 11, 12 'this was the point which we had in view,' viz. to get as much as possible out of your patron. **46. indotata**: to allow a sister to marry without a proper dowry, was regarded as a great disgrace; cf. Plaut. Trin. 3. 2. 55. **47. nec vendibilis**, 'not saleable,' *i.e.* I can find no purchaser for it. **pascere firmus**: Od. 1. 3. 25 n. *firmus*, 'safe,' 'trustworthy.' **48. succinit**, 'chimes in,' like another of a troop of beggars, joining in the cry.

49. findetur . . . 'the cake will be divided, and the gift parted between you.' Horace means 'if you beg so shamelessly, you will attract other beggars who will clamour for their portion, and so you will have to share with them what otherwise you might have kept all to yourself.' Some make the whole line the cry of the second beggar, but if so the fut. *findetur* must be taken as =an imperative, and this is too strong for a beggar however impudent. **quadra**: cf. Virg. Aen. 7. 115; Juv. 5. 2; Athen. 3. 114 C ἄρτους . . . οὓς Ῥωμαῖοι κοδράτους λέγουσιν. They were probably scored with a cross so as to be easily divided. **50. corvus**: the reference cannot be to the familiar fable of the crow and the fox (Phaedr. 1. 13; Babr. 77), as in it there is no

rixa, no *invidia*. Horace may be thinking of some different story, in which a crow by the noise which it makes over some booty which it has discovered attracts others to claim a share in it.

52. **Brundisium** might be visited for business or on state-affairs, as by Maecenas; cf. S. 1. 5. **Surrentum** for pleasure: it was especially famous for its mild and salubrious climate, Sil. Ital. 5. 466 *Zephyro Surrentum molle salubri.* 53. **salebras** = *asperitates itineris* Acron; cf. Mart. 9. 58. 5 *quae Flaminiam secant salebrae.* The roads to Brundisium and Surrentum were among the best in Italy. 55. **refert,** 'repeats,' *i.e.* imitates: cf. 1. 13. 62; Tac. Ann. 1. 26 *easdem artes Drusum rettulisse.* **catellam**: probably here a diminutive of *catena*, not of *catulus*. The chain is a more natural accompaniment of the *periscelis* than the favourite dog.

58. **triviis**, chosen by the impostor as the scene of his accident, because at 'cross-roads' there would be most passers-by. 59. **planum**: cf. Matt. xxvii. 63 ἐκεῖνος ὁ πλάνος εἶπεν ἔτι ζῶν, Cic. Cluent. 26. 72 *ille planus inprobissimus.* 60. **dicat**: an asyndeton, 'though he says.' **Osirim**: the worship of Egyptian deities was at this time much on the increase at Rome, so that Augustus (Dio Cass. 53. 2) did not allow their rites within the city. The people looked upon them with great awe (Val. Max. 1. 3. 3); and hence the oath of the impostor. 62. **peregrinum**, *i.e.* one who does not know your tricks. **rauca**: Porph. says = *ad ravim*, i.e. 'till they are hoarse.' But why should the neighbours bawl so long at the impostor, as to ruin their voices? The word merely denotes the harsh dissonant cries of the mocking crowd.

EPISTLE XVIII

This Epistle is in some MSS. and by the scholiasts taken as a continuation of the preceding one, and the latter even speak of 'Lollius Scaeva.' The only justification for this is that at first sight the main theme, the manner in which an inferior should associate with a superior in rank and wealth, appears to be the same in both. But a little consideration shows that the position of Lollius is very different from that of Scaeva. The latter is evidently of narrow means, and probably of humble origin: his object in courting a patron is to obtain a decent livelihood: the former is in possession of an ancestral estate (line 60) with a lake on it large enough to be made the scene of a sham sea-fight, represented by two fleets of boats manned by numerous slaves. The date is fixed by lines 55-57 to about 20 B.C.: it is therefore exceedingly improbable that the Epistle was addressed to the Lollius who was consul in 21 B.C. (for whom see Od. 4. 9 Intr.): but it may probably have been addressed to his son (see 1. 2 Intr.) The tone of the Epistle has been severely censured by some editors; but the key to it seems to be found in the epithet *liberrime* of line 1, which, taken in connexion with line 5 seq., plainly denotes an outspoken frankness, in danger of passing into offensive rudeness. Horace blames in the most explicit language all unworthy servility, and points out the dangers and vexations of a court-life very frankly. But seeing that his young friend is embarked upon it, he gives him the advice which his temperament seemed most to require, namely that a man who seeks the patronage of one superior to himself in social station should not offend him by persistently obtruding his own opinions on matters of trifling importance, by displaying his own vices and follies, by prying into secrets, and betraying them, by finding fault with his friend's tastes and pursuits, by incontinent loquacity, and

by introducing to him unworthy acquaintances. It is in the concluding lines 96-103 that Horace gives his genuine advice, enforcing it by his own example 104-112, and that advice is to be contented and independent.

1-9. *A true friend, Lollius, will not stoop to play the parasite: but it is almost a worse fault, if he becomes boorish and rude. Virtue lies in the mean.* **2. scurrantis**: 1. 17. 19. **professus**, sc. *te*: cf. Od. 1. 35. 22 *nec comitem abnegat*, 'nor does she refuse her companionship.' Perhaps however we may take *amicum* as directly governed by *professus*, like *agere amicum*, *mentiri iuvenem*. **4. discolor**: prostitutes were required to wear a dark *toga*, while matrons wore the white *stola*, and some find a reference to that practice here. But probably *discolor*, as in Pers. 5. 32 *mille hominum species et rerum discolor usus*, is merely = 'different': cf. *vitae color* 1. 17. 23; S. 2. 1. 60. **distabit** with dat. as in Od. 4. 9. 29 *distat inertiae . . . virtus.* So the dat. follows *dissidens* Od. 2. 2. 18; *differt* S. 1. 4. 48; A. P. 236; *discrepat* Od. 1. 27. 5; S. 1. 6. 92; 2. 3. 108; Ep. 2. 2. 193; A. P. 152, 219.

5. diversum, 'the opposite to this fault is almost a greater fault.' **6. inconcinna**: 1. 17. 29. **7. commendat**, not for *commendare vult*, but with a certain irony; cf. 2. 1. 261. **tonsa cute**, 'with hair clipped to the skin,' as a sign of severe virtue: cf. Conington on Pers. 3. 54, where *detonsa iuventus* is the term applied to students of Stoicism. The Cynics too were distinguished τῇ ἐν χρῷ κουρᾷ, cf. Diog. Laert. 6. 2. 31. In Gk. κομᾶν is often a sign of dissipation. Cf. too the contrast in this respect between the Roundheads and Cavaliers. **8. dum vult**: cf. 1. 19. 16. **dici mera**: the old reading was *mera dici*: but the fourth foot composed of a single word, and that a spondee, is very inelegant. **9. medium** (= μέσον τι) **vitiorum**: cf. Aristotle's definition, Eth. Nic. 2. 6 15 ἔστιν ἡ ἀρετὴ ἕξις προαιρετική, ἐν μεσότητι οὖσα τῇ πρὸς ἡμᾶς . . . μεσότης δὲ δύο κακιῶν, τῆς μὲν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς δὲ κατ' ἔλλειψιν. See note on Od. 2. 10. 5.

10-20. *One man obsequiously catches up his patron's words, while another wrangles about the merest trifles.* **10. imi lecti**: see note on S. 2. 8. 20, where the *imus lectus* is occupied by the host with a *scurra* on either hand. The *derisor*, while flouting at others, would be servile towards the patron. **12. tollit**, *i.e.* he calls attention to words that drop from his patron's lips, and might otherwise pass unnoticed. Cf. A. P. 368. **14. reddere**: cf. 1. 1. 55; Cic. de Nat. Deor. 1. 26. 72 *ista a vobis quasi dictata redduntur.* **magistro**, dat. after **reddere**. **partes secundas**: in the mimes the *rôle* of the actor who played the second part seems to have been to follow the lead of the chief actor, and to imitate him in word and gesture, with perhaps something of caricature. Suetonius (Calig. 57) tells a curious story: *cum in Laureolo mimo in quo actor proripiens se ruina sanguinem vomit, plures secundarum certatim experimentum artis darent, cruore scaena abundavit.* **15. rixatur**: the *vet. Bland.* has *rixatus* = 'wrangling,' for which *rixans* would be required. The asyndeton between *rixatur* and *propugnat* is objected to by many editors. Muretus removed it by reading *rixator*, but this is not found before Quintilian (11. 1. 29). **de lana caprina**: most take this as a proverbial expression = something non-existent, and quote as parallel Lucian, Hermotim. § 71 (p. 818) πάντες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, περὶ ὄνου σκιᾶς μάχονται οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες. Surely an ass has a shadow! (Cf. Ar. Vesp. 191, where the scholiast explains the origin of the proverb.) Porphyrion shows better judgment: *de villo ut quidam dicunt, caprorum, pilos non setam dicens esse, sed lanam.* He is ready to come to blows on the question whether goats' hair, used for weaving into

cloth (*cilicium:* cf. Acts xviii. 3), is properly to be called wool or not. According to the Roman jurists it was.

16. **propugnat** . . . 'takes up arms and fights in defence of trifles.' Others harshly join *nugis armatus*, 'maintains his own view, with no other weapon than nonsense.' **scilicet ut**, 'to think that': this phrase occurs five times in the Epistles, but nowhere quite in this sense. Perhaps, as *scilicet* is very rare in interrogative sentences, we should read **scilicet: ut** . . . *i.e.* 'to be sure! the notion that' etc. If so, for *ut sit?* cf. S. 2. 5. 18 *utne tegam?* **non sit mihi** . . . 'I should not be believed before every one else.' 17. **vere** with **placet**, not with **elatrem**, which is already provided with **acriter**. 18. **sordet**: cf. 1. 11. 4. Some put a comma after **elatrem**, making *ut non sit* and *ut non elatrem* both depend on *sordet*, in the sense of 'on the condition that,' but this is very awkward. The abruptness of the text is much more pointed. 'I would not care to have my life over again at that price.' 19. **Docilis** has much the best MS. authority, and is found elsewhere as the name of a freedman. The other reading *Dolichos*, 'Long,' would be suitable enough as the name of a gladiator, if it had more authority. 20. **Minuci via**: from Strabo (quoted S. 1. 5. 6 n.) we learn that there were two roads from Beneventum to Brundisium, one, the Appian road, passing through Tarentum, and better adapted for carriages, the other adapted only 'for mules,' passing through Herdonia, Canusium, and Egnatia. The latter was that taken by Maecenas and his suite on the journey described by Horace in S. 1. 5. Mr. Bunbury (Dict. G. 2. 1282 A) thinks it 'not improbable' that this was the Via Minucia: Schütz (on S. 1. 5. 77) states the same view positively; if Kiessling's reading ἡ Μινυκία for ἡμιονική in Strabo is right the point is settled.

21-36. *A rich friend will not tolerate vice, gambling, vanity, or ostentation in one beneath him, even though he is by no means free from faults himself; and the wish to make a show may lead to ruin.* 21. **damnosa**, 'ruinous': cf. 2. 1. 107 *damnosa libido.* **praeceps**, 'fatal': cf. Pers. 5. 57 *hunc alea decoquit, ille in Venerem putris.* 22. **gloria**, 'vanity': κενοδοξία, which leads a man to spend too much on dress, etc. 23. **argenti**: the close parallelism to *auri sacra fames* (Virg. Aen. 3. 57) and the like, strongly points to the meaning 'money.' Some, however, give 'plate' (as 1. 6. 17; 16. 76; 2. 2. 181), urging that the character described is reproved not for greed of money, but for wishing to make as much display as a far richer man. **inportuna**, 'insatiate.' 25. **decem vitiis instructior** cannot be 'furnished with ten times as many defects,' as some translate: *decem* is merely a definite number chosen for the sake of vividness, instead of the indefinite 'many,' as we might use 'a dozen'; cf. A. P. 365; Plaut. Merc. 2. 3. 11 *ita animi decem in pectore incerti certant.* The ablative is that of measure after a comparative, 'better equipped (than you) by ten defects.' 26. **regit**, 'schools him.' 28. **prope vera**, 'pretty nearly true': cf. 1. 6. 1.

30. **arta toga**, 'a toga of little breadth.' The toga was of an oval form, and folded, as a rule, along the greater axis of the ellipse. Hence in wearing it the breadth would be measured from the shoulders downwards; and a toga, if too broad, would either trail or have to be arranged in elaborate folds. For a trailing toga as a sign of conceit cf. Epod. 4. 8. **comitem** = *clientem.* 31. **Eutrapelus**, a name given to P. Volumnius, a Roman knight (to whom Cicero addressed ad Familiares 7. 32 and 33) on account of his polished wit. Cf. Ar. Rhet. 2. 12. 16 ἡ γὰρ εὐτραπελία πεπαιδευμένη ὕβρις ἐστίν, Eth. Nic. 2. 7. 13 and 4. 8. 10, where εὐτραπελία is defined as the just mean

between βωμολοχία 'buffoonery' and ἀγροικία, the 'boorishness' which is deficient as regards τὸ ἡδὺ τὸ ἐν παιδιᾷ. For the history of the word, and the stages by which it reaches the bad meaning found Eph. v. 3, 4 (μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω ἐν ὑμῖν . . . μωρολογία ἢ εὐτραπελία ['jesting' R. V.], τὰ οὐκ ἀνήκοντα) see Trench, Synonyms, p. 118, where he says justly 'there is certainly nothing particularly amiable in the story which Horace here tells.' **cuicumque** = *si cui.* **32. beatus**, etc., *haec cogitabat vel dicere solebat Eutrapelus*—Schol. **34. in lucem**: cf. 1. 17. 6. **honestum officium**: not, as in 1. 17. 21, of the attentions due to his patron, though some take it so, but more generally. **35. nummos alienos pascet**, 'he will let his debts grow,' especially by ἀνατοκισμός, the interest due being added to the principal, as often now by usurers renewing bills. **ad imum**, 'finally,' when he has sunk to the lowest point. **36. Thraex erit**, *i.e.* he will turn gladiator, the last resource of the fast young Roman nobleman: cf. Juv. 11. 1-23. Many MSS. spell *Thrax.*

37-38. *Do not be inquisitive, but keep secrets entrusted to you.* **37. illius**: MS. authority is strong for *ullius*, which Bentley first rejected as out of place here; it is evidently only due to a false assimilation to *unquam. illius* refers to the *potens* (line 44) and *venerandus* (line 73) *amicus*, whoever he may have been, who appears as *ille* in line 40. The counsel here given is nearly identical with that of lines 62-71, and comes in with a certain abruptness after what has been said of the extravagant and self-indulgent dependent. Hence Lehrs places lines 72-75 immediately after line 36, a course which makes the connexion more natural, and supplies in *dominus* a natural reference for *illius.* Schütz, accepting this, further places lines 69-71 after line 38, and thereby brings line 68 into very suitable juxtaposition with line 76. **38. tortus**, 'racked': cf. Od. 3. 21. 13. **ira**: the irritation felt by Lollius, if ever his patron treated him with harshness or injustice. Some explain of angry threats used to make him disclose the secret.

39-66. *Do not obtrude your own pursuits, or disparage and avoid those of your patron. You are well able to distinguish yourself in hunting or the games.* **39. aliena**, here those of the patron. **41. Amphionis**: Euripides in his Antiope introduced Amphion and Zethus, the two sons of Antiope, as at variance on the value of music, and in an extant fragment (188 Dind.) Zethus remonstrates with his brother: ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ· | παῦσαι μελῳδῶν, πολεμίων δ' εὐμουσίαν | ἄσκει· τοιαῦτ' ἄειδε καὶ δόξεις φρονεῖν, | σκάπτων, ἀρῶν γῆν, ποιμνίοις ἐπιστατῶν, | ἄλλοις τὰ κομψὰ ταῦτ' ἀφεὶς σοφίσματα, | ἐξ ὧν κενοῖσιν ἐγκατοικήσεις δόμοις. The story was familiar to Roman readers from the Antiopa of Pacuvius, perhaps the most famous and admired of his plays. **gratia . . . dissiluit**, 'the friendship was severed.' **42. suspecta**, as leading to effeminacy. **severo**: Prop. 4. (3.) 15. 29 *et durum Zethum et lacrimis Amphiona mollem.*

46. Aetolis: a 'literary' epithet, recalling the famous Calydonian hunt. For the significance of such epithets cf. Sellar's Virgil 235 seq. *Aeoliis*, found in an inferior MS., has been adopted by some. It is explained as a reference to the very fine but strong nets made of the flax grown near Cumae (Plin. H. N. 19. 1. 10), a colony from Cyme in Aeolia. But such a far-fetched reference seems impossible. **47. inhumanae**, 'discourteous,' not as a perpetual epithet, but only under the circumstances. **senium**, 'gloom' or 'moroseness': cf. Pers. 1. 26 *en pallor seniumque!* of poets; Sen. Hipp. 917 *morum senium triste.* In Epod. 13. 5 *senectus* is used in just the same way.

48. pariter, *i.e.* like your patron. **pulmenta** = *pulmentaria,* cf. S. 2. 2. 20 n. **49. sollemne opus**: in apposition to the preceding clause, not an independent proposition. Hunting is called *Romana militia* S. 2. 2. 10.

53. coronae, 'the ring' of spectators: cf. A. P. 381; Mart. 7. 72. 9 *sic palmam tibi . . . unctae det favor arbiter coronae.* **54. proelia campestria,** the fencing matches and similar amusements of the Campus Martius. **55. Cantabrica bella,** *i.e.* in 27-25 B.C.: cf. Od. 2. 6. 2 n. **56. refigit,** 'is taking down': Od. 1. 28. 11 *clipeo . . . refixo.* For the recovery of the standards of Crassus from the Parthians in 20 B.C., cf. Od. 1. 2. 22 n.

58. ac . . . nugaris: the clause *ne . . . absis* is parenthetical, and suggests, not the purpose of the principal action, but the reason of mentioning it: Roby 1660, S. G. 690. 'And further—that you may not back out, etc.—you do sometimes go into the country and amuse yourself.' **59. quamvis . . . curas**: for the indicative cf. S. 2. 2. 30 n. **extra numerum** = παρὰ τὸν ῥυθμὸν (τοῦ βίου): *extra modum* = παρὰ μέλος, 'out of time and tune.' **61. exercitus,** 'your forces,' *i.e.* of slaves. **Actia pugna**: Virg. Aen. 8. 675 *Actia bella* and elsewhere: the more regular form is *Actiacus,* but cf. Od. 1. 15. 10 n. **62. hostili more,** i.e. *quasi re vera hostes inter vos essetis.* **63. lacus,** *i.e.* the lake on your father's estate. **64. velox,** 'swift' as being winged, in accordance with the usual representation of Nike or Victoria in works of art. Cf. S. 1. 1. 8. **66. utroque pollice**: cf. Plin. H. N. 28. 2. 25 *pollices, cum faveamus, premere etiam proverbio iubemur.* The opposite to this is *pollicem vertere*: cf. Juv. 3. 36 *verso pollice vulgi, cum libet, occidunt populariter,* where Mayor writes 'those who wished the death of a conquered gladiator turned (*vertebant, convertebant*) their thumbs towards their breasts, as a signal to his opponent to stab him: those who wished him to be spared turned their thumbs downwards (*premebant*), as a signal for dropping the sword.'

67-85. *Be careful of your words: avoid curious questions: do not allow yourself to be enamoured of any of your patron's household: be cautious in introductions, and do not attempt to defend the unworthy.* **68. de quoque,** perhaps best taken = *et de quo*: there are three questions *quid dicas, de quo dicas, cui dicas.* So Cic. in Pis. 31. 75 *tu quid, tu apud quos, tu de quo dicas, intellegis?* It is however quite legitimate to take *quoque* as abl. of *quisque* and then it implies that in each individual case care is to be used. **71. emissum,** 'let slip': A. P. 390 *nescit vox missa reverti.* The generally assumed reference to an arrow hardly allows sufficiently for the idea of carelessness here involved. Cf. Menander, Frag. 607 οὔτ' ἐκ χερὸς μεθέντα καρτερᾶς λίθον | ῥᾷον κατασχεῖν, οὔτ' ἀπὸ γλώσσης λόγον.

72. non . . . ulla: to be taken closely together = *nulla*: but for *non* with imperatives cf. S. 2. 5. 91 n. **iecur**: the seat of the emotions: cf. Od. 1. 13. 4 n. **75. beet aut . . . angat**: if the patron grants your request, he will think that he has discharged all obligations, though his gift is really of little value: if he is churlish and refuses you, this will cause you pain.

78. quondam, 'at times': cf. Od. 2. 10. 18; S. 2. 2. 82; Virg. Aen. 2. 367 *quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus*: cf. ib. 6. 877. It is doubtful whether this usage is found in Cicero. Cf. the similar use of *olim.* **tradimus,** 'introduce'; cf. 1. 9. 3. **79. premet,** 'crushes,' with a stronger force than in 1. 19. 36. **80. ut . . . serves.** If you have been deceived and have introduced a man who proves unworthy, do not attempt to stand by him, in order that you may not exhaust your influence, but may preserve it unimpaired for the protection of one whom you know well, and who looks to you

for help, when assailed by calumny. **81. qui . . .** takes the argument a step further—'and remember that when he (the man last mentioned) is attacked, the danger is getting very near yourself.' Theon was some freedman notorious for his biting slanders. **82.** For **dente** cf. Od. 4. 3. 16. **circumroditur**: cf. S. 1. 4. 81. **ecquid sentis**, 'do you feel at all?' *i.e.* 'don't you feel?' **84. tua res agitur**: cf. Juv. 3. 198-200.

86-95. *It is a hard task to retain the favour of the powerful, for you must always fall in with their humours.* **88. hoc age**, 'give all your mind to it': S. 2. 3. 152 n.; Ter. And. 2. 1. 15; 2. 5. 4. **91.** The spuriousness of this line does not admit of a question. It is not found in *any* of the good MSS., and contains two inexplicable difficulties: (1) *bibuli potores* is little better than *potantes potores*, while to connect *bibuli* with *Falerni* is to do violence to the meaning of the word: (2) *media de nocte* could only mean 'as early as midnight'; cf. 1. 2. 32; 14. 34. It is evident that some copyist (not before the 11th century) feeling the need of a subject to *oderunt* introduced *potores* and then attempted to make up the line by a clumsy adaptation of 1. 14. 34 *quem bibulum liquidi media de luce Falerni.* Vahlen, however, defends the line as = 'wine-bibbers ready to drink Falernian after midnight,' *i.e.* ready, after a long debauch, to call for a fresh wine of the strongest sort. **93. tepores** has far more authority than *vapores*. *tepor*, however, generally denotes a mild warmth, and the earliest instance quoted for it = 'feverishness' is from Ammianus 19. 4. 2 *tepore febrium arescunt.* **94. nubem**, a common metaphor, which we may retain in translation: 'banish the cloud from your brow.' Cf. Soph. Ant. 528 *νεφέλη δ' ὀφρύων ὕπερ αἱματόεν | ῥέθος αἰσχύνει*, Eur. Hipp. 172 *στυγνὸν δ' ὀφρύων νέφος αὐξάνεται*, Shakespeare, Ant. and Cleop. III. ii. 52 'Will Caesar weep? He has a cloud in 's face.' **95. obscuri** = 'mysterious,' *κρυψίνους*. The modesty which prompts to reserve often makes a man appear to be disguising his thoughts with a view to deceive. Cf. Cic. de Off. 3. 13. 57 *hoc celandi genus . . . non aperti, non simplicis, non ingenui, non iusti, non viri boni* (*est*), *versuti potius, obscuri, astuti, fallacis.*

96-103. *Whatever you do, study philosophy, which alone can give you the secret of a happy life.* **96. leges**: Roby 1466, S. G. 602: 'you must study for yourself . . . (to learn) how' etc. **98. num . . . agitet**, 'whether greed ever unsatisfied is to torment you.' *agitet* represents the jussive subj. of direct question [Roby 1612, S. G. 674 (*b*)], for obviously the question which the man must study to understand is not whether he *is* tormented but whether he *is to be* tormented. Or we may say that the direct question would have been *agitatne me semper*, with the present used for the future. **99. mediocriter utilium**, 'things indifferent,' the *ἀδιάφορα* of the Stoics which included all things generally considered by men good and advantageous, with the exception of virtue, which is the *summum bonum.* Cf. Cic. de Fin. 3. 16. 53.

100. doctrina: the familiar inquiry of the philosophers: cf. Plat. Meno ad init. *ἆρα διδακτὸν ἡ ἀρετή; ἢ οὐ διδακτὸν ἀλλ' ἀσκητόν; ἢ οὔτε ἀσκητὸν οὔτε μαθητόν, ἀλλὰ φύσει παραγίγνεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις;* Cic. Part. Or. 64 *quonam pacto virtus pariatur, naturane an ratione an usu;* Od. 4. 4. 34. Horace here does not mention the third alternative—*ἄσκησις*, *usus*, 'practice.' **101. quid te tibi reddat amicum**: another reminiscence of Plato; Rep. 10. 621 C *δικαιοσύνην μετὰ φρονήσεως παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιτηδεύσομεν, ἵνα καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς φίλοι ὦμεν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς.* **102. pure** = *sincere*, 'what gives you untroubled calm.' **honos**: public honours, especially office, which is often

inconsistent with money-making. Hence Schütz's proposal to read *ac* for *an* would really injure the sense. **lucellum**: a remembrance of this or of S. 2. 5. 82 would have enlightened those who were puzzled by Mr. Lowe's proposed motto for the match-tax stamp, *ex luce lucellum.* **103. fallentis**: cf. 1. 17. 10.

104-112. *In my own quiet country-home, my prayers are only for competence and independence. Contentment I will provide for myself, if Jove gives me life and prosperity.* **105. Mandela**: 'the river Licenza, Horace's Digentia, flows through the bottom of the valley far beneath us (at Vico Varo), a limpid stream, speeding to join the Anio. On the opposite side of the river, situate upon a lofty eminence, is a village now called Cantalupo Bardella, which is Horace's Mandela, described by him as '*rugosus frigore pagus*' from its lofty position. We may well fancy Horace, as he ambled along this road, observing the villagers coming down from the hill to draw their supplies of water from the Digentia flowing at its base' (Mr. Justice Lawson in the *Antiquarian Magazine* June 1883). **107. ut mihi vivam**: the clear preponderance of the best MSS. is in favour of *ut* which Porph. read and explained = 'provided that'—'May I have as much as I now have or even less provided that I may live for myself (*mihi* emphatic, not to satisfy the frivolous claims of society), for all of life that yet remains, if it is the will of the gods that aught should yet remain.' For **ut** cf. Cic. ad Fam. 9. 6. 4 *libenter omnibus omnes opes concesserim, ut* (= if only) *mihi liceat vi nulla interpellante isto modo vivere.* Reading *et* with *vet. Bland.* etc. it is best taken = 'and then'—'let me have . . . and then I will live,' cf. Virg. Ecl. 3. 104. Or.[4] takes *et vivam* 'and may I live.' **109. librorum**: cf. S. 2. 3. 11, where Horace takes out a collection of Greek poets to his retirement in the country. **110. neu** . . . 'Nor make my life one flutter of suspense'—Con. Cf. *aestuat* 1. 1. 99; *natat* S. 2. 7. 7.

111. '*qui donat* et *quae donat* et *qui ponit* et *quae ponit* paribus fere singula testimoniis comprobantur'—Bentl. The Blandinian MSS. (among others) have *qui ponit*, but *qui* is generally recognised as due to a false assimilation to *Iovis.* **ponit**: MSS. vary between this and *donat* which is probably a gloss. Usually in Horace *ponere* is = 'lay down' (Od. 3. 2. 19; 10. 9; 4. 12. 25; S. 2. 3. 16); but here the word seems to have the metaphorical sense corresponding to its literal use of banquets (S. 2. 2. 23; 4. 14; 6. 64; 8. 91). Jupiter 'sets before' us things as his guests, and this is supported by the similar use of *aufert.* **112. det vitam**: cf. Ov. Pont. 2. 1. 53 *di tibi dent annos, a te nam cetera sumes;* Trist. 5. 11. 15 *nec vitam nec opes nec ius mihi civis ademit.*

EPISTLE XIX

This Epistle recalls the tone of S. 1. 4 and 10. The epistolary form is more completely than elsewhere in this book a mere form; but it is natural that Horace's scorn of his imitators and rejoinder to his critics should be addressed in the first instance to his patron Maecenas. The letter cannot be earlier than the publication of the first three books of the Odes: otherwise there is nothing to fix its date. It is evidently separated by a considerable interval from Od. 4. 3. 13-16, when carping criticism had been silenced by the general recognition of the poet's merits.

1-20. *Cratinus of old, Maecenas, held that poems destined to immortality were always inspired by wine; and from the earliest days poets have been topers. I said that the sober were better fitted for business than poetry: and since then my imitators have always been drinking. But more is needed for successful*

rivalry, than an aping of dress and looks. **1. docte**: cf. Od. 3. 8. 5. **Cratino**: the fondness of Cratinus for wine was the subject of many jests among his contemporaries. Aristophanes in the Peace (700-703) says that he died of grief at seeing a jar full of wine smashed in an invasion of the Lacedaemonians. The schol. on Eq. 400 states that in his play of the Πυτίνη Cratinus represented himself as lawfully married to Κωμῳδία, who wished to leave him, and to bring an action against him for neglect, because he had deserted her for Μέθη. **2. placere diu** go together, for *vivere* needs no adverb, cf. Od. 4. 9. 11. **3. potoribus**: some take this as ablative, cf. *textore* line 13. Most strongly support the dative (Roby 1146, S. G. 476), a construction found twice at least in Virgil (Aen. 1. 440 *neque cernitur ulli;* 3. 398 *malis habitantur moenia Grais*), several times in Ovid (Her. 9. 46; Fast. 2. 61; 3. 108, 325; 5. 110; 303), while Madvig allows in Livy 5. 6. 14 *non uni aut alteri militi . . . audiuntur* and 1. 23. 10 *quaerentibus utrinque ratio initur.* For apparent instances in Cicero (*e.g.* de Sen. 11. 38) cf. Madvig on de Fin. 1. 4. 11. Here direct agency is denoted: in line 13 *textore* indicates rather the instrumentality, 'by the help of' or 'thanks to.' Both these cases differ materially from those in which the abl. of the substantive is accompanied by an adj., for which see 1. 1. 94 n. **ut**, 'ever since,' cf. Od. 4. 4. 42 n., Roby 1719, S. G. 723. The Muses drank at first only from springs like Castalia and Hippocrene: but since the days when Bacchus 'enrolled' (*tanquam in legionem suam: nam hoc verbum militare est* Porph.) the frenzied poets among his troop of followers, they too have borne the traces of their nightly potations. **male sanos**: cf. Od. 1. 9. 24 n. The inspired frenzy of poets has been a commonplace at least since the days of Democritus. Cf. Cic. Div. 1. 37. 80 *negat sine furore Democritus quemquam poetam magnum esse posse, quod idem dicit Plato* (Phaedr. 245 A). Cf. A. P. 295; S. 2. 3. 322. **4. Satyris Faunisque**: the Satyrs were always regarded as attendants of Bacchus: cf. Od. 2. 19. 4. The Fauns are here introduced as typifying the earliest Italian poetry: cf. Ennius in Cic. Brut. 19. 71 *versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant;* Mommsen, Hist. 1. 230: 'the earliest chant in the view of the Romans, was that which the leaves sang to themselves in the green solitude of the forest. The whispers and pipings of the "favourable spirit" (*Faunus* from *favere*) in the grove were repeated to men by the singer (*vates*), or by the songstress (*casmena, carmenta*) who had the gift of listening to him, with the accompaniment of the pipe, and in rhythmically measured language (*casmen*, afterwards *carmen*, from *canere*).' **5. fere**, 'as a rule': cf. 1. 6. 9.

6. laudibus vini: *i.e.* by the epithets which he applies to it, μελιηδής, μελίφρων, ἡδύποτος, εὐήνωρ, μενοεικής: cf. Il. 6. 261 ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀέξει. **vinosus** = *vinosus fuisse.* **7. pater**, a term of respect for the father of Roman poetry: cf. Prop. 3. 2. 6 *unde pater sitiens Ennius ante bibit:* and Plato's ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Παρμενίδης. There may also be a reference to the fact that he lived in days of old (cf. *senis* of Lucilius in S. 2. 1. 34). Ennius said of himself *numquam poetor, nisi si podager.* **8. prosiluit**, 'sprang forth,' as if eager to take part himself in the wars of which he was singing. He dwelt most fully in his Annals on the war with Pyrrhus, the Second Punic war, the Macedonian, the Aetolian and the Istrian wars. For the **puteal Libonis** in the *forum* used by business men and money-lenders, cf. S. 2. 6. 35 n. **9. siccis**: cf. Od. 1. 18. 3. **severis**: cf. Catull. 5. 2 *rumoresque senum severiorum.* **10. edixi**: used with mock solemnity 'I laid down this law,' as in S. 2. 2. 51; 3. 227, with a reference to

the praetor's edict. *edixit* has good MS. authority but neither *Cratinus*, *Ennius*, or *Liber* fits in as a nom. and it is clear that Horace is ridiculing *his own* slavish imitators, cf. line 18. 11. **nocturno . . . diurno**: this line curiously resembles in rhythm A. P. 269 *nocturna versate manu, versate diurna.* For **certare** cf. Od. 4. 1. 31. **putere**: a stronger word than *olere* line 5. The epithet *diurno* is not quite strictly applied to the wine itself: the meaning is 'they stink all day of the wine which they vie with each other in drinking at night.'

12. **pede nudo**: Plutarch says of Cato of Utica (c. 6) πολλάκις ἀνυπόδητος καὶ ἀχίτων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον προῄει μετ' ἄριστον, and in c. 1 speaks of the firm and immovable expression of his face. Some think that Horace refers to the *elder* Cato, but it is more in harmony with the context to understand a contemporary as the object of imitation, than one who had died more than a century before. Cf. Mommsen, Hist. 4. 156: 'A strange caricature of his ancestor . . . he even formed a school, and there were individuals—it is true they were but a few—who in their turn copied and caricatured afresh the living pattern of a philosopher.' Cic. ad Att. 2. 1. 10 speaks of Servilius as *Catonis aemulator*, and often mentions Favonius, who we learn from Dio 38. 7 was called the 'ape of Cato.' Cf. the proverb *cucullus non facit monachum.* 13. **textore**: a kind of instrumental ablative. 15. **rupit**, 'ruined': many editors suppose that Iarbitas strained himself till he burst, in the attempt to rival Timagenes in loudness of voice and fluency of speech; but this is quite inconsistent with *urbanus.* It seems rather that he brought himself into trouble by imitating the bitter wit of Timagenes. Krüger well compares Val. Flacc. 5. 341 *lumina rumpere fletu* with Ov. A. A. 1. 129 *lacrimis corrumpere ocellos.* Conington's rendering 'The wretched Moor, who matched himself in wit | With keen Timagenes, in sunder split' is based upon the story given by Acron: *cum Timagenem philosophum post convivium et inter pocula declamantem vellet imitari et non posset, invidia quodammodo discerptus est*, though he seems rightly to reject the notion that *rupit* means simply *rupit invidia.* Any notion of envious rivalry seems out of keeping with the next line. **Iarbitam**: the Scholiasts say that he was a Mauretanian, named Cordus—possibly the Codrus of Virg. Ecl. 7. 26 *invidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro*—who was nicknamed Iarbitas from Iarbas, the king of the Gaetulians who appears in the Aeneid (4. 196). Timagenes was a rhetorician of Alexandria, brought as a prisoner to Rome by A. Gabinius in 55 B.C., and at first employed as a cook and a litter-bearer, but afterwards ransomed by Faustus Sulla. He opened a school of rhetoric, and met with much success, acquiring the favour of Augustus. But afterwards he offended the emperor by some bitter jests upon his wife and family, and was compelled to retire to the estate of Asinius Pollio at Tusculum. Cf. Quintil. 10. 75.

17. **vitiis** with **imitabile**, not with *decipit*, which can well stand alone. Cf. Juv. 14. 40 *quoniam dociles imitandis turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus.* 18. **pallerem** can only mean 'if I were pale' which I am not. Horace describes himself as sun-burnt in 1. 20. 24. **exsangue cuminum**: cf. Plin. H. N. 20. 14. 57 *omne (cuminum) pallorem bibentibus gignit. ita certe ferunt Porcii Latronis clari inter magistros dicendi assectatores similitudinem coloris studiis contracti imitatos.* **exsangue** here = 'causing paleness.' 19. **servum**: *hoc novum et fortius quam servile*—Ritter. Ovid has *serva manus* (Fast. 6. 558) and *serva aqua* (Am. 1. 6. 26). 20. **bilem**, 'wrath'; S. 1. 9. 66; 2. 3. 141. **tumultus**, 'the coil you make'—Con.

21-34. *I am no slavish imitator myself. Like my Greek predecessors, I*

have maintained my own originality, in spite of my debt to them. **21. per vacuum,** 'on ground unclaimed by others,' a legal term. Gaius 2. 51. **22. pressi**: Lucr. 3. 3 *inque tuis nunc | fixa pedum pono pressis vestigia signis.* **23. reget examen**: *imitatus regem apium se sequentium ducem*—Porph. **Parios**: Archilochus was born at Paros, but lived a roving life. Though not strictly speaking the inventor of the iambic metre (Mahaffy, Greek Literature 1. 157) he was the first to use it largely in literature. But he also employed the elegiac verse, introduced shortly before his time by Callinus. **primus**: Catullus had previously employed iambic trimeters (to say nothing of the dramatic poets); but Horace in his Epodes had been the first to imitate the more complex *'Επῳδοί.* **24. animos,** 'spirit.' **25. agentia,** 'which pursued': *agitare* is more usual in this sense. When Lycambes of Paros refused to give his youngest daughter Neobule to Archilochus, as he had promised to do, the latter assailed him with such bitter verses that he hanged himself.

26. brevioribus, 'humbler,' 'scantier,' rather than 'less enduring' (for which cf. Od. 1. 36. 16). Horace is arguing in defence of his own originality. It is true, he says, that I imitated the *metres* of Archilochus: but so did Sappho and Alcaeus, and no one accuses them of plagiarism, for their themes and style are altogether different: and so are mine. **27. artem,** 'technique.' **28. temperat . . . Sappho,** 'masculine Sappho moulds her Muse by the measure of Archilochus': *temperare* is the regular word for giving artistic shape to a composition, especially of music: Od. 4. 3. 18; Prop. 2. 34 (=3. 26) 79 *tale facis carmen docta testudine quale | Cynthius inpositis temperat articulis.* **pede** is not 'foot' but 'measure,' denoting the whole line, as in Od. 4. 6. 35; A. P. 81. **29. ordine**: best understood with Bentley of the arrangement of the various lines used by Archilochus in a strophe: *e.g.* the *Archilochus minor* (– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ –) was coupled by Alcaeus with a dactylic hexameter (cf. Od. 4. 7), by Archilochus himself with an iambic trimeter (Frag. 104). **30. nec . . .** In reality Alcaeus seems to have attacked Pittacus with no less bitterness than Archilochus showed to Lycambes, though on political as much as on personal grounds. **atris**: cf. Epod. 6. 15 *atro dente*: so *niger* in S. 1. 4. 85. **31. famoso,** 'libellous,' cf. S. 2. 1. 68; Suet. Caes. 73 *famosa epigrammata;* Tac. Ann. 1. 72 *famosi libelli.* The earliest instance in which the word has a neutral meaning, if not a positively good one, is in A. P. 469 'much talked of.' Even in Tacitus it has hardly acquired the meaning of 'renowned': cf. Hist. 3. 38.

32. hunc: unquestionably Alcaeus. Archilochus was not included among the lyric poets, strictly speaking. Catullus and perhaps Calvus had already used the Sapphic metre; but no one as yet the metre of Alcaeus. Cp. Od. 3. 30. 13 *princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos | deduxisse modos.* **34. ingenuis,** 'gentle,' contrasted with the *ventosa plebs* of line 37. The audience for whom Horace wrote was one of 'gentlemen,' such as those named S. 1. 10. 81-90. Conington happily renders 'Well may the bard feel proud, whose pen supplies | Unhackneyed strains to gentle hands and eyes.'

35-41. *I am disparaged in public though liked in private, because I take no unworthy steps to secure applause.* **35. opuscula**: cf. 1. 4. 3 n. **36. premat,** 'disparages,' A. P. 262; Virg. Aen. 11. 401 *extollere vires | gentis bis victae, contra premere arma Latini;* Quintil. 12. 10. 14 *praecipue presserunt eum* (*M. Tullium*), *qui videri Atticorum imitatores cupiebant,* and so often in Tacitus. **37. ventosae**: 1. 8. 12 n. **plebis**: all who could be gathered to listen to a recitation. For recitations at Rome see Mayor on Juv. 3. 9.

38. tritae: cf. Pers. 1. 54 *scis comitem horridulum trita donare lacerna;* Mart. 12. 72. 4 *tritae praemia certa togae.* **39. nobilium**: is this ironical or not? If it is, we must take it thus: 'I never listen to these illustrious writers, and retaliate upon them by reciting my own poems, and therefore I have no need to stoop to court the critics.' But it seems better, as there is no indication of irony in the context, and nothing pointing to poetasters rather than to critics as in his thoughts, to take it as seriously meant, and as referring to Pollio, Virgil, Varius and others of the circle round Maecenas: **ultor** is then an expression of kindly humour, and not of bitterness, as in Juv. 1. 1, 'I who listen only to writers of name and fame, and retaliate upon them, do not deign to court' etc. Horace did recite his poems to his friends, cf. S. 1. 4. 73. **40. grammaticas** = *grammaticorum*, 'critics,' 'professors of literature,' cf. A. P. 78. **tribus**: the metaphor is that of a candidate courting the suffrages of the Roman tribes at an election. The word has also a touch of contempt in it, like our own 'tribe' and *φῦλον*. The *pulpitum* was properly the platform of the stage (2. 1. 174; A. P. 215, 274), but here it is the dais on which the teacher's chair (*cathedra* S. 1. 10. 91) is placed.

41. hinc illae lacrimae: in the Andria of Terence old Simo tells how his son Pamphilus shed tears at the funeral of a neighbour named Chrysis. At first the father took it to be a sign of his son's affectionate character, that he was so much touched by the death of a mere acquaintance. But it turned out that Chrysis had left a charming sister: and when the old man saw her (line 125) he cried out *atat, hoc illud est, hinc illae lacrimae, haec illast misericordia.* The phrase became proverbial, and was used as here even when there was no question of actual tears. Cf. Cic. pro Cael. 25. 61.

41-49. *My critics ridicule my modesty as affected, but I will not cross swords with them, and so I decline a combat, which could only lead to ill feeling.* **41. spissis**, 'thronged': cf. A. P. 205 *spissa sedilia.* **theatris**: not public theatres, but private halls lent by rich patrons to poets for recitations, cf. Mayor on Juv. 7. 40. **42. nugis**: a modest word for his own productions, cf. S. 1. 9. 2 n. **43. rides**, 'you are laughing at us.' **ait**, 'says one'; Pers. 1. 40 *rides, ait;* Juv. 9. 63. *inquit* is more common (cf. S. 1. 4. 79; 3. 126; 2. 2. 99), where the speaker's words are directly quoted, but Virg. often has *ait.* **Iovis** = *Augusti.* Horace never directly applies this name to the Emperor, as Ovid does without scruple: and in the mouth of his critics it perhaps carries something of a sneer. **44. manare** with a quasi-transitive force, like *ῥεῖν*. **45. tibi**, 'in your own eyes.' **naribus uti**, 'to sneer at them openly,' cf. S. 1. 6. 5 n. **46. acuto . . . ungui**: cf. Od. 1. 6. 18. Horace implies that the malice of his opponents is such that they will stoop to scratching or any kind of attack. **47. iste locus**, 'the place you have chosen.' **diludia** *dicuntur tempora, quae gladiatoribus conceduntur, ut intra dies quinque pugnent'*—Acron. **48. ludus** plays upon *diludia*: 'I call for a respite of the struggle, for a struggle though only in sport' etc. **genuit**: gnomic aorist, cf. 1. 2. 48 n. **trepidum**, 'excited.'

EPISTLE XX

An epilogue to the First Book. The book is humorously addressed as though it were a young slave, eager to escape from the safe retirement of his master's house, to see the great city, and to find lovers there, while he is ignorant of the dangers that await him, and the risk of desertion and neglect, when return

will be impossible. The special interest for us lies in the lines which give so graphic a sketch of Horace's personal appearance and character.—Ovid in Trist. 1. 1 addresses his own book in very similar language; cf. Mart. 1. 3.

1-8. *You will not stay modestly at home, my book? Then be off; but you will be sorry for it.* **1. Vertumnum**: the god of the *annus vertens* (cf. Colum. 10. 308; Prop. 4. 2. 11), and also possessed of the power to change himself into any form that he pleased, and so the god of exchange and traffic (*praeses rerum vertendarum* Porph.) His temple was in the *Vicus Tuscus*, one of the busiest streets in Rome, full of all kinds of shops, and also of houses of ill repute. **Ianum**: Richter takes this of an arch at the end of the *Vicus Tuscus* where it entered the Forum (Top. v. Rom. 802). **spectare**, 'to have your eyes upon,' with wistful longing. **2. scilicet**, 'of course' ironically, giving the reason in the book's mind. **prostes**, 'be offered for sale,' not without a *double entendre.* **Sosiorum**: freedmen of the family of the Sosii; mentioned as booksellers also A. P. 345. **pumice**, 'after the *volumen* was completed and rolled up, both ends of the closed roll were smoothed and polished with pumice' Munro, Criticisms of Catullus, 54; cf. Cat. 1. 1 *quoi dono lepidum novum libellum | arido modo pumice expolitum?* Ov. Trist. 1. 1. 11 *nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes;* Mart. 8. 72. 1 *nondum murice cultus aridoque | morsu pumicis aridi politus.* **3. claves**: books not offered for sale were kept in locked and sometimes sealed cases (*scrinia*) or chests (*armarii*), usually of cedar to keep off moths; cf. Mart. 1. 66. 5-7 *secreta quaere carmina et rudes curas | quas novit unus scrinioque signatas | custodit ipse virginis pater chartae*, where an unpublished poem is compared to a young girl, as here to a boy. Menander speaks of keeping a wife not only barred, but even sealed up: ὅστις δὲ μοχλοῖς καὶ διὰ σφραγισμάτων | σῴζει δάμαρτα, δρᾶν τι δὴ δοκῶν σοφόν, | μάταιός ἐστι καὶ φρονῶν οὐδὲν φρονεῖ. **4. paucis**: S. 1. 4. 73. **ostendi gemis**: for the construction cf. 1. 15. 7. **communia**, 'what is open to all': *communis locus* was a euphemism for a house of ill-fame.

5. fuge, 'be off to where . . . (but remember) there will be no return for you.' For *fugere* can mean simply 'to hurry off' or 'away'; cf. Seneca, Epist. 108. 25 *numquam Vergilius dies dicit* ire, *sed* fugere, *quod currendi genus concitatissimum est.* Others explain 'shun the place you long to go to, for remember there is no return.' But, as this is a valedictory address, and as Horace in lines 19 seq. gives his book a commission to discharge, it seems quite necessary that he should express somewhere his assent, however reluctantly, to its departure. **descendere**: regular word for going down into the Forum. **6. emisso**: cf. 1. 18. 71. **7. quid volui?** cf. Virg. Ecl. 2. 58 *heu heu! quid volui misero mihi?* **ubi quid**: MS. authority is wholly in favour of *quid*, though most editors read *quis*, referring to *amator.* **laeserit** still keeps up the double reference; cf. Ov. Her. 5. 103 *nulla reparabilis arte | laesa pudicitia est.* **8. in breve te cogi**: applied to the book = 'that you are rolled up and replaced in your case'; in reference to the young slave = 'that you are brought into sad straits.' Cf. Ter. Haut. 4. 2. 2. *hac re in angustum oppido nunc meae coguntur copiae.* **plenus**, 'sated.'

9-18. *You may be liked well enough when you are young, but the time will come when you will be neglected, or sent out of the country; and a dismal old age awaits you.* **9. quodsi . . . augur**, 'if the prophet (*i.e.* Horace) does not lose his foresight in his vexation with the offender.' **10. deserat**, the reading of the archetype, expresses the anticipation in the mind of Horace

that it will be so; cf. A. P. 155 *sessuri, donec cantor . . . dicat.* **deseret** would stand, but has very little support in MSS. **aetas**, 'youth,' rarely so used, unless the context clearly points to this meaning: in most, if not all the passages quoted as parallel, *e.g.* Ter. Andr. 1. 1. 54, 'time of life' is a better translation: but Cic. de Off. 2. 13. 45 *tua aetas incidit in id bellum* is a clear instance of this force. So ὥρα in Greek and *aetatula* in Plautus. 11. **sordescere**, 'to lose your bloom.' 12. **tineas**: cf. S. 2. 3. 118; Ov. Pont. 1. 1. 72 *conditus ut tineae carpitur ore liber.* **inertes**, 'barbarous' in the earlier sense of the word: cf. Cic. de Fin. 2. 34. 115 (*artes*) *quibus qui carebant inertes a maioribus nominantur.* For the sense cf. Juv. 3. 207 *divina opici rodebant carmina mures.* Others render 'sluggish.' 13. **fugies** of your own accord to find kindlier treatment in the provinces, where what was out of date at Rome, might be regarded as a welcome novelty. **vinctus**, 'tied up' as a parcel of goods: there is also a reference to the fate which might befall a slave who had fallen into habits of vice, cf. Livy 25. 2. Africa and Spain were at a later time famous seats of Latin learning. In A. P. 345 Horace mentions as a sign of a good book that it was sent into the provinces: cf. Mart. 12. 3. So now-a-days the book-markets of the colonies are supplied both with popular novelties, and with 'remainders.' **mitteris**, by the bookseller. 14. **monitor**: Horace. **ut ille . . .** The allusion is to some story of a donkey-driver, who could not get his ass away from the edge of a precipice and so, losing his temper, gave him a push which sent him over. 15. **rupes**, 'cliffs,' as in Caes. B. G. 2. 29 *oppidum egregie natura munitum cum ex omnibus in circuitu partibus altissimas rupes despectusque haberet.* 16. **servare**: cf. A. P. 467 *invitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti.* 18. **occupet**, 'should come upon you': Tibull. 1. 10. 39 *quem . . . occupat in parva pigra senecta casa.* The language is still that which might be used alike of a book and a boy: 'stammering age shall find you teaching boys their letters in distant (and therefore low) quarters of the town.' For the use of Horace as a school-book see Intr. xvi.

19-28. *When you can get an audience, tell them of my humble birth, and the favour I have found with the great, of my looks, my temper, and my age.* 19. **sol tepidus**: the word *tepidus* indicates a mean between 'hot' and 'cold.' In Horace the notion suggested is usually that of comfortable warmth (cf. Od. 2. 6. 17; S. 2. 3. 10), and the phrase *sol tepidus* clearly describes some time when it is neither too hot nor too cold but just comfortable to sit and listen. Orelli argued for the time towards evening when the sun has already lost something of its heat (cf. Mart. 4. 8. 7 *hora libellorum decima est, Eupheme, meorum;* 10. 19. 18 *haec hora est tua, cum furit Lyaeus*), supposing that Horace's *benevoli lectores*, after scattering to their houses for dinner, would gather again to listen to his book reciting the poems it contained. But Martial is intentionally disparaging his own epigrams, when he represents them as only fit for the after-dinner amusement of revellers, and there is no reason to suppose that evening was the time usually chosen for public recitations. Krüger therefore explains of the loiterers round the shop of the Sosii, who would be more numerous in the evening than at any other time (cf. Horace's description of his own practice S. 1. 6. 113), but this explanation takes no note of *aures* = 'listeners' not 'readers.' Others suppose that Horace is still regarding his book as a schoolmaster; and that *sol tepidus* refers to the cooler days after the summer holidays (cf. S. 1. 6. 75 n.), when the schools would be full again. In that case he would be giving a gloomy prophecy that few but schoolboys would read his poems. This is barely in keeping with the tone of the following part of

the letter, which is much better fitted to be addressed to the general public than to boys using the poems as a first reading-book. **20. libertino patre**: S. 1. 6. 45. **in tenui re**: his father was *macro pauper agello*, S. 1. 6. 71. **21. nido** with **maiores**, 'too great for my nest to hold': cf. S. 2. 3. 310 *corpore maiorem;* Od. 2. 11. 11.

23. belli . . . domique: the rhythm of the line seems to connect these words with *placuisse* rather than with *primis*, but sense demands that they should go with the latter. Horace could not have ventured to assert that his military exploits won him favour with the *primi urbis*. Besides Augustus, Pollio, Munatius Plancus, Messala and others were distinguished in war as well as in peace. **24. corporis exigui**: sc. *esse*, 'short' not slight: see Intr. x. **praecanum**, 'grey before my time': so the scholiasts explain the word. Usually *prae* compounded with an adj. is simply intensive, *e.g. praealtus*, *praecalidus*, *praecelsus*, *praeceler* etc.; and it is as a rule only when compounded with verbs that it has the meaning of 'before-hand'; hence some maintain that the meaning must be 'very grey.' But the formation of *praematurus* differs in no way from that of *praecanus*, and that of *praecox*, *praesagus*, *praenuntius* very slightly. So we may rest content with the traditional explanation. **solibus aptum**, 'fond of sunning myself'; cf. S. 2. 5. 45 *aptus amicis;* S. 1. 3. 29 *aptus acutis naribus;* Juv. 7. 58 *cupidus silvarum aptusque bibendis | fontibus Aonidum.* For the practice of sunning one's self (*apricatio*) cf. Plin. Ep. 3. 5. 10 (of the elder Pliny) *aestate, si quid otii, iacebat in sole . . . post solem plerumque frigida lavabatur;* ib. 6. 16. 5 *usus ille sole, mox frigida;* 3. 1. 8 (of Spurinna) *in sole, si caret vento, ambulat nudus.* The usual place for this was the *helio-caminus*, 'sun-oven,' built on purpose: cf. Mayor on Juv. 11. 203, and Pers. 5. 179 *aprici senes.* Many needless emendations have been made for *aptum*, e.g. *ustum*, *assum*, *atrum*.

27. Decembres: Suetonius gives the date of Horace's birth as *sexto idus Decembris.* The year of his birth is fixed by Od. 3. 21. 1 *o nata mecum consule Manlio*, and by Epod. 13. 6 *tu vina Torquato move consule pressa meo* to the consulship of L. Manlius Torquatus and L. Aurelius Cotta in 65 B.C. **28. dixit** has no authority worth considering. *duxit* was unquestionably the reading of the archetype. On the other hand *collegam dicere* is the regular technical term for the 'nomination' of a consul after his election by a colleague who for any reason had been previously elected (cf. Mommsen, Röm. Staatsr. 1^2. 209). The question then arises whether it is more probable that Horace should have employed a phrase nowhere else found, and extremely hard to explain by the usage of the language, or that an error of one slight stroke should have crept into the archetype. When we consider passages like 1. 5. 28; 7. 96; Epod. 1. 15; 4. 8; S. 1. 6. 102; 10. 86, to take only cases where the archetype was unquestionably corrupt, we can hardly hesitate which way we should decide. Porph. explains *duxit* by *sortitus est* '*quia sortem duci dicimus*': but there was no question of the lot in the election of consuls. Orelli says *veluti* praecedens *Lollius post se quasi comitem aliquanto tardiorem* duxit *Lepidum.* Lollius (see Od. 4. 9 Intr.) was consul in 21 B.C., and the other consulship, at first intended for Augustus himself, was ultimately filled up by the appointment of Aemilius Lepidus.

BOOK II

EPISTLE I

Suetonius (vit. Horat.) tells us that Augustus entertained such a high opinion of Horace's work that he urged him to write the Fourth Book of the Odes (see Intr. to Book IV) and also *post sermones quosdam lectos* complained that there was no mention made of himself, saying to the poet '*irasci me tibi scito, quod non in pleisque eiusmodi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris. an vereris, ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quod videaris familiaris nobis esse?*' In this way *expressit eclogam ad se cuius initium est: cum tot sustineas*, etc. The date of the Epistle may therefore be fairly assigned to 13 B.C., when Augustus returned to Rome after an absence of three years in Gaul. The phrase *sermones quidam* can hardly apply to the Satires, which had been published many years previously, but may refer to the first Book of the Epistles, or to the second and third Epistles of this Book, which were probably written before the first.

This Epistle has always been a favourite one. It contains much shrewd criticism, with some of those happy autobiographical touches which Horace knew so well how to throw in. Mommsen calls these three Epistles 'the most graceful and delightful works in all Roman literature.'

1-4. *With all the claims upon your time, Caesar, I should be unpatriotic, if I were to address you at length.* 1. **solus**: Augustus did not lose the support of Agrippa until 12 B.C., but since 17 B.C. he had been in the East, returning to Rome this year, about the same time as Augustus returned from Gaul. But Horace is speaking of the responsibility of empire; and with a natural license. 2. **moribus**: the position which Augustus assumed as a 'saviour of society' and reformer of morals is often dwelt upon by the poets of his time. For *leges* see Od. 3. 6 Intr. 4. **morer tua tempora**, 'waste your time'; cf. 1. 13. 17 *oculos auresque morari*, 'to make eyes and ears dwell upon a thing.' The time which Augustus had at his command for important business, is represented as in danger of being taken up with Horace's poetry. The plural *tempora* in prose always seems to carry with it something of the force of καιροί 'opportunities' for doing anything, not merely the lapse of time: thus often = 'crisis,' 'emergencies.'

5-17. *The most illustrious heroes have not found recognition, while on earth, because of envy. You alone receive due honours while still with us.* 5. **Romulus . . .**: cf. Od. 3. 3. 9 seq. 6. **deorum in templa**: cf. Ennius in Varro de L. L. 7. 6 *unus erit quem tu tolles in caerula caeli | templa.* The phrase may merely = 'heaven,' *templum* being used in its augural sense of a 'quarter' of the sky, or we may explain 'admitted to share the worship of the gods' in earthly temples. 7. **colunt**, connected by a sort of zeugma with **terras** and **genus**. With the former it would more naturally mean 'dwell on,' but from its connexion with the latter it acquires a kind of reflected force of 'caring for.' Cf. Virg. Ecl. 3. 60 *ab Iove principium . . . ille colit terras.* 8. **agros adsignant**, *i.e.* institute property in land; S. 1. 3. 105. The technical force of the word comes out in the official designation of the *tresviri agris dandis adsignandis.* 11. **fatali**, 'assigned by the fates': cf. Od. 3. 3. 19 *fatalis incestusque iudex.* The twelve labours enjoined upon

Hercules by Eurystheus were made obligatory by the cunning of Juno, who had induced Jupiter to swear that the descendant of Perseus born first on that day should rule the other. **12. supremo**, 'only by his last end,' 'by death at last,' but by nothing before.

13. urit: two metaphors are combined: genius outshines and dims everything, while it also presses on and galls spirits of lower degree. For *urit* in this latter sense, cf. 1. 13. 6 *gravis uret sarcina*. See Kiessling. **artes** = ἐπιτηδεύματα, 'qualities': cf. Od. 3. 3. 9. **15. praesenti**, 'while still with us,' as contrasted with the demi-gods who received honours only after their deaths. Augustus is the one exception to the rule *virtutem incolumem odimus* Od. 3. 24. 31. **16. iurandas aras**: *iurare* takes an accusative of that by which one swears (Virg. Aen. 12. 197 *terram, mare, sidera iuro*): hence it can be used in the passive. **numen**: so *vet. Bland.*, though most MSS. have *nomen*, but these words are constantly confused, and the regular phrase is not *iurare per numen* but *iurare in nomen*, see Dict. Mommsen holds that this phrase cannot refer either to the altar to *Fortuna redux* dedicated when Augustus returned to Rome in 19 B.C., or to that of *Pax Augusta* of July, 13 B.C., because neither of these deities could have found a place in oaths. It must refer, he holds, to the invocation of the *genius Augusti* between *Iuppiter optimus maximus* and the *Di Penates*, which was part of the remodelling of the worship of the *Lares Compitales*. This appears to have been due to a decree of the senate, passed during the Emperor's absence, although not fully carried out until a later date. Cf. Od. 4. 5. 34 *Laribus tuum | miscet numen;* Corp. I. Lat. 2. 172 *si sciens fallo fefellerove, tum me liberosque meos Iupiter optimus maximus ac divus Augustus ceterique omnes di immortales expertem patria incolumitate fortunisque omnibus faciant* (found at Aritium vetus in Lusitania).

18-27. *But in other respects the Romans now scorn contemporary merit, and are blindly partial to what is ancient.* **18. tuus hic**, 'this people of thine,' *i.e.* the Roman people, so devoted to thee. **21. suis temporibus**, 'the measure of life assigned to them.' The epithet which would more properly belong to the authors is transferred to their works. **23. veterum**, neuter, not masculine, as is shown by **cetera, semota**, and **defuncta**; cf. Tac. Ann. 2. 88 *vetera extollimus recentium incuriosi.* **tabulas**, the laws of the XII Tables, carried by the *decemvirs*. **25. Gabiis**: supply *cum* from the following clause; cf. line 31 n. Dionysius Halic. (4. 58) says that he saw in the temple of Ζεὺς πίστιος on the Quirinal a treaty made by Tarquinius Superbus with Gabii, written on the hide of the ox slain at the ratification of the treaty. **aequata**, 'made on equal terms,' an unexampled force of the word. **26. pontificum libros**: properly the books containing the laws of ritual and worship (Cic. de Orat. 1. 43. 193; Macrob. S. 1. 12. 21), but probably including also the *annales pontificum* or *annales maximi*. Cf. Cic. de Orat. 2. 12. 52 where Cicero speaks of the entire absence of ornament in their style. **volumina vatum**: the oracles of the Sibyl were written in Greek; but there were current at Rome certain *carmina Marciana* in Saturnian verse, ascribed to a prophetic Marcius (Livy 25. 12; Pliny H. N. 7. 33), which foretold the defeat of Cannae, and enjoined games in honour of Apollo. Their date is unknown. **27. dictitet** . . . *i.e.* he asserts that these dull old documents are the perfection of style. There seems to have been a grove dedicated to the *Camenae* (and especially to Egeria) at Aricia at the foot of the Alban mount.

28-33. *It is absurd to argue that because the oldest Greek writers are the best, it is so also at Rome.* **28. Graiorum**: so Bentley with *vet. Bland.* and some few MSS.; most have *Graecorum.* **antiquissima quaeque** points to the oldest writings as a class as better than later works, whereas *antiquissimum quodque* would have indicated that their merit was in each case in proportion to the antiquity. **29. pensantur**: very rarely used in this primary sense of 'weigh,' and not in its derived meaning of 'repay' by any writer earlier than Horace. **30. trutina** = τρυτάνη (the first syllable of which is long); so *machina*=μηχανή, *bucina*=βυκάνη. Cf. Roby 239. **31. olea**: Bentley's correction for *oleam* of almost all MSS. It seems impossible to suppose that *intra* is a preposition, while *extra* is so evidently an adverb. It is necessary then to supply *in* to govern *olea* from the following *in nuce*, precisely as *cum* above in *vel Gabiis vel cum Sabinis*; cf. Od. 3. 25. 2 *quae nemora aut quos agor in specus*, where *in* has to be anticipated; Virg. Aen. 6. 692 *quas ego te terras et quanta per aequora vectum | accipio.* The sense is: if we are to be led astray by comparing things which though alike in some respects differ in others, like Greek and Roman literature, then we may as well argue that an olive has no stone because a nut has none, or a nut no shell because an olive has not. We may go on to say that there is nothing lacking to our perfect success, even in painting, in music, or in athletics. **32. fortunae**: Schütz (who suggests *culturae*) objects to this word; and says that it was a very poor compliment to Augustus for Horace to regard it as absurd to suppose that the Romans had reached the height of fortune under him. The words which follow, however, make perfectly plain in what sense Horace uses the phrase 'height of fortune.' 'We have indeed reached the height of fortune; we surpass the Greeks in painting, music, and gymnastics,' a conclusion which is obviously absurd and contains no reference whatever to the general condition of the Romans under Augustus. **pingimus**: the four main branches of a liberal education among the Greeks were γράμματα, γυμναστική, μουσική, and (as some added) γραφική. Literature is here omitted, perhaps because the superiority of contemporary Greeks was not so clear in this as in the other three. Painting, music, and athletics were alike despised by the Romans until the days of the Empire.

34-49. *It is quite impossible to draw any fixed line between the old and the new.* **34. vina**: Pindar praises old wine and new poems (Ol. 9. 48 αἴνει δὲ παλαιὸν μὲν οἶνον, ἄνθεα δ' ὕμνων νεωτέρων). **35. quotus**: the answer would have been expressed by an ordinal. **arroget**, 'secures' or 'grants (as an addition),' cf. Od. 4. 14. 40 n. **36. decidit**, 'has dropped off' like falling leaves: cf. Plaut. Trin. 2. 4. 143 *solstitiali morbo decidunt.* **38. finis**, 'limit.' **42. respuat**: the reading of the best MSS., and also the only tense which will suit both *praesens* and *postera.* Earlier editions had either *respuit* or *respuet.* In the preceding line Bentley proposed to replace *poetas* by *probosque*, a suggestion which certainly improves the 'concinnity' of the passage, but is not needful. For the rhyming of the two lines *poetas* . . . *aetas*, which was one of his objections to the reading of the MSS., cf. A. P. 99-100, 176-7; Virg. Aen. 1. 319-20, 625-6; 3. 656-7: Gossrau quotes eleven more instances from the Aeneid. Most of these seem to be purely accidental, like those in Horace: but in the more archaic poets there are traces of an intentional use of rhyme (cf. Ennius in Cic. Tusc. 1. 35. 85), and in a later age Eustathius expresses his admiration of Hom. Il. 22. 383-4.

43. honeste, 'with honour,' *i.e.* he will not disgrace those among whom

he is ranked. **45. caudae pilos**: it is *possible* that there is a reference here to the story told by Plutarch (Sert. 16) of how Sertorius taught his troops the value of quiet perseverance instead of violence by setting a strong man to pull fiercely at the tail of a feeble horse, and a weak man to pull out the hairs one by one from the tail of a powerful steed. But as Horace is not teaching a moral lesson here, but simply illustrating a logical process, there seems very little reason to suppose that this story was in his mind at all. The hairs in a tail may very well have been a current example in the schools, like the grains in a heap. The fallacy of the φαλακρός (the number of hairs which make a man 'bald') invented by the eristic Eubulides is a somewhat similar instance. **46. etiam** is supported by the majority of good MSS., and confirmed by the imitation in Pers. 6. 58 *adde etiam unum, unum etiam*: it means 'still,' as in its common use with comparatives. Some good MSS. read *et item*; cf. Ter. Andr. 1. 1. 49 *sed postquam amans accessit, pretium pollicens, unus et item alter.* **47. cadat elusus**, 'foiled and overthrown,' a metaphor from a gladiator. **ruentis acervi**, 'the diminishing heap,' in Greek σωρός, whence σωρείτης, *acervalis argumentatio*, cf. Cic. de Div. 2. 4. 11. The nature of it is explained by Cic. Acad. 2. 16. 49 *captiosissimo genere interrogationis utuntur, quod genus minime in philosophia probari solet, cum aliquid minutatim et gradatim additur aut demitur. Soritas hoc vocant, quia acervum efficiunt uno addito grano.* **48. redit in fastos**, 'goes back upon the annals.' **49. Libitina**: an ancient Italian goddess, originally of gardens and of pleasure generally, called also Lubentina (from *lubet*, *lubido*, etc.) Afterwards she came to be regarded as the goddess of burial, by a transition strange to us, but not unexampled in Italy, where the Sabine Feronia is compared both with Flora and with Persephone, and in Greece where Aphrodite sometimes is represented as Persephone. Servius Tullius is said to have ordained that in every case of death a piece of money should be contributed to her chest; and biers and other necessaries for funerals were kept in her grove (*lucus Libitinae*) on the Esquiline, and let out on hire. Here too the undertakers (*Libitinarii*) had their quarters. Cf. Od. 3. 30. 6; S. 2. 6. 19; Mart. 10. 97; Liv. 40. 19. 3 *pestilentia . . . tanta erat, ut Libitina ad funera vix sufficeret.*

50-54. *There is a conventional style of laudation of our older poets now current, which secures them general approval.* **50. Ennius** is called *fortis* mainly because of the brave spirit in which he sung of the battles of Rome. At the same time he served with distinction among the Messapian allies of Rome in the second Punic War. Prof. Sellar in his admirable study of Ennius says: 'This actual service in a great war left its impress on the work done by Ennius. Fragments both of his tragedies and his Annals prove how thoroughly he understood and appreciated the best qualities of the soldierly character. This fellowship in hardship and danger fitted him to become the national poet of a race of soldiers' (Roman Poets, 67). But to compare him with Homer is to put him to a test which he cannot be expected to stand: ib. 102. **51. leviter curare**=*securus esse* Porph.: Ennius is now sure of his harvest of fame, about which he had previously been anxious, and so cares little for the promises of his Pythagorean dreams. Horace is here setting forth the high reputation which the older poets were enjoying in his own day, not criticising them from his own point of view, and censuring Ennius for carelessness, as some editors have wrongly supposed.—Bergk has shown that Horace probably takes Varro as his type of the *critici*, several of the judgments here passed closely agreeing with those of Varro in various works. **52. quo cadant**, 'what becomes of.' **somnia P.**: Ennius indulged in the 'Pythagorean

dream' that his soul had once occupied the body of Homer, cf. Od. 1. 27. 10 n.; Pers. 6. 10 *cor iubet hoc Enni, postquam destertuit esse | Maeonides Quintus pavone ex Pythagoreo.* Of course if he is as good a poet as Homer he need not trouble himself whether he had once been Homer or not. **53. non** = *nonne,* as in Od. 3. 20. 1 *non vides,* and often elsewhere. Bentley first gave the true meaning to this passage, by making it interrogative, 'Did I say that Ennius is now sure of his place? Why even Naevius, so much more archaic a writer, is still always in our hands, and familiar to us, as if he were almost one of our own time.' Naevius served in the first Punic War, and therefore could not have been born later than about 260 B.C.: he died about 200 B.C., while Ennius was born 239 B.C., and died 169 B.C. His poetry was decidedly more archaic than that of Ennius.

55-62. *Even when the early writers are set against each other, the question is only which has the more striking merits, not what are the faults of each; and the fashionable critics think they can be labelled by appropriate epithets in each case.* **55. aufert,** 'carries off' as his special distinction. **56. Pacuvius** (219-129 B.C.), the sister's son of Ennius. The extant fragments of his tragedies (about 400 lines) do not enable us to determine precisely why the epithet of *doctus* is given to him, but it is probably because of his wide acquaintance with Greek literature. **Accius** (170 B.C.-about 90 B.C.): oratorical fervour and passionate energy are conspicuous in his fragments (cf. Sellar, 146-7). Quintilian says (10. 1. 97) *virium Attio plus tribuitur, Pacuvium videri doctiorem, qui esse docti adfectant, volunt.* Both Pacuvius and Accius attained to a great age, but perhaps **senis** means only 'writer of the olden time,' see S. 2. 1. 34 n.

57. Afrani toga: *bene* toga: *togatas enim scripsit Afranius*—Porph. The *togatae* were comedies, depicting Roman or Italian characters and manners, as opposed to the *palliatae,* comedies like those of Plautus and Terence derived from Greek sources, and retaining Greek *dramatis personae.* L. Afranius was born about 150 B.C.: his plays were of a very immoral character, but in style they attained to something of the elegance of Terence. He freely borrowed from Menander, as well as from other writers (cf. Macrob. S. 6. 1. 4 *Afranius togatarum scriptor . . . non inverecunde respondens arguentibus quod plura sumpsisset a Menandro 'Fateor,' inquit 'sumpsi non ab illo modo sed ut quisque habuit conveniret quod mihi, quod me non posse melius facere credidi, etiam a Latino'*) and the critics pronounced that his style was worthy of his model. **58. ad exemplar Epicharmi**: it is difficult to determine the exact meaning of this line, because we have not the means of comparing Plautus with Epicharmus, of whose comedies we have few considerable fragments preserved. Orelli takes *properare* (= *ad eventum festinare* A. P. 148) of the rapid progress of the action of the plays. Mahaffy says that 'it seems only to apply to the easy flow of the dialogue' (Greek Lit. 1. 403); but Sellar is more nearly right in extending it to 'the extreme vivacity and rapidity of gesture, dialogue, declamation and recitative, by which his scenes were characterised' (Roman Poets, 194). It must always be remembered, though many critics seem to forget this, that Horace is not giving his own opinions, but those which were commonly current. Epicharmus was born in Cos about 540 B.C., but was brought as an infant to Megara in Sicily, and enjoyed much reputation at the court of Hiero in Syracuse about 490 B.C. **59. Caecilius** Statius, an Insubrian Gaul by birth, flourished at Rome at the same time as Ennius, dying one year after him in 168 B.C. He was placed at the head of all the Roman

219-168 B.C

comic poets by Volcatius Sedigitus (a critic quoted by A. Gellius 15. 24) *Caecilio palmam statuo dandam comico, Plautus secundus facile exsuperat ceteros,* etc., while Terence only comes sixth in his list. He is often quoted by Cicero, who however censures his bad style (Brut. 74. 258; ad Att. 7. 3. 10), and was distinguished especially for skill in the management of his plots. His *gravitas* seems to have been shown in his sententious maxims. The 'art' of Terence appears in the careful finish of his style. Cf. Caesar's lines quoted by Sueton. Vit. Terent., where he calls him *dimidiate Menander* and *puri sermonis amator.*

60. arto, 'thronged,' too narrow for the numbers: cf. *spissis . . . theatris* in 1. 19. 41. There however the *theatra* are the private recitation-halls: here they are the public theatres, of which there were three permanent ones in Rome at this time, one built by Cn. Pompeius in 55 B.C. near the Circus Flaminius, one built by Augustus in honour of Marcellus (not finished however until 11 B.C.), important remains of which are still standing near the Tarpeian Hill, and a third built by Cornelius Balbus between the other two. It had previously been the custom to perform plays in temporary wooden theatres, often of great magnificence. **61. potens:** so mighty, and yet so wanting in critical discernment. The strange lack of great dramatists or poets of any kind in the half century preceding Lucretius and Catullus seems due partly to the 'separation in taste and sympathy between the higher classes and the mass of the people' (Sellar 265), which made literature the amusement of a narrow circle, and partly to the disturbed political conditions of the time. The continued popularity of the old tragedians may be ascribed to the extent to which they represented some of the best features in the old Roman character (ib. 151). **62. Livi:** Livius Andronicus, who in 240 B.C. first brought upon the stage a Latin translation of a Greek tragedy.

63-75. *A sound critic must admit that these early writers have many defects of archaism, harshness, and carelessness. A few happy phrases or lines must not lead us to regard a whole poem as perfect.* **63. est ubi**=ἔστιν ὅτε, 'at times': hence **peccat**, not *peccet*, which has very slight authority, is the right mood. Cf. 2. 2. 182; S. 1. 4. 24; Roby 1687. **66. pleraque,** 'much,' not 'the greater part.' **68. mecum facit,** 'supports my view'; cf. 2. 2. 23. **Iove aequo,** 'with the favour of Heaven,' *i.e.* in his sound senses. Cf. S. 2. 7. 14 *iniquis Vertumnis;* 2. 3. 8 *dis iratis. iniquus* meaning 'unfavourable,' its opposite *aequus* comes to mean not merely 'impartial' but 'favourable': Virg. Aen. 6. 129 *pauci quos aequus amavit | Iuppiter;* and so often. **70. plagosum:** the word does not appear to be used elsewhere in this active sense: it is found in Apuleius in the sense of 'much-beaten.' The primary force of *-osus* 'abounding in' (cf. *nodosus* 1. 1. 31; S. 2. 3. 69; *damnosus, animosus,* etc.) lends itself to either usage. **71. Orbilium:** one of the masters at Rome, to whose lessons Horace was taken by his father (S. 1. 6. 76-82). According to Suetonius he was a native of Beneventum who, after serving for a time in the army, taught for several years in his native town, and came to Rome when fifty years of age in the consulship of Cicero (63 B.C.), where he taught *maiore fama quam emolumento.* He died in poverty when nearly a hundred years of age. For his severity towards his pupils, see Intr. i. **dictare:** *i.e.* that the pupils might learn it by heart, cf. 1. 1. 55; 1. 18. 13. **72. exactis,** 'perfectly finished,' properly of works of art. Cf. Ov. Met. 1. 405 *forma hominis . . . sed uti de marmore coepto, non exacta satis.* **74. concinnior,** 'better-turned': the word is properly used of regular beauty; 1. 11. 2. **75. ducit,** 'brings after it,' 'carries with it'; the good verse

is quoted and the whole poem gets the reputation of being wonderful. The metaphor in *vendit* is from vendors of fruit, etc., who put good specimens at the top and so sell the rubbish underneath.

76-89. *It makes me indignant to hear the new blamed, because it is new, the old honoured, solely because it is old. Honest criticism of the earlier writers is forbidden owing to self-sufficience, false pride, and ill-will towards contemvoraries.* **76. quicquam**: used where we might have expected *aliquid*, because **indignor** =*ferre non possum*, and is thus virtually negative. **crasse**, 'coarsely'; cf. S. 2. 2. 3 *crassa Minerva.* The opposite is *tenui filo* in line 225. Cic. ad Fam. 9. 12. 2 calls his speech for Deiotarus *munusculum levidense crasso filo.* **77. putetur**: Roby 1744, S. G. 740. 2. The subj. does not depend here upon the *non quia*, as contrasted with the *sed quia*, but it is equally to be understood after the latter, as expressing the *alleged* reason for the censure.

79. crocum: flowers were strewn upon the stage, and saffron juice sprinkled upon it, for the sake of the fragrance; cf. Lucr. 2. 416 *et cum scena croco Cilici perfusa recens est;* Ov. A. A. 1. 104 *nec fuerant liquido pulvita rubra croco.* **Attae**: T. Quinctius Atta was a writer of *comoediae togatae*, who died according to Jerome on Euseb. Chron. in 78 B.C. His fragments abound in archaisms, but are vigorous in style. The cognomen is explained by Festus as proper to those *qui propter vitium crurum aut pedum plantis insistunt et attingunt magis terram quam ambulant*, not differing therefore much from *Plautus.* Some suppose that there is a reference to this in **perambulet**; but undoubtedly the primary meaning of this is explained aright by Acron: *in scenam recepta est, ubi flores sparguntur.* **81. patres**, 'elders,' as in line 109. **82. Aesopus**, especially distinguished for tragedy; **Roscius**, equally eminent in tragedy and comedy; hence **gravis**='impressive'; **doctus**, 'skilful.' Cic. often speaks of both these great actors; cf. de Orat. 1. 28. 129; 61. 258; pro Sest. 57. 121; 58. 123, etc. The former of them was living in 55 B.C., the latter died in 62 B.C. **85. inberbi** is probably the reading of *vet. Bland.* and most good editors have adopted it here, though Keller prefers *imberbes*, found in all his MSS. **perdenda**: the only instance in classical Latin of a *finite* passive form from *perdo* is in S. 2. 6. 59, but *perditus* of course is common: and *perdundus* occurs in Sall. Cat. 46. 2. **86. iam**=*iam vero*, 'in fact.' **Saliare carmen**: the chants (*axamenta*) of the Salii or priests of Mars, instituted according to Livy 1. 20 by Numa, had become almost unintelligible even to the priests themselves by the time of Quintilian (1. 6. 40 *Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta*): for the extant fragments cf. Wordsworth's Fragments and Specimens 564-566. **89. lividus**, 'in his envy'; S. 1. 4. 93.

90-102. *The Greeks, who furnish our models, never showed this jealousy of what was new: they gladly welcomed all fresh forms of art, turning readily from one to another.* **92. tereret**, 'thumb': **viritim**, 'each for himself.' **publicus usus**, i.q. *populus, dum utitur.* 'To be read and thumbed by the public, as they severally enjoy it.' **93. positis bellis**: clearly Horace is thinking mainly of Athens, and refers to the great outburst of Athenian art and literature which followed upon the close of the Persian wars; cf. Aristot. Pol. 5. 6. p. 1341. **nugari** is commonly used of amusements, which are not directed by any serious purpose: cf. 1. 18. 60; 2. 2. 141; S. 2. 1. 73; 1. 9. 2. **94. vitium** denotes an undue devotion to pleasure,

inconsistent with the rigours and warlike pursuits of earlier times. **labier,** 'drift.' Horace uses this archaic form of the infinitive also in 2. 2. 148, 151; Od. 4. 11. 8; S. 1. 2. 35, 78, 104; 2. 3. 24; 8. 67. Virgil has the form six times: it is common in Catullus and Lucretius, but occurs only occasionally in later poets. For the origin of the inflexion cf. Corssen 2^2. 478, 479. Roby 615. **96. marmoris aut eboris:** the chief sculptors in marble or ivory (and gold) flourished at Athens: but the leading school of workers in bronze was at Sicyon and Argos. The earliest bronze statues are referred to Samos, the earliest marble ones to Chios. **97. suspendit,** 'let eyes and thoughts dwell in rapt attention': cf. S. 2. 7. 95-97. **98. tibicinibus** may refer to dithyrambs (Müller, Greek Lit. 2. 77 seq.) in which the music took a prominent place, and cannot denote, as Lambinus supposed, comedies, for *tibicines* were employed as much for tragedies as for comedies. Probably, however, it is an instance of the species put for the genus, and so denotes music generally. **100. reliquit:** the subject is *Graecia*, not *puella*. **101. quid placet . . .** This line is evidently out of place after line 100, and breaks the connexion of the thought: which is 'when wars were over, Greece took to various forms of art, turning readily from one to another. This was the result of peace and prosperity there. At Rome tastes in old days were different.' Hence Lachmann suggested that it should be placed after line 107: then *mutabile* is taken up very naturally by *mutavit* in line 108, as *vidit* by *videre* in Od. 4. 4. 16, 17; and we have a suitable introduction to the sketch of the changed tastes at Rome. **102. paces,** 'times of peace' as in 1. 3. 8; cf. Lucr. 5. 1230 *ventorum paces.*

103-117. *At Rome men were in old days taken up wholly with practical duties: but now everyone takes to writing, even I myself, who had renounced it; and though for all other pursuits some knowledge is required, no one thinks himself too ignorant to make verses.* **103. diu:** Horace paints more in detail the early customs of Rome, whereas he had been content to hint at the warlike activity of the Greeks in the phrase *positis bellis.* **sollemne,** 'time-honoured': cf. 1. 18. 49. **104. mane:** cf. S. 1. 1. 10 n. **promere** gives the reason for the **vigilare**: 'to be up betimes with open house, and to give legal advice to clients': **promere,** because legal rules and methods of procedure were long kept as the exclusive property of the patricians; cf. Cic. pro Mur. 11. 25. **105. cautos,** 'secured,' the technical term in law; cf. Dig. 50. 13. 1 *si cui cautum est honorarium videamus an petere possit.* **nomina** is used for 'debtors' also in S. 1. 2. 16, much as we might speak of a 'good name' on a bill: cf. Cic. ad Fam. 5. 6. 2 *ut bonum nomen existimer;* ad Att. 5. 21 *nam aut bono nomine centesimis contentus erat; aut non bono quaternas centesimas sperabat:* in Verr. 5. 7. 17 *clamare ille . . . pecuniam sibi esse in nominibus; numeratam* (cash) *in praesentia non habere.* Translate 'to lend out money secured by good names.' **106. maiores audire** goes with **per quae** etc. by a slight zeugma, as well as **minori dicere**; 'to learn from elders and to teach a junior the means by which' etc. **107. damnosa:** cf. 1. 18. 21 *damnosa Venus.* The reference is here only to the injury which self-indulgence may cause to one's fortune.

108. calet, 'is fired' or 'fevered': so Lucian (de conscr. hist. 1) describes the people of Abdera as seized with a fever (πυρετῷ) for tragedy; cf. Juv. 7. 52 *insanabile scribendi cacoethes.* **110. fronde comas vincti:** the diners assume the poet's bays. **dictant,** 'dictate,' the verses being composed *ex tempore,* and the poet desiring that every word should be taken down by the guests: cf. S. 1. 4. 10. **111. nullos versus:** cf. 1. 1. 10. The reference

is of course only to lyric verse. **112. Parthis mendacior**: cf. Od. 4. 15. 23 n. This passage must have been written after 17 B.C. when Horace returned for a while to lyric poetry. **prius orto sole**, not like the old Romans, to give advice to their clients, but to begin composing. This is not inconsistent with *ad quartam iaceo* of S. 1. 6. 122, for there he is not represented as sleeping, but as reading and writing in his *lectulus*. **113. scrinia** are cases of books, which he might wish to refer to; cf. S. 1. 1. 120.

114. habrotonum, 'southernwood' or 'Pontic wormwood.' (Munro on Lucr. 4. 125), is mentioned elsewhere as a useful medicine. Plin. 21. 92. 160 *usus et foliis* (*habrotoni*), *sed maior semini ad excalfaciendum, ideo nervis utile, tussi, orthopnoeae, convulsis, ruptis, lumbis, urinae angustiis.* **115. quod medicorum est**: Bentley found fault with the tautology involved in the mention of physicians, after *habrotonum . . . dare*, and suggested *melicorum melici*. But *melicus*='a musician' is very doubtful. **117. indocti doctique**, 'unskilled and skilled alike': *doctus* like σοφός is a common epithet of a poet; cf. Od. 1. 1. 29.

118-138. *Yet the love of poetry has its practical advantages: poets escape many vices; they help to train the young to virtue, and aid in the worship of the gods.* **119. sic collige**: S. 2. 1. 51 *sic collige mecum*. **avarus**: so Ovid, A. A. 3. 541 *nec nos ambitio nec amor nos tangit habendi*. Pope's imitation is 'And rarely Av'rice taints the tuneful mind.' **120. non temere**, 'not lightly'; 2. 2. 13; S. 2. 2. 116; A. P. 160, *i.e.* 'seldom.' **hoc studet**: this construction of *studeo* and similar verbs is only found with neuter pronouns or adjectives like *omnia*. Roby 1094. **122. socio**, 'partner,' Od. 3. 24. 60; cf. Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 40 *in rebus minoribus fallere socium turpissimum est*. Condemnation in an action *pro socio* involved *infamia* (Gaius 4. 182). **incogitat** is a ἅπ. λεγ. Horace is fond of new compounds of *in*: cf. Epod. 3. 18; 5. 31, 34; 11. 15, etc. **123. pupillo**: 1. 1. 22. **siliquis**, 'pulse,' 'husks'; cf. Juv. 11. 58; Pers. 3. 55 where it is used, as here, of the coarsest, simplest fare. **secundo**, not made of *siligo* ('fine wheat flour' Juv. 5. 70), but *secundarius panis*, 'brown bread,' such as Augustus preferred (Suet. Aug. 76). **124. militiae**: genitive denoting that in point of which the adjective is used; Roby 1320, S. G. 526. Cf. S. 1. 10. 21 *seri studiorum;* Tac. Hist. 1. 87 *urbanae militiae inpiger;* 2. 5 *acer militiae;* 3. 43 *strenuus militiae*. Others less correctly take it as the locative. **125. si das . . .**, *i.e.* if you allow that the state can be served by the more retiring virtues, which the poet teaches.

127. iam nunc: before the time comes when he will have to apply such lessons, *i.e.* 'in earliest youth'; cf. Propert. 4. (5.) 11. 93 *discite venturam iam nunc sentire senectam;* A. P. 43 *ut iam nunc dicat iam nunc* (=at once) *debentia dici*. **130. orientia tempora**, 'his rising years,' *i.e.* the time while he is growing and developing; cf. Vell. 2. 99. 1 *orientium iuvenum ingenia;* Virg. Aen. 7. 51 *primaque oriens erepta iuventa est.* **131. aegrum**, 'sick at heart,' as often in Cicero.

132. cum pueris puella: unquestionably a reference to the choirs of youths and maidens for whom Horace had written the Carmen Saeculare. In Od. 1. 21 we have a similar but briefer hymn. Livy 27. 37 describes how a chorus of twenty-seven maidens sang hymns composed for them by Livius Andronicus in honour of Juno Regina. **134. praesentia numina**, 'the favour of the gods': for *praesens* 'propitious' cf. 1. 1. 69; Cic. in Cat. 2. 9. 19. **135. caelestes aquas**, *i.e.* rain; cf. Od. 3. 10. 19. **docta**, 'taught' by the

poet: as in C. S. 75. **blandus**: cf. Od. 4. 1. 8 *blandae iuvenum preces;* 3. 23. 18 *non sumptuosa blandior hostia;* 1. 24. 13 *Threicio blandius Orpheo.* The notion is that of winning favour by entreaty. **138. Manes**, here 'the gods of the lower world,' not the shades of the departed: cf. Virg. Aen. 12. 646 *vos o mihi Manes | este boni, quoniam superis aversa voluntas;* G. 4. 505 *quo fletu Manes, qua numina voce moveret?* The word meaning originally 'the good ones' (Preller, Röm. Myth. 73, 455; Curt. Gr. Etym. 1. 408), it is applied primarily to the spirits of ancestors, worshipped as still powerful for good over the fortunes of their descendants, and then to all the deities of the lower world, among whom these came to be reckoned.

139-160. *Poetry had its rise with us in the rustic merry-makings of harvest, and the jests bandied to and fro, at first innocent, but afterwards growing scurrilous. Then this rough style of verse was checked by law; but it was only acquaintance with the literature of Greece which banished the earlier coarseness.* **139. fortes**, 'stout fellows': cf. S. 2. 2. 115 *fortem colonum;* Virg. G. 2. 472 *patiens operum exiguoque adsueta iuventus* of the inhabitants of the country. **140. condita post frumenta**: so Aristotle (Nic. Eth. 8. 9. 5) finds the source of the earliest festivals in harvest-homes, when men met together τιμὰς ἀπονέμοντες τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀναπαύσεις πορίζοντες μεθ' ἡδονῆς. **142. pueris et coniuge**, in apposition to **sociis operum**: the wife and children are the partners of his toils, slavery being regarded as unknown in those good old days. **143. Tellurem**: of the twelve gods of 'husbandmen' mentioned by Varro (R. R. 1. 1. 4) the first pair are Jupiter and Tellus. Roughly carved altars to Silvanus are not uncommon: several such have been found in England, one of which records the slaying of a great wild boar which had defied earlier hunters. **porco** should strictly be *porca*, but *porcus* is really epicene; cf. Cato, R. R. 134 *porco femina.* **lacte**: milk is offered to Priapus in Virg. Ecl. 7. 33. **piabant** = *pie colebant*, or more exactly *pium* (i.e. *propitium*) *faciebant.* **144. Genium**: cf. 1. 7. 94 n.; A. P. 209. **memorem**: the genius, remembering how brief is the life of the man, with whom his own is bound up, desires to be merry as long as he can.

145. Fescennina licentia: Livy (7. 2) in describing the origin of dramatic representations at Rome says *vernaculis artificibus, quia ister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum: qui non, sicut ante, Fescennino versu similem incompositum temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant, sed impletas modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motuque congruenti peragebant.* The original Fescennine verses therefore consisted of a rude and extempore exchange of repartees. Paul. Diac. (p. 85 Müll.) gives two derivations of the word: *Fescennini versus, qui canebantur in nuptiis, ex urbe Fescennina dicuntur allati, sive ideo dicti, quia fascinum putabantur arcere.* There was an Etruscan town Fescennia or Fescennium on the Tiber, near Falerii, and the unquestioned connexion of the Atellan plays with Atella in Campania seems to lend some support to this local origin of the term. But on the whole the second explanation is to be preferred, though not quite in the form given (from Festus) by Paulus. *fascinum* denotes primarily the evil eye, but as this was supposed to be averted by the use of an obscene symbol, *fascinum* came to be a synonym for the symbol itself; and as the effects of the evil eye were especially to be dreaded in marriage the chanting of obscene verses was considered an essential part of the nuptial ceremony, and it was almost solely in this connexion that the Fescennine verses survived

in the later days of the Republic. Cf. Catull. 61. 119 *ne diu taceat procax Fescennina iocatio;* Sen. Med. 113 *festa dicax fundat convicia Fescenninus;* and see Munro's Criticisms of Catullus 76-78. **147. accepta**, 'handed down,' from one year to another, as the time of harvest came round. Orelli gives 'welcome.' **148. amabiliter**, 'in friendly fashion.' **iam saevus**, 'now growing savage.' **149. coepit verti**: it is not necessary to defend this construction, by pointing to the middle force of *verti.* Although in classical prose *coeptus sum* is as a rule used with a passive infinitive, Tacitus regularly uses *coepi*: we find in Lucret. 2. 613 *coepisse creari;* Ov. Met. 3. 106 *coepere moveri*, and cf. 1. 15. 27; A. P. 21. Livy uses *coepi* with passives. **150. inpune minax**, 'assailing with impunity,' because no law as yet checked excess. **cruento**, 'that drew blood.'

152. super: this use of *super* for *de* is not found in good prose between Cato *super tali re*, and Livy, except in Cicero's letters (*e.g.* ad Att. 10. 8. 10 *sed hac super re nimis*), where he often adopts the more conversational style of the comedians. From Plautus five instances are quoted. **lex**: the first law enacted as to *mala carmina* was that passed by the decemvirs in the XII Tables: cf. Cic. de Rep. 4. 10. 12 *nostrae XII tabulae cum perpaucas res capite sanxissent, in his hanc quoque sanciendam putaverunt, si quis occentavisset sive carmen condidisset, quod infamiam faceret flagitiumve alteri.* There was in the time of Horace a further *lex Cornelia*, passed by Sulla in 81 B.C., *de iniuriis*, which included libellous publications. As the punishment was *capite*, it seems that *fustis* refers to the old punishment of the *fustuarium* or cudgelling to death. **153. lata**: the phrase *ferre legem* strictly means only to 'bring forward' a law, not to 'carry' it, which is *perferre*; but where there is no necessity sharply to distinguish between the proposal of a law and the passing of it, *ferre* is occasionally used, as here, =*perferre.* **154. describi**: cf. S. 1. 4. 3 *si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus ac fur, | quod moechus foret.* So often in Cicero for depicting the bad features in a character. **vertere modum**, 'changed their tone.' The supervision of the authorities over public literary efforts seems to have been severe and continuous (cf. Mommsen, Hist. 1. 474), and the result not simply what Horace here describes (ib. 2. 432 'the restrictions thus stringently and laboriously imposed by custom and police on Roman poetry stifled its very breath'). **155. bene**, opposed to *male*, of the moral tone, not the artistic quality of the writing.

156. Graecia capta: Greece cannot be said to have been subdued before the capture of Corinth in 146 B.C.; but Greek literature was familiar to the educated at Rome, and the Greek dramas brought upon the stage in the form of translations and adaptations more than half a century earlier by Naevius, Ennius, and Plautus. Horace, however, is looking rather at the general fact that Greece though conquered in arms proved victorious in letters than at the precise chronological sequence. **158. defluxit**, 'dropped away,' 'passed out of use.' **numerus Saturnius**: its general character is well described by Macaulay in the Introduction to his Lays of Ancient Rome. The metre appears to have been used very rarely after the time of Naevius. There are, however, some rude instances in sepulchral inscriptions, *e.g.* C. I. R. 1. 34. The typical instance is *dabúnt malúm Metélli | Naévió poétae:* but the numerous irregularities, which are admissible, fully justify Horace's epithet of *horridus.* Cf. Wordsworth's Specimens 396. **grave virus**, 'the noisome venom': *virus* is any offensive fluid; for its metaphorical use cf. Cic. Lael. 23. 87 *apud quem evomet virus acerbitatis suae.* **159.**

munditiae, 'elegance.' The verse and diction of Ennius, though rough in themselves, were polished as compared with the poetry of Livius and Naevius. **160. hodieque**, 'and even yet,' in the Fescennine verses and the Atellan plays.

161-176. *The Romans were late in taking to the drama: for tragedy they have sufficient elevation and passion, but lack painstaking finish. Their comedy, which they think easier, though failure here is more inexcusable, is ruined by haste in production, due to greed.* **161. serus** refers to *ferus victor*, i.e. the Romans, and 'late' must mean 'late in the history of the city.' **162. post Punica bella**: the Third Punic War is not here included, as of less importance than the other two. Aulus Gellius 17. 21. 45 quotes from Porcius Licinus (flor. 100 B.C.) *Poenico bello secundo Musa pinnato gradu | intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram.* This is somewhat more accurate than Horace, for 'even during the Second Punic War dramatic performances went on uninterruptedly, inasmuch as most of Naevius' works and one half of Plautus' literary exertions (though perhaps the less fertile half) fall into the time of this war' (Teuffel, Röm. Lit. 1. 104). But perhaps it is better to connect **quietus** closely with *post Punica bella*, 'enjoying peace after the close of the Punic wars.' **163. Thespis**, the traditional founder of the Attic tragedy: cf. A. P. 276. Horace here neglects the chronological order, as in S. 1. 4. 1 *Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque poetae. Eurīpĭdes* could not have been brought into a hexameter verse, at any rate in the nominative case.

164. temptavit rem, 'made the attempt': *rem* is not, as some editors suppose, the object of **vertere**, attracted out of its place; the construction is like that in Livy 1. 57. 2 *temptata res est, si capi Ardea posset;* 2. 35. 4 *temptata res est, si disicere rem possent.* **vertere**, 'translate,' without an object expressed. **165. placuit sibi**: Prof. Sellar admirably brings out in his Roman Poets of the Republic, 5. 151, the reasons for the satisfaction found by the Romans in the drama: 'The popularity and power of Roman tragedy, during the century preceding the downfall of the Republic, are to be attributed chiefly to its didactic and oratorical force, to the Roman bearing of the persons represented, to the ethical and occasionally the political cast of the sentiments expressed by them, and to the plain and vigorous style in which they are enunciated.' **166. spirat tragicum satis**, 'has sufficient tragic inspiration.' **feliciter audet** refers apparently to the boldness of the language, especially in Pacuvius and Accius. Cf. A. P. 56 seq. **167. lituram**: cf. S. 1. 10. 72; A. P. 292-4; Caecina in Cic. ad Fam. 6. 7. 1 *mendum scripturae litura tollitur;* and Pope's imitation: 'Even copious Dryden wanted or forgot | The last and greatest art, the art to blot.'

168. ex medio, 'from daily life.' **arcessit**: *vet. Bland.* has *accessit;* but it is clearly better to take **res** as acc. plur. rather than nom. sing.: the perfect tense is out of place; and if *res* is the subject of *arcessit*, it must also be taken as the subject of *creditur*, instead of *comoedia*; but the latter gives a much more satisfactory sense. **170. veniae**, 'indulgence': even uneducated spectators can see the absurdities of unnatural comedies. **171. quo pacto**, 'in what a fashion.' Is this blame or praise? Editors are divided in their judgment. Porph. has *quam indecenter, incongrue;* and so Conington: 'What ill-sustained affairs | Are his close fathers and his love-sick heirs!' Lambinus on the other hand argued that as Horace in A. P. 270 seq. blames his rough metre and coarse wit, there would be little left, if he did not allow him even the credit of vigorous character-painting: and Schütz points out that in criticising Roman tragedy Horace first recognises merit,

then adds blame, and that the blame in the case of Plautus comes in clearly in line 174. But Horace is here pointing out that comedy, though thought to be easy, is really difficult, and it is not unnatural that he should at once give proofs of his position. That his criticism is hardly warranted, and that Plautus really shows much power in his vivid sketches of character, is not reason enough for us to reject the view that Horace's words imply censure. **ephebi**: properly a youth between 18 and 20 years of age. 172. **attenti**: 1. 7. 91.

173. **Dossennus**: *Atellanarum scriptor* Comm. Cruq. This is probably only an unlucky guess, as the evidence for the existence of such a writer is very slight and untrustworthy, and it seems quite clear that Horace is speaking throughout of Plautus. More probably *Dossennus* was a standing character in the Atellan plays, and Ritschl and Müller explain 'how great a buffoon he (Plautus) is in (depicting) greedy parasites.' The former, however, says that the character is that of a hump-backed (*Dossennus a dorsi gibbere*) sharper, the latter that of a glutton, quoting Varro de L. L. 7. 95 *dictum mandier a mandendo, unde manducari, a quo in Atellanis* ad obsenum *vocant Manducum*, where he corrects the corrupt words to *Dossennum*. 174. **quam non adstricto socco**, 'with how loose a sock': the *soccus* (κρηπίς) or 'slipper' of comedy is contrasted with the *cothurnus* (κόθορνος) or 'buskin' of tragedy in A. P. 80. Cf. Milton, L'Allegro 132 'If Jonson's learned sock be on.' 175. **loculos**: properly any sort of a casket or satchel (cf. 1. 1. 56), used of a purse or money-box, also in S. 1. 3. 17; 2. 3. 146; Juv. 1. 89. The charge here brought against Plautus 'may very probably be true, and is by no means to his discredit' (Sellar, Roman Poets 164). The play-wright sold his play to the magistrate who gave the shows at which they were acted. Terence is said to have received 8000 sesterces for his Eunuchus, more than any play had produced before. 176. **cadat**, 'fails,' for which Aristotle uses ἐκπίπτειν (Poet. 17. 1; 18. 5; 20. 5). **stet**, 'holds its own,' *i.e.* succeeds: cf. Ter. Hecyr. 15 *partim sum earum exactus, partim vix steti*; Cic. Orat. 28. 98 *magnus orator . . . si semel constiterit, numquam cadet.* **recto talo**, 'steadily'; borrowed from the Greek, *e.g.* Pind. Isthm. 6. 12 ὀρθῷ ἔστασας ἐπὶ σφυρῷ, and imitated by Pers. 5. 104 *recto vivere talo.* 'This criticism is to a great extent true' Sellar l.c. Not that Plautus was without a natural pride in the success of some of his plays, but 'his delight was that of a vigorous creator, not of a painstaking artist.'

177-207. *A dramatic writer is dependent upon his audience; and very often upon the baser part of them. Even the better educated care for little now but spectacle.* 177. **Gloria**, 'fame,' as opposed to the desire of making money. **ventoso**, 'airy,' not without a suggestion of the fickleness of fame; cf. 1. 8. 12; 19. 37. 178. **lentus**, 'indifferent,' 'irresponsive'; cf. S. 1. 9. 64 *lentissima bracchia.* **inflat**, 'inspires,' almost equivalent to *reficit* below. There does not seem to be any suggestion of pride here, any more than in Cic. in Pis. 36. 89 *cum tibi spe falsa . . . animos rumor inflasset.* 180. **valeat**, 'no more of!' or 'good-bye to.' **res ludicra**, *i.e.* the drama. So we have *partes ludicras sustinuerunt* in Suet. Ner. 11, and *qui artem ludicram faciunt* is a jurist's term for actors. 181. **macrum, opimum**: with a humorous exaggeration for 'depressed' and 'triumphant.'

182. **audacem**, *i.e.* the poet who is bold enough to run the risk of failure from popular indifference. 185. **eques**: the knights, *i.e.* the wealthier and better educated part of the audience (cf. 1. 1. 62 n.), would naturally differ in

their tastes from the mass of the spectators. Cf. S. 1. 10. 76; A. P. 113, 248. **media inter carmina**: Terence (Hecyr. Prol. 1. 1-5, and 2. 25-34) pathetically complains that the first time his Hecyra was acted the audience went off to see a rope-dancer, and the second time they deserted him in order to get good places at a gladiatorial show. **carmen** is used of a tragedy in A. P. 220, and includes dramatic poetry in line 69; cf. Tac. Ann. 11. 13 *is carmina scaenae dabat.* **186. ursum**: bears were brought in to fight with mastiffs (*molossi*): forty bears were baited in the circus at the games given by the aediles in 169 B.C. (Livy 44. 18): one hundred at the games in 61 B.C. (Pliny, H. N. 8. 36. 131). Sometimes tame bears were shown (Mart. 1. 105. 5). **pugiles**, 'boxers,' were a favourite sight with Augustus: Suet. Oct. 45 *spectavit studiosissime pugiles, et maxime Latinos.*

188. incertos, 'wandering,' turning restlessly from one object to another and therefore not caring to give the fixed attention needed for a drama, not accompanied by much spectacular display. **189. aulaea**, cf. S. 2. 8. 54 n.; originally of any 'hangings' in a hall (*aula*), then specially of the curtain in a theatre. This was *dropped* at the beginning of the performance below the level of the stage, and *raised* at the conclusion. Cf. Virg. G. 3. 25 *purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni;* Ov. Met. 3. 111 *sic ubi tolluntur festis aulaea theatris.* **premuntur**, 'are kept down.' **190. fugiunt**, 'are flying across the stage,' with no notion of flight, as Orelli supposes. Cicero ad Fam. 7. 1. 2 says *quo quidem apparatu non dubito quin animo aequissimo carueris: quid enim delectationis habent sexcenti muli in Clytaemnestra aut in Equo Troiano creterrarum tria milia aut armatura varia peditatus et equitatus in aliqua pugna? quae popularem admirationem habuerunt, delectationem tibi nullam attulissent.* **191. regum fortuna** = *reges infortunati.* **192. esseda**, 'chariots,' light open two-wheeled carriages, said to have been used first by the Belgae (Caes. B. G. 4. 33; 5. 16) and employed by the Britons as war-chariots. **pilenta**, 'carriages,' covered two-wheeled vehicles, easily swinging (and thus connected with *pilum* the 'swung' or hurled weapon) and used for ladies and for religious processions. **petorrita**: cf. S. 1. 6. 104 n. **naves**: either the *rostra* of captured ships, or perhaps even ships themselves, drawn in a triumphal procession by means of machinery. **193. ebur**, *i.e.* statues of ivory and gold: Livy speaks of tusks carried in procession in the triumph over Antiochus (37. 59 *tulit in triumpho . . . eburneos dentes MCCXXXI*) but these would not be suited for a display on the stage. **Corinthus**: not restricted to vessels of Corinthian bronze, though doubtless including these, but all the spoils of Corinth, and also probably a painting of the city. So Porphyrion *quia imagines eius oppidi fabricantur, ut in triumphali pompa transire possint.* Cp. Cic. in Pis. 25. 60 *quid tandem habet iste currus? quid vincti ante currum duces? quid simulacra oppidorum? quid aurum? quid argentum?* Tibull. 2. 5. 115 *ut Messalinum celebrem cum praemia belli | ante suos currus oppida victa feret.*

194. Democritus, the laughing philosopher, Heraclitus being the weeping one: cf. Juv. 10. 28; Sen. de Ira 2. 10. 5 *Democritum aiunt numquam sine risu in publico fuisse.* **195. diversum confusa genus**, 'a panther having its unlike nature mingled with a camel,' *i.e.* the giraffe or camelopard: cf. Pliny, H. N. 8. 18. 27 *camelopardalis dictatoris Caesaris Circensibus ludis* (46 B.C.) *primum visa Romae.* **196. elephans albus**: white elephants are proverbially very rare, being really albinoes. Even the famous white elephants of Siam are really of a slate colour. **197. ludis ipsis** = *quam*

ludos ipsos; S. 1. 1. 97 *se non umquam servo melius vestiret;* Virg. Aen. 1. 15 *quam Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam coluisse.* This usage with an adverb seems limited to poets. **198. nimio** has more authority than *mimo*, being supported by *vet. Bland.* and good MSS. It is also doubtful whether *mimus* can be used, as Orelli says, '*pro quovis histrione*,' and it is not easy to see why Horace should not have used the plural for the actors on the stage. For *plus nimio* cf. note on 1. 10. 30. **199. asello surdo:** Horace has packed two proverbial expressions into one, for the sake of greater emphasis: cf. Ter. Haut. 2. 1. 10 *ne ille hauscit quam mihi nunc surdo narret fabulam*, and Zenob. 5. 42 *ὄνῳ τις ἔλεγε μῦθον· ὁ δὲ τὰ ὦτα ἐκίνει· εἰς ἀναισθησίαν τινῶν ἡ παροιμία εἴρηται.*

202. Garganum: cf. Od. 2. 9. 6. The forests of Garganus have now almost entirely disappeared, as is also the case very largely in the Apennines. **203. ludi**, i.e. *ludi scaenici*, not *ludi circenses*, to which there is no reference here. **artes**, 'works of art': 1. 6. 17. **204. oblitus**, 'bedizened'; cf. Milton, Par. L. 5. 356 'besmeared with gold.' The word is used in the sense of 'overloaded' in Cic. ad Her. 4. 11. 16 *si crebrae conlocabuntur* (*exornationes*), *oblitam reddent orationem;* Cic. Brut. 13. 51. **206. sane** emphasising **nil**, 'not a word.' **207. veneno**, 'drug,' *i.e.* dye. The purple (*murex*) of Tarentum was considered second only to that of Tyre (Pliny, H. N. 9. 39. 63). 'At the spot called Fontanella is the Monte di Chiocciole (snail-shells), a hill entirely formed of the shells used in making the purple dye'—Hare, Southern Italy 332. The wool of Tarentum was also famous; cf. Od. 2. 6. 10.

208-213. *I am not speaking from any disinclination to the theatre: a great dramatic poet seems to me a true magician.* **208. me laudare maligne**, 'that I am niggardly in my praise.' **210. per extentum funem . . . ire**, a proverbial expression for anything difficult: cf. Arrian, Epict. 3. 12. 2 *δύσκολόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ σχοινίου περιπατεῖν· καὶ οὐ μόνον δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον.* **211. inaniter**, 'by illusions,' *i.e.* without any real cause for it all. Exactly so used in Cic. Acad. 2. 11. 34 *cum sit incertum, vere inaniterque moveatur;* ib. 15. 47 *cum animi inaniter moveantur eodem modo rebus eis, quae nullae sint ut eis quae sint*, where Cic. is representing the *κενοπάθεια* or *διάκενος ἑλκυσμός* of Sextus; de Fin. 5. 1. 3.

214-218. *Let other poets too have a share in your patronage.* **214. et his**, 'to these too': *et* is not used after *age* as a simple copulative, but always has the force of 'also'; cf. Mayor on Nat. Deor. 1. 30. 83. **215. fastidia ferre:** cf. Virg. Ecl. 2. 14 *Amaryllidis . . . superba pati fastidia.* **superbi**, 'fastidious,' as in S. 2. 2. 109; 6. 87. **216. redde**, 'give' as due, not 'give back'; cf. Od. 2. 7. 17 n. **munus Apolline dignum:** cf. 1. 3. 17 n.

219-228. *That we do not enjoy this more often, is due to our own intrusiveness, susceptibility, and vanity.* **220. ut vineta caedam mea:** evidently a proverbial expression, though not found elsewhere. But cf. Tibull. 1. 2. 98 *quid messes uris acerba tuas?* Horace good-humouredly includes himself in the number of the pestering poetasters, though no one could have been more free from the faults which he here describes, than he was himself. **223. loca**, used, for metrical convenience, for *locos* 'passages,' the form always used in prose in this sense. Conversely *loci* is occasionally used in poetry (Lucr. 4. 509; Virg. Aen. 1. 306; 2. 28, etc.), once in Livy (5. 35. 1) and often in Tacitus in the sense of 'places' for *loca.* **inrevocati**, 'though not encored': for the 'scenic' use of *revocare* cf. Livy 7. 2 *Livius . . . cum saepius revocatus vocem obtudisset;* Ov. Am. 3. 2. 73 *sed enim revocate, Quirites,* | *et*

date iactatis undique signa togis. **225. tenui deducta filo,** 'fine-spun.' For the metaphor cf. S. 1. 10. 43 *forte epos acer,* | *ut nemo, Varius ducit;* 2. 1. 3 *putat . . . mille die versus deduci posse.* For *filum* see Reid on Cic. Lael. 7. 25 *aliud quoddam filum orationis tuae,* and Cic. de Orat. 2. 22. 93 *erant paullo uberiore filo.* Translate 'that the toil and fine workmanship spent upon our poems is not noticed.' **227. commodus,** 'obligingly'; cf. Od. 4. 8. 1. **228. egere vetes,** 'bid us want no longer.'

229-250. *But after all great merits should be celebrated by great poets. Alexander was a ridiculously bad judge of verse, though a sound critic of art. You on the other hand have shown yourself a better judge in the case of Virgil and Varius.* **229. est operae pretium,** 'it is worth while,' a phrase of transition; cf. S. 2. 4. 63. *operae* is of course gen., but in *est operae* it is dat., cf. Roby 1283. **230. aedituos,** 'temple-keepers,' *νεωκόρους*. Merit is personified as a goddess, whose shrine is kept by the poets who sing her praises.

233. Choerilus. There were three poets of this name. (1) Choerilus of Athens, who exhibited tragedies, 523–483 B.C.: (2) Ch. of Samos, the composer of an epic poem on the Persian wars, a younger contemporary and friend of Herodotus: (3) Ch. of Iasos, also an epic poet, but of a very inferior kind, who followed Alexander to Asia. This last is the one here meant: in A. P. 357 he is taken as the type of a poet who sometimes 'deviates into' excellence. Acron here says that he had only seven good lines in his poem on the exploits of Alexander, for each of which he received a gold piece. On A. P. 357 he adds that Alexander had bargained to give him this reward, on condition that the bard should receive a blow for every bad verse, and that he died of the blows. The king is reported to have said *malle se Thersiten Homeri esse quam Choerili Achillem,* which does not look as if he was so bad a judge of poetry as Horace represents him to have been; and indeed he was not only the pupil of Aristotle, but also himself an enthusiastic student of Homer. **incultis et male natis,** 'rough and misbegotten': *versibus* is dat. as in Ovid, Trist. 2. 10 *acceptum refero versibus esse nocens.* **234. rettulit acceptos,** 'set down to the credit of': *acceptum referre* is regular = to enter on the receipt side of accounts, opposed to *expensum ferre:* cf. Cic. Phil. 2. 16. 40 *ego enim amplius sestertium ducentiens acceptum hereditatibus rettuli.* **regale**: the right of coining gold was reserved to themselves by the kings of Macedon, as by the kings of Persia and afterwards by the Romans, while subject states and districts were often permitted to coin silver (cf. Gardner's Greek Coins 26); and there may probably be a reference to this here. Cf. our *sovereign* and *δαρεικός*, which is apparently derived not from Darius, but from the Persian *darâ*, 'king.' The coins of Philip had on one side a head of Ares, on the other a chariot, not as some editors say the king's head (Gardner 188). There is no instance of a realistic portrait of an earlier time than Alexander (ib. 175). **nomisma**: the earliest instance in which this Greek word occurs in Latin: Martial has it several times. **Philippos**: the *Philippus* or *Philippeus* (with or without *nummus*) was a gold piece, coined by Philip II. of Macedon to replace the Persian darics, which had up to his time been the gold coinage most widely current in Greece, probably as a preparation for his great scheme of conquest (Mommsen, Röm. Münzw. 52). Five of them were equal to the mina, so that their value was about a pound. **235. notam labemque,** 'mark and blot.' **remittunt,** 'produce'; cf. S. 2. 4. 69; 8. 53. **236. atramenta** includes writing-ink, painter's black, blacking for boots, and in short all kinds of dark fluids.

239. edicto: cf. Pliny, H. N. 7. 37. 125 *idem hic imperator edixit, ne quis ipsum alius quam Apelles pingeret, quam Pyrgoteles sculperet, quam Lysippus ex aere duceret.* But as there were representations of the king by other artists we can only understand this to mean either that Alexander gave commissions himself to no others, or that he never sat to any one else. **Apellen**: cf. 1. 2. 12 n. **240. Lysippo**: for the case cf. 1. 16. 20 n. The advance in statuary made by Lysippus is thus described by Pliny, H. N. 34. 8. 19 *plurimum traditur contulisse capillum exprimendo, capita minora faciendo quam antiqui, corpora graciliora siccioraque, per quae proceritas signorum maior videretur.* He limited himself to bronze casting, and never worked in marble. Propert. 4. (3.) 9. 9 says *gloria Lysippi est* animosa *effingere signa.* **duceret**, 'model.' **242. subtile**, 'exact': Pliny (H. N. 35. 10. 85) gives a very different account of Alexander's critical faculty: *Alexandro Magno frequenter in officinam ventitanti . . . imperite multa disserenti (Apelles) silentium comiter suadebat, rideri eum dicens a pueris, qui colores tererent.* **videndis artibus**: probably the dative, 'for viewing works of art.' *videre* is used with an extended force=*visu aestimare* or *videndo diiudicare.* **244. Boeotum**, gen. plur., Roby 365, S. G. 115. The dull, heavy air of Boeotia (due to the vapour arising from the valleys and lakes) is often contrasted with that enjoyed by the Athenians, who were ἀεὶ διὰ λαμπροτάτου βαίνοντες ἁβρῶς αἰθέρος (Eur. Med. 829); cf. Cic. Fat. 4. 7 *Athenis tenue caelum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici: crassum Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani:* Juv. 10. 50. Pindar, Ol. 6. 152, speaks jestingly of the proverbial Βοιωτία ὗς.

245. dedecorant: the subjects **Vergilius Variusque** are transferred, as often, to the relative clause. **246. munera**, *i.e.* the gifts which the poets had received from Augustus. At his death in 19 B.C.—some years before the date of this Epistle—Virgil's fortune is said to have amounted to 10,000,000 sesterces, mostly if not entirely due to the bounty of patrons. For Varius cf. Od. 1. 6. 1 n. **multa dantis cum laude**, *i.e.* all men warmly praise such judicious liberality, instead of laughing at it, as in the case of Alexander and Choerilus. **248. expressi**, 'reproduced': the metaphor is taken from plastic figures in clay or wax, and then becomes more general, and is used of imitation generally: cf. Cic. de Orat. 3. 12. 47 *vitia imitatione ex aliquo expressa;* pro Arch. 6. 14 *multas nobis imagines fortissimorum virorum expressas scriptores Graeci et Latini reliquerunt.*

250-270. *I would myself gladly sing of your deeds, if I had the power, and did not fear to bring my august theme into ridicule as well as myself.* **250. sermones** here includes both Satires and Epistles. The style of the Epistles, though somewhat more careful than that of the Satires, is essentially the *sermo quotidianus.* Conington renders "Nor is it choice (ah, would that choice were all !) | Makes my dull Muse in prose-like numbers crawl." So in S. 2. 6. 17 Horace speaks of his *musa pedestris.* **251. res componere gestas**, *i.e.* to write a historical epic poem. **252. arces montibus inpositas**, stormed by the Roman armies: cf. Od. 4. 14. 11 *arces Alpibus inpositas.* **253. tuis auspiciis**: Augustus from 23 B.C. onwards held a perpetual *proconsulare imperium* over the whole empire, and even in the senatorial provinces he had an *imperium maius*, which made their governors formally subordinate to him. Hence the *iustus triumphus* could no longer be enjoyed by successful generals, who were only serving under his auspices, not under their own. During the earlier part of his rule, he sometimes allowed a triumph, but afterwards (apparently after 15 B.C.) this honour was reserved to

members of the imperial house. Cf. Suet. Aug. 38 *super triginta ducibus iustos triumphos et aliquanto pluribus triumphalia ornamenta decernenda curavit;* and 21 *domuit partim ductu partim auspiciis suis Cantabriam, Aquitaniam, Pannoniam, Dalmatiam cum Illyrico omni; item Raetiam et Vindelicos ac Salassos;* Od. 1. 7. 27 n. **255. Ianum**: cf. Od. 4. 15. 9 n. **256. Parthis**: cf. Od. 1. 19. 11 n.; C. S. 53. **257. cuperem,** attracted into the tense of **possem. 258. recipit,** 'admits of'; cf. Suet. Aug. 89 *ingenia saeculi sui omnibus modis fovit: recitantes et benigne et patienter audivit, nec tantum carmina et historias, sed et orationes et dialogos. componi tamen aliquid de se nisi serio et a praestantissimis offendebatur, admonebatque praetores, ne paterentur nomen suum commissionibus* ('prize declamations') *obsolefieri.* For **maiestas** cf. Od. 4. 15. 15 n. **259. ferre recusent**: cf. A. P. 39.

260. stulte, quem diligit, urguet: *stulte* must go with *urguet* and not with *diligit,* for *stulte diligit* would be very inappropriate if referred to Augustus. **262. discit**: sc. *aliquis,* to be supplied from the *quis* in the relative clause. People remember a ridiculous poem or a ridiculous portrait more readily than a good one. Of course there is no reference to intentional caricature. **264. nil moror**: Horace puts himself for the moment in the place of the emperor: 'I care nothing—and therefore I am sure that you do not.' **ficto in peius vultu**: cf. Pliny, Ep. 5. 10 *pictores pulchram absolutamque formam raro nisi in peius effingunt.* **265. proponi cereus,** 'to be exposed as a waxen image,' *i.e.* to have a caricatured portrait of myself offered for sale. It was customary to make the *imagines* of deceased ancestors of wax (Pliny, H. N. 35. 2. 6 *expressi cera vultus singulis disponebantur armariis*); and the art may naturally have been transferred to living persons of celebrity. **267. pingui,** 'stupid'; cf. S. 2. 6. 14. **una cum scriptore meo**: Horace does not seem to mean more than 'I should be involved in the disgrace which will come upon the poet who makes me his theme, when his worthless poem is sent off to be used for waste paper.' **268. capsa,** properly a book-case (S. 1. 4. 22), here humorously put for a bier. **porrectus,** stretched out at length like a corpse. **operta**: sometimes a corpse was carried out to burial on an open couch or bier (*lectus, feretrum*), sometimes in a coffin (*capulus*) carried on a frame (*sandapila*); cf. Marquardt, Privatalt. 1. 360, and the latter was more usual with the poorer classes. Orelli needlessly read *aperta.* **269. vicum,** probably the *vicus Tuscus* of S. 2. 3. 228. **270. quidquid**: Pers. 1. 43 adds mackerel, *nec scombros metuentia carmina nec tus;* which he gets from Catull. 95. 5 *Volusi annales . . . laxas scombris saepe dabunt tunicas.* Our modern equivalent is to be found in the trunk-makers and pastry-cooks. Cf. Martial 6. 60 7 *quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque diserti, | et redimunt soli carmina docta coqui.*

EPISTLE II

For Florus cf. 1. 3 Intr. There is a great similarity of tone between this Epistle and the first of the first book. In both Horace pleads that increasing years have left him no taste or power for lyric poetry; and make it a duty for him to study philosophy. Here he lays stress also on the hindrances arising from city life, and his disgust at the 'mutual admiration' cliques of contemporary versifiers. The date is probably about 19 B.C.

1-24. *If you were to buy a slave, Florus, knowing well his faults, you would have no right to complain of the vendor.* **1. bono**: cf. 1. 9. 4 n.

claroque, 'illustrious,' whether by birth and position or by his exploits. **3. Tibure vel Gabiis**: the boy was of Latin birth, not one of the less valuable slaves, imported from the East. **4. candidus**, 'fair of complexion,' not *fuscus*, like Hydaspes in S. 2. 8. 14; or perhaps 'without blemish.' It would be out of place to refer it here to his moral qualities. **talos ad imos**, a proverbial expression: cf. Cic. pro Rosc. C. 7. 20 *nonne ab imis unguibus usque ad verticem summum ex fraude, fallaciis, mendaciis constare totus videtur?* **5. flet eritque**: mere tautology on the part of the fluent slave-dealer with an imitation of legal surplusage. **nummorum milibus octo**, about £70, a very low price for a slave with any attractions and accomplishments. The *servi litterati* of Calvisius Sabinus cost 100,000 sesterces each (Seneca, Ep. 27. 7). The value of slaves at Rome naturally ranged within very wide limits (cf. Wallon, Histoire de l'Esclavage, 2. 159-174): Cato the Censor never gave more than 1500 drachmas (about £54) for any slave (Plut. Cat. 1), and in his censorship required that a slave under twenty years of age, who had been purchased for 10,000 asses (about £30) or more, should be assessed at ten times the price paid for him, on which assessment he then laid a triple tax in order to discourage this form of extravagance (Livy 39. 44). Martial on the other hand (1. 59. 1; 2. 63. 1) speaks of young slaves as sold for 100,000 sesterces (£800). Perhaps from £50 to £60 may be taken as an average price for an ordinary slave: Davus in S. 2. 7. 43 speaks of himself as bought for 500 drachmae, *i.e.* about £20.

6. verna, a slave bred at home, and therefore fit for domestic duties, not mere field-work. **ministeriis**, dat. with *aptus*. **ad nutus**, 'at the beck': cf. Cic. Or. 8. 24 *ad eorum arbitrium et nutum totos se fingunt.* **7. litterulis inbutus**, 'with some slight knowledge of letters': *inbutus* of itself has a depreciatory force: cf. 1. 2. 69 n.; Cic. Tusc. 1. 7. 14 *an tu dialecticis ne inbutus quidem es?* Suet. de Gramm. 4 *non perfectum litteris, sed inbutum.* The diminutive *litterulis* adds to the disparaging tone. **arti cuilibet**: an educated slave might be used as a reader (*anagnostes*), copyist (*librarius, scriba*) or amanuensis (*servus ab epistolis*). Cf. Ter. Eun. 3. 2. 19 *en eunuchum tibi, . . . fac periclum in litteris, fac in palaestra, in musicis: quae liberum scire aequomst adulescentem sollertem dabo.* **9. indoctum**, 'in an untrained fashion': Roby 1096, S. G. 461. **bibenti**, when a man would be less critical. The dealer does not lay too much stress upon his slave's accomplishments, for fear of leading the purchaser to think that there must be serious faults to account for his being offered so cheap.

10. levant: *leviorem faciunt, minuunt* Comm. Cruq. **11. extrudere**, quite our 'push off.' Many MSS. have *excludere.* **12. meo in aere**: cf. Cic. in Verr. Act. 2. 4. 6. 11 *hominem video . . . non modo in aere alieno nullo, sed in suis nummis multis esse ac semper fuisse.* **pauper** often denotes not poverty but means slender yet sufficient, as contrasted with *indigus* or *egens*; cf. Od. 1. 12. 43 n. **13. mangonum**, 'the slave-dealers.' The word is probably identical with our *-monger* (A.-S. *mangere* 'a dealer'), Germ. *-menger*, from *mangian* 'to traffic,' and ultimately from *mang* 'a mixture.' **non temere**: cf. 2. 1. 120 n. I would not do this for everybody. **14. cessavit**, 'shirked his work'; cf. *cessator* S. 2. 7. 100. **ut fit**, 'as usual,' as boys will do; cf. Cic. Verr. Act. 2. 2. 23. 56 *queri, ut fit, incipiunt.* **15. in scalis latuit**: the wooden staircase in the corner of the house (so always at Pompeii) furnished the most natural temporary hiding-place; cf. Cic. pro Mil. 15. 40 *cum se ille* (*Clodius*) *fugiens in scalarum late-*

bras abdidisset; Phil. 2. 9. 21 *nisi se ille in scalas tabernae librariae coniecisset.* **pendentis**: the whip (*habena* = *lorum*, as in Virg. Aen. 7. 380 of the whip used by a boy to lash his top) was hung up in some conspicuous part of the house.

16. **des nummos**: a jussive subjunctive: 'let me have the money, if the fact which I have mentioned, that he once ran away, does not trouble you'; cf. Roby 1575, S.G. 657 (*b*). **laedit** is the reading of *vet. Bland.* and is probably original, the *laedat* of most MSS. being due to assimilation by copyists to the neighbouring subjunctives. With *laedat* the speech of the *mango* must end at *habenae* and *des* is the apodosis to *si quis velit* in line 2 and parallel to *ferat* in the next line: 'you would pay the price (and) he would pocket it.' **excepta**: cf. S. 2. 3. 285; Gell. 4. 2. 1 *in edicto aedilium curulium, qua parte de mancipiis vendundis cautum est, scriptum sic fuit: titulus servorum singulorum utei scriptus sit, coerato, ita utei intellegi recte possit, quid morbi vitiive quoique sit, quis fugitivus errove noxave solutus non sit.* 17. **poenae securus**: 'without any fear of a penalty' for selling a slave without giving due notice of his defects. 18. **prudens**, 'with your eyes open,' deliberately. A. P. 426; S. 1. 10. 88; 2. 5. 58. **lex**, 'the conditions of sale.' 19. **insequeris** = διώκεις, 'prosecute.' **moraris**, 'annoy.'

21. **talibus officiis**: *i.e.* such friendly attentions as you are now demanding from me. The case is probably dative 'of work contemplated' (Roby 1156, S. G. 481). **mancum**: S. 2. 7. 88. **mea** is curiously out of place. 22. **iurgares**, 'scold'; cf. line 171 n. **rediret**: much better in itself, and far better supported than *veniret* of the older editions. Florus expected a letter from Horace in answer to his own; cf. 1. 13. 2. 23. **tum**, *i.e.* at the time when I told you this. **mecum facientia**: 2. 1. 68.

24-54. *You complain too that I do not send you the poems which I promised. A soldier who had fought bravely when poor would not do the same when enriched. So I was once compelled, after I had left Athens and taken part in the civil war, to take to poetry as a means of getting a living. But now that I have a competence, I should be mad indeed not to prefer rest to writing.* 24. **adtemptas**, 'assail,' try to upset. **super hoc**, 'besides'; *hoc* is acc. as the common *super haec* shows. 26. **Luculli**: in the war with Mithridates 74-67 B.C. The point of the comparison between Horace and the soldier is given in line 52. **viatica**: properly 'travelling money' (whence the usage in the Church for the administration of the Eucharist in preparation for the last journey), then a soldier's private stock of money, his savings, as here, cf. Tac. Hist. 1. 57. 5; Suet. Caes. 68. 27. **ad assem**, 'to a penny': cf. *ad unum* Virg. Aen. 5. 687, 'to a man.' 28. **vehemens**: so all MSS. and also line 120 where the metre makes *vemens* necessary. Lachmann on Lucret. 2. 1024 (*nam tibi vementer nova res molitur ad aures accedere*) shows that *vehemens* is not necessarily an anapaest anywhere before a letter of Marcus Aurelius. **lupus**: another instance of the use of metaphor for simile, which is so common in Horace; cf. 1. 1. 2, 42; 7. 74; 10. 42. 30. **praesidium**, 'garrison,' φρουρά, not φρούριον, which is = *locus summe munitus.* 31. **divite rerum**: cf. Od. 4. 8. 5 *divite artium.*

32. **donis honestis**, 'gifts of honour,' such as the *corona muralis*, the *hasta pura*, *phalerae*, *torques aureae*, etc. The *vet. Bland.* has *opimis.* 33. **super**, 'in addition,' adverbial. **bis dena sestertia**, about £170. **nummum**, not very commonly used after *sestertia*, denotes here 'in cash.' 34. **sub hoc tempus**: cf. 1. 16. 22 n. **praetor** here in its original sense, as 'general': στρατηγός is the regular Greek representative of the word.

36. mentem, 'vigour,' 'spirit,' cf. 1. 2. 60 n. **40. zonam**: for the custom of carrying money in a belt cf. the passage from a speech by Gaius Gracchus, preserved in Gell. 15. 12 *cum Romam profectus sum, zonas, quas plenas argenti extuli, eas ex provincia inanes rettuli.* This practice does not seem to be mentioned in classical Greek; but cf. Matt. x. 9 *μὴ κτήσησθε χρυσὸν μηδὲ ἄργυρον μηδὲ χαλκὸν εἰς τὰς ζώνας ὑμῶν*, Livy 33. 29. 4 *negotiandi ferme causa argentum in zonis habentes commeatibus erant.*

41. contigit: cf. 1. 2. 46 n. **doceri** . . ., *i.e.* he studied Homer, according to the established rule in schools; cf. Quint. 1. 8. 5 *optime institutum est ut ab Homero atque Vergilio lectio inciperet;* Pliny, Ep. 2. 14. 2 *in foro pueros a centumviralibus causis auspicari ut ab Homero in scholis.* **43. bonae** agreeing with **Athenae** 'kind,' almost equivalent to **grato** below. Others, not so well, connect the word with **artis**, cf. Tac. Ann. 1. 3. 4 *Agrippam rudem bonarum artium.* **44. vellem**: MSS. vary here between *vellem*, *possim*, and *possem*: the first has the most authority, while the last (though preferred by many good recent editors) has the least. **rectum** carries with it the mathematical sense of a 'right' line, as well as the moral sense; and hence is opposed to *curvus*: so *pravus* originally means 'crooked,' and our 'wrong' is what is 'wrung' aside or perverted. Skeat quotes from Wyclif 'wrung nose' for 'crooked nose.' Persius 4. 12 again imitates Horace: *rectum discernis, ubi inter | curva subit, vel cum fallit pede regula varo.* **45. silvas Academi**: cf. Eupolis frag. 32 Mein. *ἐν εὐσκίοις δρόμοισιν Ἀκαδήμου θεοῦ.* The enclosure sacred to the hero Academus lay about three-quarters of a mile outside the walls of Athens on the road which ran through the Outer Ceramicus to Colonus. Its olive groves and plane-trees were famous: they were planted by Cimon, for 'the Academy, which was before a bare, dry and dirty spot, he converted into a well-watered grove, with shady alleys to walk in, and open courses for races' (Plutarch, Cimon 13). Sulla in his siege of Athens is said to have cut down the trees, but they must have been replanted by this time. Plato had been wont to teach there, a custom followed by his successors (cf. Cic. de Fin. 5. 1. 2), and when Horace was at Athens the head of the Academic school was Theomnestus, whose lectures Brutus attended after the murder of Caesar (Plut. Brut. 24). The expression however seems to be here a general one for the study of philosophy: Horace nowhere shows any special attachment to the Academic doctrines, being rather an Epicurean with occasional leanings to some Stoic views.

46. dura tempora, *i.e.* the struggles between the murderers and the avengers of Caesar. **emovere,** 'tore me away.' Brutus induced Horace to follow him into Asia; cf. S. 1. 7. 18; 6. 48. **47. civilisque** . . . The order is *civilisque aestus* (1. 2. 8) *tulit* (*me*) *rudem belli in arma non responsura* etc. **48. Caesaris Augusti**: so united only here by Horace: Virgil has the title twice, Aen. 6. 793; 8. 678. **responsura,** 'fated to prove a match for': cf. S. 2. 7. 85 *responsare cupidinibus;* ib. 103; 2. 4. 18, a usage apparently confined to Horace. **49. unde** = *ab armis.* **simul primum**: a rare combination, rejected by Drakenborch on Livy 6. 1. 6 *interim Q. Fabio simul primum magistratu abiit, dies dicta est,* and pronounced 'everywhere suspicious' by Draeger, Hist. Synt. 2. 573; but sufficiently established by this passage. *simul ac primum* is used by Cic. in Verr. Act. 2. 1. 13. 34, and by Suet. Caes. 30; Nero 43. Horace did not, like Pompeius Varus and other of his friends, join the forces of Sextus Pompeius and continue the struggle, but gave up arms at once. **50. inopem**:

Horace's father's estate had evidently been confiscated after the victory of the triumvirs. **51. paupertas** . . . cf. Theocrit. 21. 1 *ἁ πενία . . . μόνα τὰς τέχνας ἐγείρει.* Possibly it was with the proceeds, direct or indirect, of these early verses that Horace bought himself the clerkship in the Quaestors' office (see Intr. p. viii), which put him out of the reach of absolute want, before he secured the patronage of Maecenas. The verses themselves may include some of the earlier Epodes and Satires. **52. quod non desit** = *quod satis sit:* **habentem** = *nunc, cum habeo.* **53. cicutae**: the plural = 'doses of hemlock.' Hemlock was used as a febrifuge; cf. Pliny, H. N. 25. 13. 95 *cicutae semini et foliis refrigeratoria vis.* **poterunt . . . ni putem**: Roby 1574, S. G. 654. 2.

55-57. *Then again, with my youth my poetical powers have left me.* **55. anni**: cf. Virg. Ecl. 9. 51 *omnia fert aetas, animum quoque;* Plat. Epinom. 976 A ὅσων ὧραι . . . ληΐζονται τὴν τῶν ζῴων φύσιν. **euntes**, 'as they go'; Od. 2. 14. 5 *quotquot eunt dies;* Ov. A. A. 3. 62 *ludite: eunt anni more fluentis aquae.* **56. iocos**: cf. 1. 7. 26-28. **57. quid faciam vis?** 'what am I to do?' *i.e.* how am I to resist them? with something of the impatience of the French *que voulez-vous?* Roby 1606, S. G. 672.

58-64. *Thirdly, tastes vary so much, that I cannot please every one.* **59. carmine**, 'an Ode,' 'lyrics.' **iambis**, *i.e.* such as the Epodes: 1. 19. 23. **60. Bioneis**: Bion the Borysthenite, a teacher of philosophy at Athens towards the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the third, a pupil of the Academy, Crates, Theophrastus, but especially Theodorus the Cyrenaic (called the Atheist), was more distinguished as a wit than as a philosopher. Diog. Laert. 4. 46-57. Acron says *in libro, quem edidit, mordacissimis salibus ea quae apud poetas sunt ita laceravit, ut ne Homero quidem parceret,* and Cic. Tusc. Disp. 3. 26. 62 gives an example of his coarse wit as directed against Agamemnon: *in quo facetum illud Bionis, perinde stultissimum regem in luctu capillum sibi evellere, quasi calvitio maeror levaretur.* **sermonibus**, 'satires': Horace's Satires have with one exception little or nothing of the cynical profligacy which seems to have marked the writings of Bion. **sale nigro**, 'coarse wit': for black salt cf. S. 2. 4. 74 n. **61. tres**: the smallest number of guests, who could form a party: cf. Gell. 13. 11. 2 (*M. Varro in satiris Menippeis*) *dicit convivarum numerum incipere oportere a Gratiarum numero et progredi ad Musarum.* But even in so small a number there would be differences of tastes. **prope** = *fere*, 'I might almost say,' 'well nigh,' cf. 1. 6. 1. **62. multum**: cf. 1. 10. 3 *multum dissimiles.* **64. sane**, not concessive, as Orelli, but intensive with **invisum**: cf. line 132; 2. 1. 206. **acidum** keeps up the metaphor of the feast, and seems especially to refer to wine.

65-80. *Fourthly, the distractions of life in Rome are so great that it is impossible to compose.* **65. praeter**, 'beyond,' rather than 'beside': cf. Reid on Cic. pro Sull. 3. 7. **67. sponsum**, 'to stand security'; cf. 1. 16. 43; S. 2. 6. 23. **auditum scripta**: the nuisance of recitations soon became almost intolerable at Rome: cf. 1. 19. 39; Cic. Att. 2. 2. 2 *coniurasse mallem quam restitisse coniurationi, si illum mihi audiendum putassem;* Mayor on Juv. 3. 9. **68. cubat**, 'lies sick'; cf. S. 1. 9. 18 n. The Quirinal was at the extreme NE., the Aventine quite at the SW. of the city. **70. humane**, '*prorsus ut ἐπιεικῶς*' Or. *i.e.* = *probe, admodum;* and so Kiessling treats it as a synonym strengthening *commoda*, cf. Plaut. Most. 2. 2. 64 *inepte stultus;* Trin. 4. 3. 1 *propere celerem.* We may render 'nicely convenient.' Conjectures are *haud sane* and *insane.* **verum**: 'yes but you say,' introducing an objection,

with the force which *at enim* so often has in prose. *verum* assents, but introduces a qualification. 71. **purae,** 'clear'; *i.e.* free from obstructions: cf. Ov. Met. 3. 709 *purus ab arboribus, spectabilis undique campus;* Livy 24. 14. 6 *puro ac patenti campo.* **plateae** is often marked *plătēa* in dictionaries with this passage and Catull. 15. 7 noted as exceptional instances of the short penultimate. But it is often short in Terence, and no instance is quoted of the long penultimate, which might have been expected from the derivation of the word from πλατεῖα, earlier than Prudentius. We have a parallel to the shortening in *balinĕum* from βαλανεῖον, *chorĕa*, *gynaecĕum* etc. (Roby 229).

72. **calidus,** 'in hot haste': cf. S. 1. 3. 53; Od. 3. 14. 27, where however the meaning is rather 'impetuous.' **redemptor,** 'a contractor' for buildings; cf. Od. 3. 1. 35. **mulis gerulisque,** instrumental ablatives, indicating how the contractor showed his impetuosity; cf. Livy 9. 38. 7 *armis virisque ad opprimendum C. Marcium concurrunt.* Krüger compares military expressions such as *ingenti exercitu, omnibus copiis, quadrato agmine:* but the addition of the epithet makes all the difference. 73. **machina,** apparently 'a crane' which 'swings' (*torquet*) stones or beams needed for building, properly called *tolleno*, but sometimes by a metaphor like our own, *ciconia*, cf. γέρανος. 74. **robustis,** *i.e.* built for heavy loads; cf. S. 1. 6. 42 *si plaustra ducenta | concurrantque foro tria funera.* The use of wheeled vehicles was forbidden in Rome until ten hours after sunrise, except in the case of those employed in connexion with public buildings, temples, etc., of market-carts leaving the city, and of certain privileged persons. 76. **i nunc:** cf. 1. 6. 17 n.: 'now,' *i.e.* after suffering all these things.

77. **scriptorum,** of poets especially, as in 2. 1. 36 and elsewhere. **urbem:** the great preponderance of MS. authority is in favour of the singular. Many editors however prefer the plural, on the ground that the singular after what has gone before can only = 'Rome.' This would certainly be the case, if *nemus*, used in a generic sense, had not come between: but the parallelism justifies us in following the MSS., and taking *urbem* generally = 'the town' as opposed to 'the country.' 78. **rite cliens Bacchi,** 'in loyal allegiance to Bacchus.' *rite* = 'as is fit.' Cf. Od. 2. 19; 3. 25. 79. **strepitus:** Od. 3. 29. 12 *fumum et opes strepitumque Romae.* The continual noise at Rome is one of its worst terrors, as painted by Juv. Sat. 3. The rhyme in *nocturnos . . . diurnos* seems intentional and imitative. 80. **contracta:** the great majority of MSS. have *contacta*, which seems indefensible, though Dillenburger explains *contacta sequi* as = *contingere et sequi. contracta* 'narrow' describes a track which few have trodden, not broad and beaten.

81-86. *Even those who give years to study in quiet Athens sometimes ludicrously fail to produce anything: how then do you expect me to do so here amid the turmoil of Rome?* 81. **sibi desumpsit,** 'has chosen as his home.' **vacuas:** 1. 7. 45 n. 83. **curis,** 'efforts'; here clearly poetic efforts, composition. **statua taciturnius:** cf. S. 2. 5. 40 *infantes statuas;* Lucian, Imag. 1 ἀχανῆ σε καὶ τῶν ἀνδριάντων ἀκινητότερον ἀποφανεῖ. **exit,** 'turns out.' 86. **digner**; *i.e.* 'am I to think myself fit for this task, and so set my heart upon achieving it?' A rhetorical question of this kind is usually not introduced in Latin by the 'and,' which would be natural in English.

87-105. *Fifthly, mutual admiration has reached such a pitch here, that I can find no favour unless I am willing to humour and flatter every one in my turn, but if I refuse to write, I can live at my ease.* 87. **frater . . . ut . . .** So all MSS., and, if the text is genuine, we must (with Orelli and Kiessling)

explain *frater . . . ut* as = *tam fraterno animo ut*, and cf. 1. 16. 12; S. 1. 1. 95 *quidam* (so MSS.) . . . *dives | ut metiretur nummos;* 7. 13 *ira fuit capitalis, ut ultima divideret mors.* *frater* is then to be regarded as strongly emphatic by position, and the sense is: 'there were once two brothers—a lawyer and a barrister—(so brotherly) that one was always complimenting the other.' Many editors on the other hand regard the construction as indefensible and the line as corrupt. Bentley suggested *pactus erat Romae consulto rhetor*, 'a rhetorician at Rome had bargained with a lawyer.' Meineke thought that a line must have been lost, owing to the copyist's eye falling on two similar syllables recurring; and would read *frater erat Romae consulti rhetor, ut* [*erque | alterius laudum sic admirator ut*] *alter.* Schütz suggests *fautor*, which is a favourite word with Horace in very similar expressions (cf. 1. 15. 33 *nequitiae fautoribus*; 18. 66 *fautor laudabit;* 2. 1. 23 *sic fautor veterum;* S. 1. 10. 2 *tam Lucili fautor*), and which perhaps from its meaning might dispense with an adverb, such as *tam* before it, like the adjectives quoted above. Palmer proposes *auctor erat consulto*, 'a rhetorician proposed to a lawyer.' **88. meros honores**, 'nothing but compliments': cf. 1. 7. 84. **89. Gracchus:** undoubtedly Gaius, who is praised by Cicero, Brut. 33. 126, as a greater orator than his elder brother Tiberius: *eloquentia quidem nescio an habuisset parem neminem.* For **Mucius** see Class. Dict. s.v. *Scaevola*; many of the family were eminent as jurisconsults. **foret huic ut Mucius ille**: all MSS. have *hic ut Mucius illi*, but as early as 1516 this was corrected into the now all but universally received *huic ille.* It is impossible to believe that Horace wrote *ut hic illi Gracchus foret, hic illi Mucius.* Keller adduces examples of *hic . . . hic*, but none where *ille* is also used in the passage. This line is one of the instances in which the archetype was clearly corrupt.

90. qui minus, 'in what way less?' S. 2. 3. 311 *qui ridiculus minus illo?* 7. 96 *qui peccas minus atque ego?* Translate 'and are our tuneful poets less troubled by this madness?' **91. carmina compono**, 'I am a writer of lyrics'; though for the time being Horace had abandoned this form of composition, he speaks of it as his most distinctive style. **hic**, probably Propertius, who delighted to be regarded as the Roman Callimachus (line 100: cf. Propert. 5. 1. 63-6, and see note in separate edition). **mirabile . . . opus**: an admiring exclamation of mutual compliment. Bentley objected (1) that *visu* could only be used of external appearance, which is out of the question here; (2) that *caelatum Musis* could only mean 'adorned with figures of Muses' (as in Ov. Met. 13. 110 *caelatus imagine mundi*). Hence he wished to govern these words by *circum spectemus*, taking them in apposition to *aedem.* But (1) *mirabile visu* had become a stereotyped compound expression for 'admirable,' (2) the construction of *caelo* with the abl. does not exclude an entirely different construction with the dat. of the agent. Cf. 2. 1. 27. **92. novem**: all the Muses must have had a hand in such an exquisite piece of art! **93. fastu**, 'airs.' **molimine**, 'importance,' the bearing of a man '*qui magna* molitur.' **circum | spectemus**: so S. 1. 2. 62, 63 *inter | est;* 2. 3. 117, 118 *unde | octoginta;* A. P. 424, 425 *inter | noscere.* Here the rhythmical effect is intended to suggest the slow important look. **94. vatibus**, dat. 'free to receive the works of.' **aedem**, the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, with its annexed libraries; cf. 1. 3. 17. **95. sequere**, *i.e.* to the place of recitation, wherever it was, not necessarily to the temple. **procul**, 'hard by': S. 2. 6. 105; Virg. Ecl. 6. 16. **96. ferat**, 'brings,' as his contribution to the recitation. **quare**, *i.e.* what the grounds are, on which etc.

97. caedimur . . . Samnites: Livy 9. 40 *Romani ad honorem deum*

insignibus armis hostium usi sunt: Campani ab superbia et odio Samnitium gladiatores (quod spectaculum inter epulas erat) eo ornatu armarunt, Samnitiumque nomine compellaverunt. Horace humorously represents the stock of poems which the two poets bring and alternately inflict upon each other, drawing out mutual compliments, but really inflicting painful weariness, as inexhaustible; and compares the contest between them to that of two heavy-armed, well-matched gladiators, whose protracted struggle lasts till the darkness of evening puts an end to it. **99. discedo,** 'I come off' from the contest. **Alcaeus**: 1. 19. 29; Od. 2. 13. 26. **puncto,** 'vote,' a meaning of the word retained from the days of *viva voce* voting, when the *rogatores* would ask each voter, as he passed along the *pontes*, for whom he voted, and record the answer by pricking a tablet. So we still retain the term 'polling booth' even under the ballot. *punctum* is used for 'vote' similarly in A. P. 343; Cic. pro Planc. 22. 53 *non nullas (tribus tulerunt) punctis paene totidem;* pro Mur. 34. 72 *recordor quantum . . . punctorum nobis detraxerint.* **100. adposcere,** 'to demand in addition,' only found elsewhere in Ter. Haut. 4. 7. 10. **101. Mimnermus**: cf. 1. 6. 65. Although Callimachus (flor. 260-240 B.C.) was ranked by some critics (*e.g.* Quintilian 10. 1. 58 *princeps habetur Callimachus*) as the first of elegiac poets, Horace seems to have agreed with Ovid, Am. 1. 15. 14 *quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet.* In any case Mimnermus (flor. 640-600 B.C.) was the first to use elegiac verse for love poetry (cf. Prop. 1. 9. 11 *plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero*), and it was naturally a higher compliment to give to an erotic poet the name of the founder of his style of poetry, than that of one who was not especially distinguished in this department, and who had devoted himself also to so many branches of literature, prose as well as verse. **optivo** = *adoptivo, adscito* Porph. The word is properly a legal term: Gaius 1. 154 *vocantur autem hi qui nominatim testamento tutores dantur, dativi; qui ex optione sumuntur, optivi.* Hence it means 'any which he may choose.' **crescit,** 'is glorified.'

103-105. *So long as I am myself composing, and am a candidate for popularity, I have to put up with much: but as soon as I return to my senses, I would stop my ears when poets recite, and fear no revenge on their part.* Orelli argues that the rhythm of the verse requires us to take **inpune** with **legentibus,** understanding that the poetasters can thenceforward recite without any fear of retaliation on the part of Horace (as in Juv. 1. 1-3). But the context requires us rather to regard Horace as now able to do what he dared not do before. **104. studiis,** 'ambition,' not as in line 82. **mente recepta**: cf. A. P. 296. **105. obturem**: Roby 1534, S. G. 642.

106-125. *Bad poets, though ridiculed, are delighted with their own productions. But good poetry requires rigorous self-criticism, with a careful treatment of the diction; and ease in writing comes only of laborious training.* **107. scribentes,** 'while they are writing,' *i.e.* in the mere act of doing so. Cf. Catull. 22. 15 *neque idem umquam | aeque est beatus ac poema cum scribit.* **108. si taceas, laudant,** *i.e.* it is their habit to praise their compositions, and they would do so, even if you should say nothing about them. Cf. Mayor on Juv. 10. 141, Roby 1574, S. G. 654. **109. legitimum,** 'according to the rules of art'; A. P. 274. **fecisse**: the perfect because the result rather than the process is the object of desire: cf. 1. 17. 5; Od. 1. 1. 4 n. **110. cum tabulis,** 'along with his tablets,' *i.e.* when he begins to write. Wax tablets were used for the first rough draft, which might need correction (cf. S. 1. 10. 72 *saepe stilum vertas*); then the fair copy was made upon paper. These tablets for notes were often called *pugillares* (Pliny, Ep. 1. 6. 1; 3. 5.

15) or simply *cerae*. There may be a side reference also to the *tabulae censoriae*, and in the following lines words are used, which certainly point to the censor's functions: **splendor** is a word especially applied to the *ordo equester* (*e.g.* Cic. de Fin. 2. 18. 58 *eques Romanus splendidus;* pro Sext. Rosc. 48. 140 *equestrem splendorem*); and **loco movere** recalls *tribu movere*. **honesti**, 'conscientious,' one who will act loyally as duty bids him. **111. audebit**, 'he will resolve': cf. line 148; 1. 2. 40. **quaecumque**: sc. *verba*. **112. ferentur**, 'will be current' when published. So Keller and Schütz, quoting Lucil. 30. 4 M *et sola ex multis nunc nostra poemata ferri.* Kiessling 'will be judged'; cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 822 *utcumque ferent ea facta minores.* Orelli, less probably, takes the metaphor as that of a river *quae rapido cursu fertur:* cf. S. 1. 4. 11 *flueret lutulentus.* **113. invita** keeps up the personification of the *verba* which has been suggested by the metaphor of the censor, and perhaps too by *honore indigna.* **114. versentur intra penetralia Vestae**: (1) Schütz (after Porph. *id est, domi*) takes this to mean simply the privacy of the poet's own house, from which the poems are not yet sent forth by publication; and accounts for the unusual expression by saying that the poet is regarded as the keeper of a shrine. He thinks the point to be that the poet is to exercise a severe criticism upon his writings before entrusting them to the general judgment. But it is doubtful whether *penetralia Vestae* could thus be used of a private house, even though there was usually an altar to Vesta on the hearth. (2) It is better therefore to render 'although they may be reluctant to retire, and may still cling to the sanctuary of Vesta's fane.' In the temple of Vesta there were certain mysterious objects, accessible only to the Vestals and the Pontiffs, and carefully guarded from the eyes of the multitude: they were kept in the *penetrale* of the temple, shut up in earthen vessels, and were regarded as the *pignora imperii* (Livy 26. 27; Ovid, Fast. 6. 359, 439). The most famous among these was the Palladium: but there were also other divine figures (especially of the Penates) and mystic emblems. The only difficulty is that there is no positive evidence that the temple of Vesta had the privileges of an asylum. But the notion of a sacred protection was always associated with the Vestal Virgins: if they met a condemned criminal in the street he was set free; and their intercession carried the greatest weight (Preller, Rom. Myth. 540). Hence it is not too much to assume that those in danger might have recourse to the temple for at least temporary protection. So Conington, 'And cling and cling like suppliant to a shrine.'

115. populo with **eruet** (='exhume'), ethic dat. 'for the benefit of the people.' **116. speciosa**, 'brilliant' or 'beautiful,' opposed to *verba quae parum splendoris habent;* cf. Quint. 1. 5. 3 *licet enim dicamus aliquod proprium speciosum, sublime.* **117. Cethegis**: M. Cornelius Cethegus (consul 204 B.C.) is mentioned by Cic. Brut. 15. 57 as the first *de quo sit memoriae proditum eloquentem fuisse, et ita esse habitum.* Ennius praised his *suaviloquens os* (Annal. 9. 304) and said he was called '*flos delibatus populi Suadaeque medulla.*' Cato 'the Censor' was consul in 195 B.C. The plural denotes 'men like C.' **118. situs**, properly 'neglect,' 'letting alone,' hence the result of neglect, 'mould,' 'rust': cf. Virg. Aen. 7. 440 *victa situ . . . senectus;* G. 1. 72 *et segnem patiere situ durescere campum.* **informis**, 'unseemly.' Horace himself indulges but rarely in archaisms and more commonly in his earlier than in his later writings. **119. nova**, 'newly coined' words. **usus**, personified as in A. P. 71, and spoken of here as a 'begetter' of new words, while there it is the despot who decides upon their fate. Horace is not

speaking here of *coining* new terms, but of a writer adopting and so stamping with his sanction those which have but lately become current, and are not yet recognised as classical. Hence **adsciscet** which is used of admitting strangers to the franchise, or recruits into a legion. 'New phrases, in the world of books unknown, | So use but father them, he makes his own'—Con.

120. **vemens**: cf. line 28 n. The poet must have the swift strong rush of a full stream, without losing clearness and purity of style. Cicero, Brut. 79. 274, says of M. Calidius *primum ita pura erat* (*oratio*), *ut nihil liquidius, ita libere fluebat, ut nusquam adhaeresceret.* 122. **luxuriantia**: sc. *verba*, of a redundancy in style, compared to the rank growth of trees not duly pruned, a metaphor which is also kept up by **conpescet**. Cf. Virg. G. 2. 370 *ramos compesce fluentes;* 1. 112 *luxuriem segetum tenera depascit in herba;* Cic. de Orat. 2. 23. 96 *luxuries stilo depascenda est* (*i.e.* must be kept down by the practice of writing); Quintil. 10. 4. 1 *luxuriantia adstringere . . . duplicis operae.* **sano**, *i.e.* one which does not emasculate: cf. A. P. 26. 123. **virtute**, not 'merit,' but rather 'energy, vigour.' The other faults can be set right: this admits of nothing but complete excision. 'But show no mercy to an empty line'—Pope. 124. **ludentis**, 'of one in sport.' **et torquebitur**, 'and yet he will exert himself to the utmost.' As the proverb has it, 'easy writing makes hard reading,' so a writer to seem at his ease, must put forth all his powers. One of the most striking illustrations is Addison's style, which attained its consummate ease only after the most careful revision. Pope has again caught the point admirably: 'But ease in writing flows from art, not chance, | As those move easiest who have learn'd to dance.' The apparent ease of motion of the trained dancer is due only to long-continued effort. 125. **Satyrum . . . movetur**: Roby 1120 (*a*), S. G. 469; cf. S. 1. 5. 63 *saltaret Cyclopa.* The Satyr would dance lightly, the Cyclops heavily and clumsily.

126-140. *A man who is labouring under a delusion may be a very happy man, and it is not always kind to dispel it.* 126. **praetulerim . . . ringi**: Horace has been throughout proving to Florus why he must expect no poems from him. Here he argues that as great exertions are necessary to success, *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.* There are some people who are blissfully unconscious of the worthlessness of their own productions, and live in a pleasing state of self-satisfaction. This he confesses, with some irony, to be the happier state. But it is over for him now. He is like a man who has been cured of an agreeable delusion, and restored to the hard realities of life. He knows he cannot write good poetry without an effort, and it is not worth his while to make it. It seems therefore that there is no need of a note of interrogation at *ringi*, as Krüger and others print. **praetulerim**: Roby 1540, S. G. 644 (*b*). 128. **ringi**, 'to be worried': cf. Ter. Phorm. 2. 2. 27 *dum tibi fit quod placeat, ille ringitur: ringi* is to show the teeth, used of an angry dog. Here the meaning is to be vexed with a sense of failure.

128. **haud ignobilis**: *quidam* may be understood from the relative in the next line. **Argis**: the Romans changed Ἄργος into *Argi* on the analogy of names like *Delphi, Veii, Gabii* etc., and perhaps misunderstanding the termination as an acc. plur. No form but *Argis* is found for the dat. and abl.; the gen. does not occur: the acc. *Argos* is usually masc. plur. (perhaps always in the historians) as Virg. Aen. 2. 95 *patrios ad Argos:* but occasionally neuter, as Od. 1. 7. 9 *aptum dicit equis Argos* (so in Ovid, but not in Virg.) 130. **sessor**, 'sitting regularly'; cf. Juv. 14. 86. 133. **ignoscere servis**: for reluctance to do this treated as a sign of insanity cf. S. 1.

3. 80 seq. **134. signo lagoenae**: wine flasks were always sealed up; cf. Mart. 9. 87. 7 *nunc signat meus anulus lagoenam*. *lagoena* and *lagona* are both legitimate forms, but not *lagena*. **135. rupem**: S. 2. 3. 56-60; A. P. 459. **136. opibus**: some say = *ope*, but it is doubtful whether even in verse the two words can be thus interchanged. In Od. 3. 3. 28 *Hectoreis opibus* is 'by the might of H.': in Ep. 1. 10. 36 perhaps 'resources' is a better rendering than 'aid'; cf. Cic. ad Att. 9. 16 *Caesar iam opes meas, non ut superioribus litteris, opem expectat*. **137. elleboro**: cf. S. 2. 3. 83 n.; A. P. 300 n. **bilemque**: bile, especially when black (μέλαινα χολή), was considered to cause frenzy or melancholy; cf. Plaut. Capt. 3. 4. 64 *atra bilis agitat hominem;* Cic. Tusc. 3. 5. 11 *quem nos furorem*, μελαγχολίαν *illi vocant*. Sir A. Grant (Ar. Eth. Nic. 7. 7. 8) says 'With the moderns the term *melancholy* is restricted to the cold and dejected mood: while the ancients much more commonly applied the term μελαγχολικός to denote warmth, passion, and eccentricity of genius: cf. Ar. Probl. 11. 38 τὸ τῇ φαντασίᾳ ἀκολουθεῖν ταχέως τὸ μελαγχολικὸν εἶναι ἐστίν.' **138. pol**: 1. 7. 92 n.

141-144. *Sixthly, (and in all soberness) the right occupation for a man of my years is to care less about harmony in verses, and more about a true harmony of life*. **141. sapere**, *i.e.* the study of philosophy, not as in line 128 of a knowledge of the laws of poetry. **nugis** are the *ludicra* of 1. 1. 10. **142. pueris** primarily with **concedere**, but supplied again after **tempestivum**, 'to give up to boys the sport which is seasonable for them': cf. 1. 14. 36. **143. sequi**, 'to try to find': A. P. 240 *carmen sequar*. **fidibus**, ablative, as we see from Virg. Ecl. 10. 51 *carmina pastoris Siculi modulabor avena;* the lyre plays the tune, by which the rhythm of the verse is regulated. **ac non** is used rather than *et non* where the meaning is 'and therefore not'; cf. 1. 10. 46; S. 2. 3. 135. **144. numerosque modosque**: cf. 1. 18. 59; Plat. Prot. 326 B ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εὐρυθμίας τε καὶ εὐαρμοστίας δεῖται.

145-154. *Hence I set myself to reflect upon the true cure for the common disease of avarice*. **146. sitim**, as having the dropsy; cf. Od. 2. 2. 13. **lymphae**: used for the water of a spring in Od. 2. 3. 12; 11. 20; 3. 11. 26; 13. 16; S. 1. 5. 24 (as in Lucr., Virg. and Ovid): for the water-nymphs S. 1. 5. 97. LVMPHIEIS corresponding to ΝΥΜΦΑΙΣ appears in a bilingual inscription in the Naples Museum (C. I. L. 1. 1238), but it is doubtful whether the old Latin *lumpa* (cf. *limpidus*) had originally anything to do with *nympha*, and perhaps it is only popular etymology which connected it with that word —in early Latin transliterated as *numpa*—and so led to the spelling *lympha*. **147. quod**, 'seeing that,' not directly dependent upon **faterier**. Horace returns so frequently to the vice of avarice that it is clear that he considered it one of the most common failings of his time: cf. 1. 1. 53. **149. monstrata**, 'prescribed.' Virg. Aen. 4. 636 *monstrata piacula;* G. 4. 549 *monstratas aras;* Juv. 10. 363. **151. curarier**, 'to be treated,' of course not 'to be cured.' For the form of the inf. cf. 2. 1. 94 n. **audieras**, from the talk of people in general, who are apt to think that wealth means happiness: cf. 1. 1. 53. **152. donarent**: past in accordance with the principle that even in stating a general truth, the tense of the verb on which another depends determines the sequence; cf. Cic. de Off. 2. 1. 1 *quem ad modum officia ducerentur ab honestate . . . satis explicatum arbitror;* Roby 1508, S. G. 620. **154. plenior** = *ditior*; Od. 2. 12. 24 *plenas Arabum domos*.

155-179. *If wealth made you wise, you ought to devote yourself to this. But really all you can secure is the enjoyment of what you need. What is*

commonly regarded as ownership gives no more pleasure to the temporary proprietor than is derived from the use of the produce by any one who can buy it: and no one can really own anything in perpetuity. **156. nempe,** 'of course,' often ironically, but not so here or below line 163: cf. *nimirum* above: so S. 1. 10. 1; 2. 3. 207; 7. 80. 107. **158. libra et aere**: Gaius 1. 119 thus describes the process: *est autem mancipatio . . . imaginaria quaedam venditio: quod et ipsum ius proprium civium Romanorum est; eaque res ita agitur. adhibitis non minus quam quinque testibus civibus Romanis puberibus, et praeterea alio eiusdem condicionis qui libram aeneam teneat, qui appellatur libripens, is qui mancipio accipiat rem, aes tenens ita dicit:* hunc ego hominem ex iure Quiritium meum esse aio, isque mihi emptus est hoc aere aeneaque libra: *deinde aere percutit libram, idque aes dat ei a quo mancipio accipit, quasi pretii loco.* The articles sold by mancipation were slaves, oxen, horses, mules and asses, and landed property in Italy. The coin or ingot was of bronze, because in the early days that metal was alone used for coinage: the balance was employed because all money was originally weighed out by the purchaser. **159. consultis** as in line 87. **mancipat,** 'makes your property.' Strictly speaking *mancipare* could be used only of the transference of chattels by the formal *mancipatio* just described. But uninterrupted enjoyment (*usus, usucapio*) of moveable property for one year, of immoveable for two years, gave a legal title in the case of *res mancipi* and *res nec mancipi* alike; and this is here loosely described by the term *mancipare.* The line of thought is 'If not merely purchase, but also continuous enjoyment makes property your own, then there is no advantage in the ownership of a large estate: you enjoy it just as much if you can purchase enough of its produce to supply your needs'; cf. Cic. ad Fam. 7. 30 *id cuiusque est proprium, quo quisque fruitur atque utitur.* **161. daturas**: so the *codd. Bland.* and other good MSS., and the reading is preferable to the alternative *daturus,* as the word seems to go better with the 'corn-fields' (**segetes**) than with the bailiff: cf. Virg. G. 2. 440, 520.

163. temeti: an old word used by Plautus, and by Cato according to Pliny, H. N. 14. 13. 90 *Cato ideo propinquos feminis osculum dare* (*scripsit*), *ut scirent an temetum olerent. hoc tum vino nomen erat, unde et* t e m u l e n t i a *appellata. abstemius* is akin: cf. Gell. 10. 23. 1 *aetatem abstemias egisse, hoc est vino semper, quod* t e m e t u m *prisca lingua appellabatur, abstinuisse.* **164. mercaris**: the purchaser of the estate has to pay the price down, while a man who buys the produce secures all the advantage of it, and has only to pay by instalments. But Horace seems to forget that after the full value of the land had been paid in these instalments, the purchaser of the produce would still have to go on paying for all that he wanted. **166. numerato,** not here in the technical sense of 'ready money' (cf. 2. 1. 105 n.), but 'by what you have paid down.' You must pay in any case, says Horace; the only question is whether you have just paid, or paid long ago. For the construction cf. *vivere rapto* Virg. Aen. 7. 749, and often in Livy. **olim = quondam** of the next line.

167. emptor quondam go together, 'a man who bought of old,' cf. Od. 3. 17. 9 n. The great preponderance of MS. authority is in favour of *quoniam,* which Keller warmly defends, placing a comma at **olim**, and the note of interrogation at **aenum**. But *quondam* and *quoniam* would be represented in the MSS. by almost indistinguishable abbreviations, and the former clearly makes the better construction. **Aricini Veientis et arvi**: *suburbana praedia*

at Aricia or Veii would be of more value than those at a distance from Rome. Veii had been lying in ruins since its capture by Camillus (396 B.C.), and its land had been divided among the soldiers of Julius Caesar in 45 B.C. These formed a small colony, which was dispersed during the wars of the triumvirs, and Propertius 4. (5.) 10. 29 in a poem probably written about the time of this Epistle speaks of the land within its walls as given up to herdsmen and reapers. For *Aricia* cf. S. 1. 5. 1. **168. emptum** is the emphatic word: 'if a man has bought land of old . . . the vegetables on which he dines are bought: bought too are the logs' etc. **169. sub noctem,** 'towards nightfall,' 'as the chill of night comes on,' cf. Od. 2. 1. 14 n.

170. suum, *i.e.* 'he calls all (the land) his own': **usque . . . qua,** 'as far as the spot where': **adsita,** 'planted near' or close by the *limites* to mark them. The poplar is used to mark the boundaries; like the beeches in Virg. Ecl. 9. 9 *usque ad aquam et veteres, iam fracta cacumina, fagos.* **171. limitibus**: the *limites* were properly strips or balks of land, left uncultivated in order to mark the boundaries of estates and used as highways. The case may be either dat. or abl. of place. Schütz less probably takes it as an abl. of instrument: but the *limites* were *certi* before the tree was planted. **refugit**: the tree is said itself to avoid the quarrels, which it enables the owner to avoid. So Varro, in speaking of this very custom of planting trees to mark boundaries, says (R. R. 1. 15) *praeterea sine saeptis fines praedii sationibus notis arborum tutiores fiunt, ne familiae rixentur cum vicinis, ac limites ex litibus iudicem quaerant.* The perfect tense probably = has ever since it was planted avoided. Bentley with poor authority read *refigit* (= *resolvit*). **vicina iurgia,** 'differences with the neighbours': so Soph. Ant. 793 νεῖκος ξύναιμον. **172. sit**: Roby 1580, S. G. 660. The pres. subj. is used in such sentences, unless there is historic sequence, even though the hypothesis is not one viewed as possible. For the sentiment cf. S. 2. 129-133. **puncto mobilis horae**: the 'fleeting hour' is regarded as a mere 'speck' or 'point' of time. *punctum temporis* is a very usual expression, but Lucr. 4. 201 has *puncto diei.* Cf. S. 1. 1. 7 *horae momento.* **173. nunc prece, nunc pretio**: with intentional alliteration, cf. Ov. Fast. 2. 805 *instat amans hostis precibus pretioque minisque: nec prece nec pretio nec movet ille minis.* **morte suprema,** 'by death which closes all'; cf. 2. 1. 12; 1. 16. 79; so *ultima mors* S. 1. 7. 13. **174. in altera iura** = *in alterius iura,* i.e. *potestatem.* Cf. Virg. G. 4. 37 *utraque vis* (sc. *frigoris et caloris*); Aen. 4. 357 *testor utrumque caput;* Munro on Lucr. 2. 433.

177. vici: sc. *rustici*; Acron explains *villae,* but the word conveys more than that: rather 'estates' or 'manors'; cf. Cic. ad Att. 1. 4 *Crassum divitiis supero, atque omnium vicos et prata contemno.* **Calabris . . . Lucani**: flocks of sheep were pastured in the plains of Calabria or Apulia during the winter, and driven up into the hills of Lucania or Samnium for the summer. Cf. Epod. 1. 27; Varro, R. R. 2. 1. 16 *itaque greges ovium longe abiguntur ex Apulia in Samnium aestivatum;* a similar practice is still observed in Spain for the Merino sheep. **178. metit**: Orcus is the true reaper after all; the 'reaper whose name is Death.'

180-189. *Some men value highly what others care nothing for. Even brothers have strangely different tastes, and the reason for this is mysterious.* **180. Tyrrhena sigilla**: little bronze statuettes of deities, of which numbers are still preserved in museums. Cf. Dennis, Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria, 1^2. lxxiv. and 2. 233 for a figure of one of the most archaic. Cic. de N. D. 1.

85 *novi Epicureos omnia sigilla venerantes.* These were often carried about attached to the person, like Louis XI.'s little leaden images of the saints. **181. argentum,** here clearly 'plate': cf. 1. 2. 44 n. **Gaetulo**=*Afro:* cf. Od. 2. 16. 35 *te bis Afro | murice tinctae | vestiunt lanae.* **182. curat:** the indic. is given in all MSS. But if Horace had meant, as most editors say, 'the wise man,' could he have used the indicative? The poet rather denotes himself, 'I know one at least who does not care to have.' So Conington and Kennedy, P. S. G. 456. Cf. Roby 1680, 1681, S. G. 703, 704.

183. cessare: cf. 1. 2. 31; 7. 57. Brothers unlike in character and tastes are common enough in history and in fiction: but probably Horace was most familiar with the pairs who appear in the Adelphi and the Hautontimorumenos of Terence. **184. Herodis,** *i.e.* Herod the Great who reigned 39-4 B.C. The most famous palmgroves were near Jericho, 'the city of palm-trees' Deut. xxxiv. 3. Strabo 16. 2. 41 says of it ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ὁ φοινικών, μεμιγμένην ἔχων καὶ ἄλλην ὕλην ἥμερον καὶ εὔκαρπον, πλεονάζων δὲ τῷ φοίνικι, ἐπὶ μῆκος σταδίων ἑκατὸν διάρρυτος ἅπας καὶ μεστὸς κατοικιῶν· ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ βασίλειον καὶ ὁ τοῦ βαλσάμου παράδεισος. **pinguibus,** 'rich,' *i.e.* productive, as often of soil: *e.g.* 1. 3. 5; Virg. G. 1. 14 *pinguia dumeta;* ib. 4. 118 *pingues hortos,* etc. Schütz says 'productive of rich palm-oil,' but palm-oil was probably not known to the ancients, and the palms of Jericho were certainly date-palms. **185. inportunus,** 'merciless,' both to others and to himself; cf. S. 2. 5. 96 n. **186. flammis:** 'Palladius directs that when land is covered with trees, a distinction must be made between that which is naturally good and that which is poor, as from the former the timber should be merely removed, and the land ploughed up (cf. **ferro**): whereas in the latter it should be burned, in order that the soil may be enriched with the ashes' (Daubeny, Roman Husbandry 94). **mitiget,** 'reclaims,' cf. *pacantur* 1. 2. 45.

187. Genius: cf. 1. 7. 94 n. **natale . . . astrum.** Horace tells us (S. 1. 6. 114) that he was fond of standing by the astrologers in the Circus, and listening to their predictions, without any great faith in them: in Od. 2. 17. 17-22 he uses the language of astrology merely as poetical ornament, and in a manner which shows his own indifference to it; in Od. 1. 11 he condemns it as an idle superstition. After his time, astrology received a considerable impulse at Rome from the patronage of Tiberius: cf. Tac. Ann. 2. 27. 2; 32. 5, and Hist. 1. 22. 2 *mathematicis . . . genus hominum . . . quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur.* **temperat,** 'controls.' **188. mortalis:** viewed in itself, and as a part of the divinity which rules the universe, the genius is immortal, as Apuleius says (de deo Socr. c. 15) *is deus, qui est animus suus cuique, quamquam sit immortalis, tamen quodammodo cum homine gignitur.* But as regards the individual (**in unum quodque caput**) it is mortal, and on the death of the man to whom it is attached, it returns into the universal soul of the world. Some Stoics believed that all souls existed independently until the end of the world's course, when they would be resolved into the Divine Being; others that only the souls of the wise retained for a time this independent existence. The notion that the genius of the individual is a part of the World-soul explains how it can be regarded as 'controlling the natal star.' **189. albus et ater,** 'fair and gloomy,' according as men are fortunate (εὐδαίμονες) or unfortunate (κακοδαίμονες).

190-204. *For my own part, I believe that the pleasures of life should be enjoyed, but with moderation; and therefore my wishes are limited.* **190.**

utar: best taken absolutely, 'I will enjoy what I have,' not, as Schütz, either understanding *Genio*, or anticipating *modico acervo*. Cf. Pers. 6. 22 *utar ego, utar*. **ex modico acervo**: the miser in S. 1. 1. 51 defends himself by the plea *at suave est ex magno tollere acervo*. **res**, 'the occasion.' **191. heres**: cf. 1. 5. 13. Horace had no natural heirs, and ultimately left his property by a verbal declaration to Augustus *cum urguente vi valetudinis non sufficeret ad obsignandas testamenti tabulas* (Suet. Vit. Horat.) **192. datis**, *i.e.* than what he actually receives under my will. **193. volam**, 'it will be my wish.' The future is occasioned by the preceding futures *tollam* and *metuam*: otherwise the present would be more natural. **simplex**, 'open-hearted,' cf. Tac. Hist. 3. 86 *simplicitas et liberalitas*. **nepoti**, 'spendthrift,' cf. 1. 15. 36 n. **195. an neque . . . neque**, 'or whether without being unwilling to spend you yet do not strive to amass, but rather. . . .' **197.** For **ac potius** cf. Cic. de Orat. 2. 18. 74 n. **quinquatribus**, the 'spring holidays' (Juv. 10. 115), observed not only in schools, but as general festivities, from March 19 to March 23. Ovid (Fast. 3. 809 *fiunt sacra Minervae | nomina quae iunctis quinque diebus habent*) derives the name from the fact that the holiday extended over five days: but Festus (254 M), by quoting forms like Triatrus, Sexatrus etc. shows that the word was applied originally only to the first day of the festival, and that it denotes the fifth day after the Ides. **olim**: 1. 3. 18.

199. domus. Bentley attacked this reading, as inconsistent with the metaphor of a ship in the next line. One MS. of no great excellence repeats *procul*, which he accepted. But this repetition, though common enough in passages of earnest and impressive diction (*e.g.* Virg. Aen. 6. 258 *procul o procul este profani;* Ov. Fast. 2. 623 ; Metam. 8. 589, etc.) is not well suited to the quiet tone of Horace here. Some MSS. of the third class omit *domus* and *absit* (not, as Bentley supposed, *domus* only): but this is clearly due to an accident, and does not justify the suspicion of Orelli and others that the genuine word has been lost, and that *domus* is due only to conjecture. Meineke approved the conjecture *modo*, but in Horace we always find *mŏdŏ*, and that only after *dum* or *si*. Jeep, followed by Krüger, proposed *modo ut procul*. But *domus* is defensible. Horace goes back in thought to the costly ornaments of the house mentioned in lines 180-182, and says that all these may well be spared: provided the straitened means are not such as to produce sordid surroundings, a man's lodging makes no more difference to himself than the size of a ship would, in which he might be sailing. **utrum . . . an**: a startling substitution of the dependent double interrogative for the alternative hypothesis *sive . . . sive*, but to be explained by supposing that some expression like *nihil distat* was present to the mind of Horace, for which he afterwards substituted *ferar unus et idem*. Cf. Ov. Rem. Am. 797 *Daunius an Libycis bulbus tibi missus ab oris, | an veniat Megaris, noxius omnis erit*, where the explanation is similar. **201. non agimur**: concessive, 'we are not driven on, it is true': cf. 1. 1. 33 ; 6. 29. **Aquilone secundo**: the strong north wind, even if favourable, might swell the sails to a dangerous extent: hence it is here used of perilous prosperity. Cf. Od. 2. 10. 23 *contrahes vento nimium secundo | turgida vela*. **202. aetatem ducimus**, 'we drag out our life.' Epod. 17. 63 *ingrata misero vita ducenda est*. **Austris**: the south wind is usually regarded as stormy (*turbidus* Od. 3. 3. 4), rainy (*umidus* Virg. G. 1. 462, *pluvius* Ov. Met. 1. 66), and cold (*frigidus* Virg. G. 4. 261, *hibernus* Tib. 1. 1. 47). **203. loco**, 'position.' **204. extremi . . . priores**: cf. 1. 2. 70, 71. **usque**, 'ever'; A. P. 154, 354 and often.

205-216. *But true wisdom consists in avoiding not only avarice, but also all other distracting passions and fears, and in renouncing the pleasures of life, when you can no longer enjoy them in accordance with the rules of virtue.* **205. non es**, again concessive. Horace is not addressing Florus, but any reader; cf. 1. 1. 28. **abi**, 'very good,' a colloquial use: cf. Plaut. Asin. 3. 3. 114 *em sic: abi, laudo;* Ter. Adelph. 4. 2. 25 *laudo: Ctesipho, patrissas: abi, virum te iudico.* **206. fugere**: the *codd. Bland.* and other good MSS. have *fuge: rite caret;* but there is at least as much authority for the text, which seems to have been altered because the copyists did not understand the perfect tense. **inani**: cf. 2. 1. 211 n. **207. ira**: sc. *mortis*: for the sense cf. Lucr. 3. 1045 *tu vero dubitabis et indignabere obire?* For *ira* 'rage' followed by a genitive of that which occasions it cf. Livy 1. 5 *ob iram praedae amissae;* 21. 2. *ob iram interfecti domini.* 'Anger' would not come in naturally before lines 210, 211. **208. sagas**: cf. Cic. de Div. 1. 31. 65 *sagire enim sentire acute est: ex quo sagae anus, quia multa scire volunt, et sagaces dicti canes.* From the notion of prophetic power that of witchcraft was easily developed: cf. Od. 1. 27. 21. **209. lemures**: Porphyrion explains '*umbras vagantes hominum ante diem mortuorum et ideo metuendos: et putant* lemures *esse dictos quasi* Remulos *a Remo, cuius occisi umbras frater Romulus cum placare vellet, Lemuria instituit, id est, Parentalia quae mense Maio per triduum celebrari solebant.*' This derivation is simply due to 'popular etymology': the origin of the word is uncertain. The Lemures were usually identified with the *larvae*, spirits who in consequence either of wicked lives or of a violent death were doomed to restless roamings about the world at night; while the *lares* were the spirits of the good departed ones. The festival of the Lemuria, at which they were honoured for three nights (on May 9th, 11th, and 13th), is described by Ovid, Fast. 5. 419-492. **Thessala**: Thessalian witches were said to draw down the moon from heaven; cf. Epod. 5. 45, 46 n.

210. grate numeras: cf. Mart. 10. 23. 1-4 *iam numerat placido felix Antonius aevo | quindeciens actas Primus Olympiadas, | praeteritosque dies et totos respicit annos, | nec metuit Lethes iam propioris aquas;* Pers. 2. 1. 2. **212. levat** is much more pointed than *iuvat*, and is adopted by most good recent editors since Bentley, though it has not much MS. authority: cf. 1. 8. 8; Epod. 2. 17, 20; C. S. 63; S. 2. 3. 292. **spinis**: 1. 14. 4. **213. recte**, 'aright,' *i.e.* in accordance with virtue: so *rectum* = κατόρθωμα. **decede peritis**, 'make way for those who have learned the lesson': *peritis* is dat., as in Virg. Ecl. 8. 88 *serae decedere nocti.* **214. lusisti**: 'ludere ubi cum verbis edendi bibendique consociatur, semper amoris ludum denotat, ut in Graeco παίζειν, ἐσθίειν, πίνειν' (Ritter). Festus (11 M) quotes from Livius Andronicus *affatim edi, bibi, lusi.* Plut. de Fort. Alex. 2. p. 336 C has ἔσθιε, πῖνε, ἀφροδισίαζε· τἆλλα δὲ οὐδέν. Cf. 1. 14. 36. **215. abire**, as from a banquet; cf. S. 1. 1. 119 n. **216. pulset**, 'drive you out,' or 'cuff you about.' **lasciva decentius**, 'that may more becomingly make merry'; cf. A. P. 106.

ARS POETICA

The place now generally assigned to the *Epistola ad Pisones*, as the third Epistle of the second book, rests upon no ancient authority. In the MSS. it always appears, detached from the other Epistles, either after the fourth book of the Odes or after the Carmen Saeculare. H. Stephanus first placed it at the end of his edition: and Cruquius set the fashion, which has recently been revived, of denoting it as Epistolarum Lib. 2. Ep. 3. The editors who have given it this position seem to have been led to do so by their view as to the date of its production. It has been commonly supposed to be the latest of the works of Horace; and the want of structural completeness, which it undoubtedly displays, if regarded as a poetical treatise 'On the Art of Poetry,' has been considered as a proof that it was never finished, and probably was not published by the poet himself. This theory has been further confirmed by the assumption made as to the identity of the *Pisones*, to whom the Epistle was addressed. Porphyrion begins his commentary with the words: *hunc librum, qui inscribitur de arte poetica, ad Lucium Pisonem, qui postea urbis custos fuit, eiusque liberos misit; nam et ipse Piso poeta fuit et studiorum liberalium antistes.* This Lucius Piso was the son of the enemy of Cicero: he was born 48 B.C., was consul in 15 B.C., and under Tiberius became *praefectus urbi*, an office which he held for twenty years, according to Tacitus, dying in A.D. 32 at the age of eighty. Now it is just possible that this Piso had two sons, old enough to be addressed as *iuvenes*, before the death of Horace in 8 B.C. But it is only by straining probabilities to the utmost, that we can bring these young Pisos into connexion with Horace; and the difficulty thus arising makes us inclined to look for other indications of an earlier date, which would show that the statement of Porphyrion is erroneous. Some of these indications, as put together by A. Michaelis and supplemented by Prof. Nettleship, are :—

(1) P. Maecius Tarpa is mentioned in line 387 as a critic whose judgment would be of value to a young composer. Now in 55 B.C. Maecius was entrusted by Pompeius with the superintendence of the plays and other spectacles to be produced in the stone theatre, which he had just built. It is indeed conceivable that at that time he was not more than thirty years of age, and that in 8 B.C. he was still living at the age of seventy-seven; but it is much easier to understand the reference, if it was made some ten or twelve years earlier. Horace mentions him as a critic of plays in S. 1. 10. 38, *i.e.* about 35 B.C.

(2) In line 371 Aulus Cascellius is mentioned as a type of a learned lawyer, in connexion with Messalla, who is a type of eloquence. The language used indicates that both were living, and certainly Messalla was. But Cascellius was already famous in 56 B.C., and could hardly be living in 8 B.C.

(3) On the other hand in line 438 Quintilius Varus is spoken of in a manner which implies that he was dead, but as though he had been known to the young Pisos, and was not long dead. Now he died 24 B.C.; cf. Od. 1. 14 Intr.

(4) The reference to Virgil and Varius in line 55 is much more appropriate, if we suppose them both to be living, or at any rate that the Aeneid had been very recently published. Horace is evidently contending for a right which was disputed by the critics of his time, and in the thick of the battle: he is

defending the school to which he himself, as well as Virgil and Varius, belonged. But in the latest years of his life the 'Augustan' school of poetry had already won a decisive victory, and its leading writers were recognised as classic models. There was no longer need for the warm and strenuous pleading for that freedom in dealing with language, which was now generally conceded: it was sufficient to assert it quietly in the tone of Ep. 2. 2. 115 seq.

(5) Horace's tone in speaking of himself points to the earlier rather than to the later date. There is no reference to his advancing years, as *e.g.* in Ep. 2. 2. 55 seq. 'There is nothing of the air of a man who is weary and feels that his work is done' (Nettleship). It is true that in line 306 he says that he is now writing nothing himself; but this expression may be referred just as well to that period of inactivity which followed the publication of Odes I.-III., as to that which marked the latest years of his life.

(6) The arguments for the traditional date drawn from lines 63 seq. break down upon a more correct interpretation of that passage, for which see notes in loc.

(7) There is no trace of intimacy with Augustus in this Epistle. His name is not even mentioned. Now Horace was probably in very close relations with the Emperor after his return to Rome from the East in 19 B.C.

Many indications therefore agree in pointing to a time not far removed from the date of the first book of the Epistles, *i.e.* about 20 B.C., as the date of composition. But this date is quite incompatible with the identification of the Pisos given by Porphyrion, and we should therefore regard this as an unlucky guess of the scholiast, or rather of the unknown authority on whom he drew. Possibly the young Pisos referred to may be the sons of Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, consul 23 B.C. He had fought against Caesar in Africa, and had afterwards joined Brutus and Cassius. After the amnesty which followed the battle of Philippi, he had kept aloof from public life, until Augustus urged him to accept the consulship. He was probably some ten or twelve years older than Horace. His eldest son Gnaeus was consul in 7 B.C., and must therefore have been born not later than 40 B.C.; while the younger son Lucius was consul in 1 B.C., and therefore born not later than 34 B.C.

The title 'Ars Poetica,' or 'De Arte Poetica Liber,' is found in almost all MSS. Quintilian 8. 3. 60 writes *id tale est monstrum, quale Horatius in prima parte libri* de arte poetica *fingit;* and in the Epist. ad Tryph. 2 (prefixed to his Institutio) says *usus Horatii consilio, qui* in arte poetica *suadet, ne praecipitetur editio, nonumque prematur in annum.* Later grammarians regularly use the same title. There is no evidence that it comes from Horace himself; it was probably invented by an early editor, and it is not very suitable to the contents of the Epistle, suggesting, as it does, a regularity and completeness of treatment to which the poem makes no claim, and which indeed seems to be intentionally avoided. But a name which has been so long in use cannot be abandoned without inconvenience; and it may be accepted on the authority of tradition, provided we do not allow it to mislead us as to the real character of the Epistle. The Epistle is certainly not a complete 'Art of Poetry.' Some important branches of the subject are omitted altogether: others are discussed with a fulness quite disproportionate to their importance. It is sometimes difficult to trace the sequence of the remarks; and digressions and repetitions appear to abound. Many attempts have been made to remedy this disorder, but they have had no real basis, and have rarely satisfied any but their propounders, while each suggested rearrangement has been declared by later critics to make matters only worse. It has been too commonly overlooked that probably Horace intentionally avoided in this as in other Epistles, the appearance of a

formal regularity of treatment. The Epistle, like the *Satura*, from which it originated, was of the nature of a familiar chat, rather than a set treatise, and precisely marked divisions and subdivisions were quite foreign to its nature.

The Epistle may be divided into three main sections. In the first (1-72) the poet is enjoined to look to the unity of his style and conception, and to avoid all that is out of keeping. In the second (73-288) these general principles are applied to the various kinds of poetry, and especially to the drama, which is discussed at length. In the third (289-476) the manifold requisites for a successful cultivation of poetry are dwelt upon, and the young Pisos are warned of the difficulties which surround the poet who is not fitted by learning, genius, and painstaking labour for his high vocation. The further development of these general divisions must be reserved for the running analysis. But one point calls for further remark in the space which is given to the criticism of the drama. While only 24 lines are assigned to epic poetry, no less than 170 are devoted to dramatic poetry. For this various reasons have been given. It has been suggested that Horace himself, who was certainly not without dramatic power, may have contemplated writing for the stage. Others invent the hypothesis that the young Pisos had shown tendencies in that direction. But without denying the possibility of these suppositions, it may be suggested that Horace has rather in view the awakened interest in the drama, prevalent in his own day, and among his own set. In the generation of Cicero dramatic literature had fallen out of favour; and though Quintus Cicero was proud of having written four tragedies in sixteen days, the rapidity of the production shows how little it was regarded as a serious pursuit. But of Horace's contemporaries some of those of highest mark had devoted themselves to tragedy. Asinius Pollio, Varius, and Ovid, all won distinction in this branch of literature, and although Augustus had the good sense to cancel his own tragedy of Ajax, the fact that he had written it shows the direction which the current was taking. It is probable that Horace, in devoting so much attention to the criticism of the drama, did so in recognition of the prevalent literary tastes, and with the wish to influence them in the direction of profounder study of the true classical models.

1-37. *The first requisite for a work of art is harmony and proportion between the various parts, which alone can secure unity.* Porphyrion says *primum praeceptum est* περὶ τῆς ἀκολουθίας, *i.e.* consistency in dealing with the several portions (lines 1-9). In painting the neglect of organic unity results in a ridiculous monster: the effect is not less absurd in poetry. **1. humano . . . equinam**: the inverted order (*chiasmus*) adds emphasis. **2. velit**: Roby 638. **inducere**, *penicillo adiungere* Comm. Cruq., which Orelli adopts. But Acron is more correct with his *inponere* 'lay on,' cf. Plin. H. N. 35. 6. 26 *si purpuram facere malunt* (*pictores*) *caeruleum sublinunt, mox purpurissum ex ovo inducunt.* **3. undique collatis membris**: probably the dative after *inducere*, not the abl. abs. (as Orelli thinks), for the indirect object after *inducere* can hardly be spared: *sic* is understood from the following *ut*, as in line 8 etc., 'and to spread feathers of varied hues over limbs brought together from all sides in such a way that' etc. **turpiter atrum** go together; cf. Ep. 1. 3. 22 *turpiter hirtum*: **atrum** =*foedum* 'hideous'; Ep. 2. 2. 189. **4. in piscem**, *in beluam marinam*, i.e. *pistricem* Acron, whence some have read *atram . . . in pristim*: cf. Virg. Aen. 3. 427 *postrema inmani corpore pistrix* of Scylla; 10. 211 *in pristim desinit alvus* of Triton. But the general term is at least as good as the more specific one, if not better. **5. spectatum**, 'to a private view'; the supine.

7. **vanae**, 'unreal'; cf. Ep. 2. 1. 211 n. 8. **species**, 'fancies': *vanae species*, as Schütz points out, are not in themselves blameworthy in a work of imagination: only they must not be inconsistent, like the dreams of a man suffering from fever. **nec pes nec caput**, a metaphor suggested by the comparison with a picture: cf. Plaut. Asin. 3. 3. 139 *nec caput nec pes sermoni adparet;* Capt. 3. 4. 81 *garriet quoi neque pes umquam neque caput compareat.* **uni**, proleptic: *ita ut una fiat.* 9. **reddatur**, 'is adapted to.' *natura rerum* dat, *poeta* reddit *ut debitum*—Orelli. **pictoribus . . . potestas**: the objection of a critic. 10. **aequa**: Acron interprets this as 'equal.' The connexion then is: 'poets have just as much licence of unrestricted imagination as painters have: but we have seen that there are limits in the one case; therefore there must be also in the other.' Orelli and Schütz give 'reasonable,' as in *aequum ius* etc. But 'a reasonable power of unlimited licence' is a contradiction in terms, not to be defended by saying that *quidlibet* is an intentional exaggeration, corrected in the next line. 11. **petimus** *quasi poetae*, **damus** *quasi critici*—Acron. 12. **coeant**: cf. Ep. 1. 5. 25. 13. **geminentur**, 'are paired.'

14. **inceptis**, 'plans.' 15. **purpureus**, 'brilliant': cf. Od. 3. 15. 15 n. Orelli takes the word='purple' and refers to the *latus clavus* which bordered the *toga praetexta*, or to the flounce (*instita*), sometimes attached to the *stola*. This hardly suits the context: the *panni* are not attached as appendages to the body of the work, but incorporated here and there in it. 16. **lucus et ara**: this and the following instances are probably taken from contemporary poets, but we cannot identify any of them. There may, however, be a reference to the worship of Diana Nemorensis at Aricia. 18. **Rhenum**, an adjective; cf. Od. 1. 15. 10 n. 19. **nunc**, 'at the moment.' **erat**, from the point of view of the reader, who goes back to the time of writing the poem. **cupressum**: the scholiasts tell a story of a bad painter, who could paint nothing but a cypress. A shipwrecked man requested him to paint a picture of his disaster, that he might, according to the custom, carry it about, and get alms (cf. Juv. 14. 301). The painter asked if he did not want a cypress introduced; whence the Gk. proverb μή τι καὶ κυπάρισσον θέλεις; applied to one who wishes to introduce ornaments out of place. 21. **coepit institui**: cf. Ep. 2. 1. 149 n. The *urceus* or 'pitcher,' though not necessarily smaller than the *amphora*, was so as a rule: and the sentence gains in point if we suppose that to a vessel of the size of an *amphora*, the shape of an *urceus* was given; at any rate, it was something very different. 22. **rota**, the potter's wheel; cf. Senec. Ep. 90. 31 *Anacharsis, inquit, invenit rotam figuli, cuius circuitu vasa formantur;* Hom. Il. 18. 600. **exit**: cf. Pers. 1. 45 *non ego, cum scribo, si forte quid aptius exit, . . . laudari metuam.* 23. **quidvis**: restored by Bentley for *quod vis* of almost all MSS. **simplex**, *i.e.* constituting a single and uniform whole. **dumtaxat**, 'provided only it be.'

24-31. *The desire to avoid a fault must be directed by knowledge, or the opposite fault is incurred.* 25. **specie recti**, 'by our idea of what is right': *species* is not here in a bad sense, a mere phantom. The word is often used in Cicero with the meaning of 'general notion'=ἰδέα. 26. **levia**, 'smoothness,' τὴν λειότητα of the rhetoricians, to which vigour and energy (δεινότης) were in danger of being sacrificed. **nervi**: cf. Cic. Brut. 31. 121 *quis Aristotele nervosior?* Quint. 8. proem. 18 *resistam iis, qui omissa rerum*, qui nervi sunt in causis, *diligentia quodam inani circa voces studio senescunt.* In good Latin

nervus, like νεῦρον, always denotes sinews or tendons (literal or metaphorical); cf. Celsus 8. 1 *nervi quos* τένοντας *Graeci appellant*, but sometimes appears to include also what we call 'nerves.' Galen (born A.D. 130) was the first to limit νεῦρον to the meaning 'nerve,' in its present sense. **27. animi**, 'spirit.' **professus grandia**: cf. Quint. 10. 2. 16 *plerumque* (*imitatores*) *declinant in peius et proxima virtutibus vitia comprehendunt fiuntque pro grandibus tumidi.* **28. serpit humi**: Horace mixes the metaphors of one who fears to soar and so creeps along the ground, and of a sailor who hugs the shore in his dread of a storm; cf. Od. 2. 10. 1 seq. Perhaps there is a reference to *pedestris oratio.* **29. prodigialiter** occurs in good Latin only here and Colum. 3. 3. 3. In Plaut. Amph. 732 *prodigialis Iuppiter* is the god who sends marvels. Hence the word seems to mean 'so as to produce a marvellous effect.' Wickham gives 'by exceeding the bounds of nature.' **unam**: perhaps better taken as merely denoting 'one and the same,' rather than as 'simple.' **30. delphinum**: the Gk. δελφίν or δελφίς becomes usually *delphinus* in Latin, as ἐλέφας becomes *elephantus*; but Ovid has twice *delphin* as the nom. (found occasionally in other poets), and five times *delphina* as the acc. sing.: Virgil (once Aen. 8. 673) and Ovid (three times) have *delphines* as nom. sing., and Virgil (Ecl. 8. 56) has *delphinas* as acc. plur. Ovid has the abl. *delphine* in Met. 11. 237, and the gen. plur. *delphinum* is found thrice in Virgil and once in Propertius. But these Gk. forms are entirely confined to poetry.

32. Aemilium ludum, according to Porph. a gladiatorial school near the Forum, built by an Aemilius Lepidus, who cannot now be identified. **imus** was confessedly the reading of the archetype, but Bentley's conjecture *unus* (='better than any one else') has found much acceptation. Ritter, Krüger and Schütz are, however, right in defending *imus*='the lowest in rank,' *i.e.* the poorest, or most unskilful. It is surely legitimate to say 'the poorest smith who lives by the Aemilian school will represent you nails, and imitate waving hair in bronze': and if so, there is no reason to depart from the MSS. Jordan (Hermes 9. 416 seq.) shows that probably around the outer walls of the *ludus* there were *tabernae*, let out to *fabri* by the builder or lessee of the school: he, however (and so Kiessling), gives *imus* a local sense='dwelling in the last or bottom shop'; cf. Porphyrion *in angulo ludi tabernam habentem.* Orelli, who read *unus*, seems wrong in regarding elaborate accuracy in the representation of the hair as a great merit in a sculptor. After the path had once been pointed out (according to Pliny, H. N. 34. 8. 19, by Pythagoras of Rhegium) it was not hard to follow it. **33. molles**, 'waving,' as often in Virgil, *e.g.* Ecl. 3. 45 *molli acantho;* applied to hair by Tibull. 1. 8. 9 *quid tibi nunc molles prodest coluisse capillos?* **34. infelix operis summa**, 'failing in his work as a whole.' **ponere**, 'represent,' often used of plastic art; cf. Od. 4. 8. 8. **35. me esse velim**: cf. Cic. in Cat. 1. 4 *cupio me esse clementem*, with note. **36. pravo**: cf. Ep. 2. 2. 44 n. **37. spectandum**=*dignum qui specter:* cf. Od. 1. 32. 11 *Lycum nigris oculis nigroque | crine decorum.*

38-41. *The subject chosen must be within the poet's powers.* **38. aequam** =*parem*, 'not too much for.' **39. versate**, 'consider'; cf. Plaut. Trin. 2. 1. 1 *multas res simitu in meo corde vorso.* **ferre recusent**: Ep. 2. 1. 258. **40. potenter**: Porphyrion explains as=κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, 'in accordance with his powers,' and this view has been generally adopted, although the word occurs nowhere else in anything like this sense. May not the meaning

be rather 'with self-restraint,' as opposed to the common force of *inpotens* and *inpotenter*? Mr. Reid suggests 'he who spends all his powers on the choice,' *i.e.* who uses every effort to choose aright. **41. facundia**: cf. Cato's golden rule for an orator '*rem tene, verba sequentur.*'

42-44. *The virtue of arrangement lies in a choice of what has to be said at the time.* **42. ordinis**, repeated by anaphora, as the subject matter of this and the next two lines. The general rule περὶ τῆς εὐταξίας (Porph.) is given in brief, for the detailed precepts depend entirely on the nature of the matter dealt with. **venus**, 'charm,' line 320. **aut ego fallor**, 'or else I am quite mistaken' = *ni fallor*: cf. Ov. Met. 1. 607 *aut ego fallor, aut ego laedor*; Livy praef. *aut me amor suscepti negotii fallit, aut* etc. **43. iam nunc**, 'at once,' 'at this very time'; cf. Ep. 2. 1. 127; Od. 2. 1. 17; 3. 6. 23: the proper arrangement is secured by not saying anything which is not immediately necessary to the clear comprehension of the narrative or the sentiment. **44. pleraque**, 'much' as in Ep. 2. 1. 66 n.: so *plerumque*, 'often,' in Ep. 1. 18. 94, and above in line 14. **differat** expresses rather the purpose of the poet, **omittat** his action: hence there is no tautology.

46-45. Bentley first transposed these two lines, so that *hoc* . . . *hoc* means 'one word . . . another word'; many of the best recent editors have followed him, and his reasoning seems to be irresistibly cogent. No error is more common in MSS. than the omission of a line, which afterwards is restored to a wrong place: and *hoc* . . . *hoc* seems almost inexplicable, if referred to the topic of order. It is extremely otiose to say that the composer of a poem long promised is to make a selection of his subject matter. Schütz attempts to defend the traditional order, but with little success. His argument that *dicat*, *differat*, and *omittat* need *auctor* as a subject is not strong; the subject is easily supplied from *hunc* of line 41: and the change to the second person *dixeris* is not harsh, and does not require the introduction of a new theme.

45-59. *Familiar words acquire freshness in a new connexion; and new words may be coined with discretion.* **46. tenuis**, here a word of praise, not blame = *subtilis*, λεπτός: cf. Od. 2. 16. 38. **serendis**, 'connecting,' suggesting both the avoidance of hiatus, and awkward juxtaposition, and also fresh syntactic combinations. **47. callida iunctura**: Orelli quotes as instances from Horace himself *splendide mendax*, *insanientis sapientiae consultus*, *animae magnae prodigus*. Prof. Nettleship happily refers to the charge brought against Virgil by Agrippa that he had been suborned by Maecenas to invent a new kind of affectation, which consisted in an unusual employment of ordinary words, and was therefore difficult of detection (Sueton. 44); and quotes phrases like *recens caede*, *tela exit*, *tendit iter velis* (Conington's Virgil 1.[4] xxix-xxxiii). **49. indiciis** = σημείοις. *indicia verba appellavit: philosophi enim dicunt indicandarum rerum causa inventas esse voces*—Porph. **abdita rerum**, 'new conceptions,' not previously brought to view. The great majority of MSS. read *rerum, et*; if so we get *et fingere continget* . . . *et ficta habebunt fidem.* **50. cinctutis** = *qui cinctu induebantur.* The *cinctus* was a broad waistband, or loin-cloth, worn by the old Romans instead of the *tunica* under the *toga*, and by the younger men in their exercises in the Campus, whence it was also called *campestre.* Porph. here says: *omnes enim Cethegi unum morem servaverunt Romae . . . numquam enim tunica usi sunt: ideo cinctutos eos dixit quoniam cinctus est genus tunicae infra pectus aptatae.* **51. continget**, 'you will be allowed': not very commonly used so without the dative expressed, as in Ep. 1. 17. 36; 2. 2. 41. **pudenter** = *cum*

pudore, i.e. 'with moderation.' **52. habebunt fidem**, 'will find acceptance' or 'credit.' **si Graeco** . . . The limitation is at first sight by no means clear. Why should newly-coined words find favour only if they come from a Gk. source? Is Greek alone the lawful fountain-head of a new vocabulary? Lehrs supposed a line to be lost, closing with *aut si*, so as to supply the missing alternative. But Schütz correctly points out that two ways of supplying needful words are touched upon in lines 45-53: (1) by a skilful connexion which adds new force to current words: (2) by new words coined to express new ideas. The second cannot be supplied from the stores of the Latin language, or this method comes to coincide with the first (as *e.g.* when 'booking' is used to describe the purchase of railway tickets): hence it must be met from the Greek. Probably **Graeco fonte cadent** refers to words formed on the analogy of Greek or on a Greek model, e.g. *inaudax* (Od. 3. 20. 3) = ἄτολμος, *ampullari* (Ep. 1. 3. 14) = ληκυθίζειν, *dominantia* = κύρια: and **parce detorta** means that such words are to be 'derived' (*i.e.* coined) only in moderate numbers. Others however give 'with only slight modification in form,' e.g. *amphora* from ἀμφορεύς, *placenta* from πλακοῦς.

53. quid autem is used in introducing a statement which removes an objection which might have been made to a previous statement: 'why indeed?' **54. dabit . . . ademptum,** 'grant to . . . and refuse to V.' These critics allowed a free use of words borrowed from Greek to the old dramatists; why refuse it to contemporary poets? Virgil was attacked for his use of Greek words: cf. Conington's Virgil 1.[4] xxxiii. Among the words censured are *dius*, *daedala*, *trieterica*, *choreas*, *hyalus*. Cf. Cic. de Fin. 3. 4. 15 *si Zenoni licuit cum rem aliquam invenisset inusitatam, inauditum quoque ei rei nomen inponere, cur non liceat Catoni?* **55. Varioque** connected with Virgil also in Ep. 2. 1. 247. For the freedom with which Plautus adopts Greek words in a Latinised form cf. Sellar, Roman Poets of the Republic 165. **56. invideor** for the more usual *invidetur mihi* = φθονοῦμαι: cf. *imperor* Ep. 1. 5. 21; *credor* Ov. Trist. 3. 10. 35. **Catonis**: the modernised form in which his only important extant treatise De Re Rustica has come down to us precludes us from ascertaining in what way he enriched the Latin language. Ennius did very much to fix the literary pronunciation of Latin, and to determine its vocabulary. **59. signatum** . . . 'give to the world words that bear the mint mark of the day'—Wickham. The metaphor of coinage applied to language is a very common one: cf. Quint. 1. 6. 3 *utendum plane sermone ut nummo, cui publica forma est.*

60-72. *All mortal things are doomed to change and to perish; and so too words.* **60. foliis mutantur**: cf. Cic. Balb. 31 *mutari civitate;* Livy 5. 46. 11 *mutari finibus;* Cic. ad Fam. 5. 21. 1 *mutari voluntate.* In all these cases the abl. is strictly one of respect, but the notion of severance comes in. The *silva* corresponds to the *aetas*, the *folia* to the individual *verba.* Bentley suggested *privos* for *pronos*, comparing Lucr. 5. 274 *privas mutatur in horas*, and 733 *inque dies privos*, with the explanation of Paulus 226 M *privos privasque antiqui dicebant pro singulis;* but Horace elsewhere (*e.g.* Ep. 1. 1. 93) uses *privus* as = *proprius* 'one's own,' and as *in annos* can mean 'each year' (cf. Od. 2. 13. 4 *in horas*) there is no reason why *in pronos a.* should not = 'each passing year.' Acron well explains *pronos* as *declives et cito labentes, instabiles, volubiles.* **61. prima cadunt,** 'the old ones fall,' the completion of the phrase being supplied naturally 'and new ones take their places.' So an old commentary has *prima, scilicet, folia cadunt,*

nova succrescunt, and Nettleship would consequently read here *prima cadunt, nova succrescunt.* Housman would punctuate *prima cadunt ita verborum. vetus interit aetas, et* . . . The metaphor is suggested by Homer, Il. 6. 146-149 οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. | φῦλλα τὰ μέν τ' ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δέ θ' ὕλη | τηλεθόωσα φύει, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη· | ὣς ἀνδρῶν γενεὴ ἣ μὲν φύει ἣ δ' ἀπολήγει—a passage which has found many other echoes in literature; cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 309.

63. **debemur**: cf. Simonides frag. 122 Bergk θανάτῳ πάντες ὀφειλόμεθα, Ov. Met. 10. 32 *omnia debemur vobis* (*dis inferis*). **sive receptus**, etc.: the W. coast of Italy was very deficient in good harbours. Hence when Sextus Pompeius was threatening Rome with a strong fleet, Agrippa, the admiral of Augustus, found it necessary to construct an artificial port. On the coast of Campania, between Misenum and Puteoli, there were two small lakes, the Avernus and the Lucrinus, separated from each other by a strip of land about a mile in breadth, while the latter, the outer lake, was divided from the sea by a narrow belt of sand or shingle. Agrippa strengthened this barrier by facing it with stone, but pierced it with a channel to admit ships, and also connected the two lakes by a canal, so as to form a safe and capacious harbour, called the Portus Julius. Virgil (G. 2. 161-164) speaks of this work as one of the glories of Italy. But whether there is any reference to it here, as is almost universally assumed, is very doubtful: see on line 67 below. 64. **arcet**: here with the acc. of the thing defended, and the abl. of that from which it is defended. In prose it is more common to have the acc. of the thing kept off, and the abl. (with *ab*) of that from which it is kept off. 65. **regis opus**: the phrase marks the work as comparable with that of the Egyptian and Babylonian kings. Meineke would read *regium* (cf. *regiae moles* Od. 2. 15. 1), urging that the text must mean 'the work of one who was a king,' a title always rejected by Augustus, as by Julius. **palus diu**: the MSS. read **diu palus**. Gesner's *palus diu* (approved by Lachmann), in which the long vowel is not elided but shortened in hiatus, has in its favour *si mĕ amas* of S. 1. 9. 38 and Virgil, Ecl. 8. 108 *an quĭ amant*, Aen. 6. 507 *tĕ amice.* The hiatus is common in Lucretius and Catullus: cf. Munro on Lucr. 2. 404. Although we cannot very confidently ascribe it to Horace here, especially as the instances apparently similar shorten the vowel in the first not the second thesis, it is less improbable than the shortening of the final syllable of *palūs*, to which no sort of parallel can be adduced. Hence the best recent editors admit it. But perhaps Bentley's *palus prius* is a safer correction: PRIV̄ would easily become DIV. The scholiasts refer to the draining of the Pomptine marshes by Augustus: *Pomptinas paludes Augustus exsiccavit et habitabiles reddidit iniecto aggere lapidum et terrae.* But although Julius Caesar intended to attempt this work (Suet. Jul. 44), and perhaps met with some partial success, there is no evidence that it was carried out by Augustus.

67. **seu cursum** . . . Porphyrion says *Tiberim intellegamus: hunc enim Agrippa derivavit, qua nunc vadit: antea per Velabrum fluebat*, and so too Acron. But the Velabrum was drained by the Cloaca Maxima in the time of the kings, and the Tiber never flowed through it. On the other hand the three instances of great works of men here mentioned as perishing are strikingly parallel to what Plut. Caes. 58 says of the schemes of Julius Caesar: 'He had also a design of diverting the Tiber, and carrying it by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circeii, and so into the sea near Tarracina . . . Besides this he intended to drain all the

marshes by Pomentium and Setia . . . He proposed further to make great mounds on the shore nearest Rome, to hinder the sea from breaking in upon the land, to clear the coast at Ostia of all the hidden rocks and shoals that made it unsafe for shipping, and to form ports and harbours fit to receive the large number of vessels that would frequent them. These things were designed without being carried into effect.' Now it seems pretty clear that the draining of the Pomptine marshes was never carried out to an extent sufficient to justify Horace's language, if taken strictly. There is great probability therefore in the view of Preller (Aufsätze 515 seq.) that Horace has in view throughout the designs of Julius rather than any works actually executed by Augustus. It would be a very doubtful compliment to the reigning emperor to take great engineering operations of his as instances of works doomed to pass away; whereas it would be natural for him to speak thus of gigantic schemes commenced a quarter of a century before and never completely carried out. We must therefore suppose Horace to be using a kind of poetic anticipation, 'assuming the great dictator's plans to have been achieved, still they are destined to fail in the long run.'

68. facta, not often used for *opera,* perhaps never in prose: but cf. Ovid, Her. 10. 60 *non hominum video, non ego facta boum,* where the last words = *ἔργα βοῶν.* **69. nedum . . . stet**: Roby 1658, S. G. 688. But in cases like the present Mr. Roby's way of stating the usage needs to be modified or rather inverted: the 'greater event,' *i.e.* the perishing of all works of men, is rhetorically regarded as having for its purpose the prevention of the 'less event,' the continued currency of words. **sermonum,** a very rare, perhaps unparalleled use of the plural, for 'style' or 'language.' **70. multa renascentur**: archaisms were much affected by the writers of the second century after Christ, such as Fronto, A. Gellius, and Apuleius. Our own time has similarly witnessed a great revival of archaic words in poetry. **72.** '**arbitrium** *quod statuimus nulla causa allata;* **ius** *facultas quam ceteri ultro agnoscunt;* **norma** *regula a nobis praescripta cui ceteri obtemperant*'—Orelli. **penes** personifies **usus,** 'in whose hands.' Cf. Ep. 2. 2. 119.

73-309. In this second main section of the poem Horace applies his general principles to the treatment of different kinds of poetry, passing from one to the other with little formality, but dwelling mainly upon the drama.

73-85. *Homer first wrote hexameters; then followed elegiac verse of uncertain origin: iambics were invented by Archilochus for his lampoons, and adopted both by comedy and tragedy. Lyric verse is fitted for hymns, for odes of victory, and for songs about love and wine.* **74. Homerus**: the invention of the hexameter was ascribed to the Delphic priests, and probably the earliest epic poetry—which must have existed for centuries before the Iliad assumed its present form—was of purely religious origin. Cf. Mahaffy's Greek Lit. 1. 15-17. The hexameter arose from a combination of two short lines, the first normally – ⏑⏑ | – ⏑⏑ | –, the second the same but with an anacrusis, and an added syllable at the end – | – ⏑⏑ | – ⏑⏑ | – ‖ –. From this the pentameter was formed by the omission of the added elements in the second half. Thus the character of the verse was entirely changed. Cf. Coleridge's version of Schiller's lines: 'In the hexameter rises the fountain's silvery column: | In the pentameter aye falling in melody back.'

75. inpariter, one of Horace's ἅπαξ λεγόμενα. **querimonia,** *i.e.* elegy. Horace seems to allude to the popular derivation of ἔλεγος from ἒ ἒ λέγειν 'to say ah me.' The word is probably of Phrygian origin, denoting primarily

a plaintive tune played on the Phrygian pipe, which there is reason to believe was especially used in 'laments over the dead' (*querimoniae*). **76. voti sententia compos,** not 'the feelings of one who has gained his prayer' *i.e.* of a successful lover; but almost certainly with reference to 'epigrams,' *i.e.* inscriptions placed on objects dedicated to some god on the fulfilment of a vow. See the Gk. Anthology. **77. quis tamen** . . . *εὑρετὴν δὲ τοῦ ἐλεγείου φασιν οἱ μὲν τὸν* Ἀρχίλοχον, *οἱ δὲ* Μίμνερμον, *οἱ δὲ* Κάλλινον—Orion 58. **exiguos** refers to the slighter and less dignified character of elegiacs as compared with hexameters. **78. grammatici,** 'our teachers,' *i.e.* professors of literature, as in Ep. 1. 19. 40.

79. Archilochum: cf. Ep. 1. 19. 23-25. **iambo**: the word *ἴαμβος* is derived from *ἰάπτω* 'to fling,' and denotes originally a flinging, or a verse flung at another, whence *ἰαμβίζω* 'to lampoon.' When Aristotle, Poet. 5. 6, says of Crates *πρῶτος ἦρξεν ἀφέμενος τῆς ἰαμβικῆς ἰδέας καθόλου ποιεῖν λόγους καὶ μύθους* he refers to the change from the mere abuse of the earliest stages to a regular comedy. **80. socci**: cf. Ep. 2. 1. 174 n. Comedy is mentioned before tragedy, though later in origin, or at any rate, later in reaching literary development, perhaps as being more akin in subject to the satire of Archilochus. Undoubtedly the reason for the choice of this metre both in comedy and tragedy is that given by Horace, that it comes nearest to the ordinary rhythm of prose. Cf. Arist. Rhet. 3. 8. 4 *ὁ δ' ἴαμβος αὐτή ἐστιν ἡ λέξις ἡ τῶν πολλῶν· διὸ μάλιστα πάντων τῶν μέτρων ἰαμβεῖα φθέγγονται λέγοντες.* So in 3. 1. 9 he speaks of tragic poets who *ἐκ τῶν τετραμέτρων εἰς τὸ ἰαμβεῖον μετέβησαν* (cf. Poet. 4. 18, where he also says that the earliest tragedies were in tetrameters) *διὰ τὸ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτο τῶν μέτρων ὁμοιότατον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων,* and in the Poet. 4. 18 he says *μάλιστα γὰρ λεκτικὸν τῶν μέτρων τὸ ἰαμβεῖόν ἐστι· σημεῖον δὲ τούτου· πλεῖστα γὰρ ἰαμβεῖα λέγομεν ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους*: a remark repeated by Cic. Orat. 56. 189: cf. Cic. de Orat. 3. 47. 182. **81. populares strepitus,** the murmur which always rises from any large assembly, and drowns everything but the clearest and most marked elocution. The frequent recurrence of the *ictus* in iambic rhythm makes it sharper and more easily audible than a metre which contains more short syllables. Cf. Cic. de Orat. 3. 47. 182 n. **82. natum rebus agendis,** 'suited by their nature to action.' So Arist. Poet. 24. 10 *τὸ δὲ ἰαμβικὸν καὶ τετράμετρον κινητικά, τὸ μὲν ὀρχηστικόν, τὸ δὲ πρακτικόν.*

83. fidibus, dat., 'to the lyre.' The object of **dedit** is *referre*: cf. Roby S. G. 534, and line 323 *dedit . . . loqui.* The two main divisions of lyric (or more properly *melic*) poetry were (1) the Dorian, or choric poetry, beginning with Terpander of Lesbos, who flourished at Sparta 670-640 B.C., and including Alcman, Thaletas, Arion, Stesichorus, Ibycus, and most famous of all Simonides and Pindar: this was public, choral, and elaborate in rhythm, and its subjects were religious or national, including the glory of victors in the games: (2) the Aeolic, of which Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon were the chief representatives and in which personal emotions were expressed in simpler metrical forms. To the former Horace refers in lines 83, 84, to the latter in line 85. **85. libera vina,** 'the freedom of wine'; *i.e.* the free speech of those who have drunk much wine (cf. S. 1. 4. 89; 2. 8. 37).

86-118. Not only must the right diction (45-72) and the fitting metre (73-86) be chosen, but also the proper tone and style must be maintained. Horace here begins to deal especially with dramatic poetry, which he keeps in view almost exclusively up to line 294. *One who cannot keep up the right tone in*

treating his characters does not deserve the name of poet. Tragedy and comedy have each their appropriate style, though sometimes they seem to pass into each other. A successful play must touch the feelings of the audience, and for this language well adapted to the position and character of the personages must be employed. **86. descriptas**, 'marked out,' assigned to tragedy and comedy respectively. **vices** seems never to mean 'parts,' the translation often given to it here. Comparing Od. 4. 7. 3 *mutat terra vices* we see that *vices* may denote the states into which a thing passes by change, as well as the changes themselves. Here it is 'the differences.' **operumque colores** is added to explain *vices*: cf. line 236, and S. 2. 1. 60 *vitae color*. We must say 'style' or 'tone.' **88. pudens prave**, 'from a false shame.' **90. privatis**, *i.e.* suited to daily life: a shocking tragedy in the life of a king ought not to be described in verse suited to the ordinary affairs of a simple citizen. **91. cena Thyestae**: the story of Thyestes, tricked by his brother Atreus into eating the flesh of his own two sons, is told by Aeschylus, Agam. 1517-1536, and was the subject of a tragedy by Varius, the friend of Horace, which according to Quint. 10. 1. 98 *cuilibet Graecarum comparari potest*.

92. This line has been transposed to after line 98 by L. Müller, and rejected by Lehrs and Ribbeck. 'After the negative considerations mentioned in lines 86-91 it sums up with the positive requirement that every metre and every style should keep to the place which through the historical development of poetry has become its proper one'—Kiessling, who however reads *decentem*. **93. et comoedia**, 'even comedy,' as well as tragedy. **94. Chremes**, a name borne by old men in the Andria, Phormio, Hautontimorumenus of Terence. The reference here is probably to the severe language of Chremes in Haut. 5. 4. Horace uses the word of a miser in Epod. 1. 33, borrowing it from some unknown comedy. Perhaps the name was applied to old men from a belief in the absurd old etymology 'a *χρέμπτεσθαι screare, quia senes screare solent.*' It is really connected with *χρεμ-ίζω* 'to snort,' and *grim*, etc. **delitigat**: only found here. For the form cf. Od. 1. 3. 13 n.

95. plerumque, 'often,' as in line 14. **tragicus**, 'in a tragedy,' like *Davus comicus* in S. 2. 5. 91: cf. Cic. in Pis. 20. 47 *tragico illo Oreste et Athamante dementiorem;* Caec. ap. Cic. Lael. 26. 99 *comicos stultos senes.* **sermone pedestri**: cf. S. 2. 6. 17 n. **96. Telephus**: see Class. Dict. Plays were written about him by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Agathon, Ennius, and Accius. He was wounded by Achilles and finally cured by him with the rust of the spear which wounded him, according to the oracle he received at Delphi *ὁ τρώσας καὶ ἰάσεται*. Euripides in a play, which was mercilessly satirised by Aristophanes in the Acharnians, introduces him as seeking the aid of Agamemnon in rags and squalor, and he became a stock example of fallen greatness. **Peleus** was banished from Aegina by his father Aeacus for the murder of his half-brother Phocus, and fled to Phthia. From Phthia he fled to Iolcus, and Sophocles in his Peleus seems to have represented him as driven thence when old and childish by the sons of Acastus (Frag. 434-442 D), Euripides as banished by Acastus (Frag. 620-626 D). But as Isocr. Evag. 192 *b* speaks of him as *κατὰ πολλοὺς ἄλλους κινδύνους εὐδοκιμήσας*, we cannot say what part of his life of varied adventure was especially in the mind of Horace. **97. proicit**, 'throws aside.' **ampullas**: cf. Ep. 1. 3. 14 n. **sesquipedalia**, polysyllables, such as those much in favour with the early Latin dramatists. Gellius 19. 7 quotes from Laevius *foedifragus, pudoricolor, trisaeclisenex, dulcioriloquus*, and others. Pacuvius

wrote *Nerei repandirostrum incurvicervicum pecus.* Crates (quoted by Athen. 10. 418 c) speaks of *ἔπη τριπήχη Θετταλικῶς τετμημένα*, *i.e.* cut into big pieces, such as the Thessalian gluttons loved. **98. si curat cor**: the neglect of the caesura is intentional, to imitate the carelessness of artistic form in one feeling deeply. For the perf. infin. cf. Ep. 1. 17. 5 n.

99. pulchra, 'fine' when judged by the canons of art: **dulcia,** 'charming' to the feelings and hearts of the readers. Gesner quotes the French saying: *La beauté est pour l'esprit, la douceur est pour le cœur.* **101. adsunt** is the reading of the MSS. supported by Acron's *in praesto sunt.* Bentley eagerly accepted *adflent*, the suggestion of some earlier scholars. But the threefold repetition of *flere* would be far from elegant, and the antithesis would be disagreeably forced with this reading. For *adesse* 'to support' with help and sympathy cf. line 204, Ep. 1. 17. 57: so often in Cic. and Livy. **102. dolendum est**: Acron here quotes *illud Ciceronis* '*ardeat orator, si vult iudicem incendere,*' apparently an inaccurate reminiscence of Cic. de Orat. 2. 45. 189, 190. Porphyrion quotes a story of Demosthenes declining to plead the cause of a man who said he had been beaten, because he told the story without any emotion, and only undertaking the case when the man repeated the tale of his wrongs for the third time, with tears of indignation. **104. male mandata** go together, and the participle really expresses the main proposition: 'if the words which you utter are ill assigned to you,' *i.e.* unsuited to your position and emotions.

105. maestum, 'dejected,' almost always of an outward expression of grief: hence *dolor* and *maeror* are contrasted in Cic. ad Att. 12. 28; Phil. 11. 1. **107. lasciva,** 'sportive,' with no evil connotation. The word is used ten times by Horace, and never in a distinctly bad sense: cf. Ep. 2. 2. 216. **severum seria**: '*inter* serius *et* severus *hoc discriminis est, ut prius fere semper dicitur de rebus, posterius de hominibus*'—Ruhnken on Ter. Eun. 3. 3. 7. **109. iuvat,** 'gladdens,' rare in this sense as a personal verb; and perhaps only here with a person not a thing as the subject. **habitum** = *ἕξιν* or *σχῆμα* 'condition.' **111. motus,** probably never, even in poetry, used without *animi* for 'emotion.' **interprete lingua,** 'by the agency of the tongue.'

113. equites peditesque, 'one and all' from the highest to the lowest. Bentley objects (1) that the phrase is never used to cover the whole people, except with a distinctly military reference, or as in Livy 1. 44 *edixit ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque centuriis in campo Martio adessent;* (2) that Horace professes elsewhere to care only for the judgment of the educated (cf. S. 1. 10. 76 *satis est equitem mihi plaudere*); and therefore bids us read *equitesque patresque* 'librariorum populo valere iusso.' This reading receives some support from Mart. 14. 120, where the phrase is used of the educated as opposed to the unlearned: *quamvis me ligulam dicant equitesque patresque, | dicor ab indoctis lingula grammaticis.* But here the expression is more forcible, if all the audience is supposed to laugh at the incongruity of language, and there is nothing unnatural in the phrase, used with a certain tone of sportiveness. **cachinnum** *est verbum secundum ὀνοματοποιΐαν fictum a sono risus*—Acron. **114. divusne an heros**: this reading has the support of by far the most and the best MSS. But some have thought that the contrast between a god and a hero is not as great as the context requires: hence Erasmus cleverly suggested *divesne . . . an Irus* (the beggar of the Odyssey), while Landinus would read *Davusne . . . herusne,* accepting

the *Davus* of a few inferior MSS., which is doubtless due only to an untimely remembrance of line 237: and there is a very strong objection to it in the fact that Horace is here dealing solely with tragedy, where a comic slave is quite out of place. The text is clearly right, for where the gods appear in tragedy (as in the Eumenides, the Ajax, the Hippolytus and elsewhere) their tone is calmer and more dignified than that of human characters, however heroic. Cf. Plut. Arist. et Men. comp. 1 οὐκ ἂν διαγνοίης . . . εἴτε θεός, εἴτε γραῦς, εἴτε ἥρως ὁ διαλεγόμενος. **116. sedula nutrix**: such as the garrulous gossip of the Choephoroe, whose language (lines 734-765) would ill suit a lady of high degree. **117. mercator vagus**: a part assumed as a disguise by the attendant of Odysseus in the Philoctetes 542 seq. **cultor**: like the αὐτουργὸς Μυκηναῖος in the Electra of Euripides. **118. Colchus**: a fierce barbarian, like Aeetes. **Assyrius**: soft and effeminate, like Xerxes in the Persae. The word 'Assyrian' was used with great latitude by the Latin poets, for any Oriental: cf. Od. 2. 11. 16; 3. 4. 32 *litoris Assyrii viator:* Virg. Ecl. 4. 25; G. 2. 465. **Thebis**: the Thebans were often represented as rude, lawless, and overbearing, *e.g.* Creon in the Antigone and Oed. Col., Eteocles in the Sept. Theb. and the Phoenissae. **Argis** (Ep. 2. 2. 128 n.): the Argives are contrasted with the Thebans, probably because of the prominence of the legends, dealing with the struggle between them, in the tragic cycle. If Agamemnon is the typical Argive, the character is one of proud dignity.

119-135. *Either* (1) *follow the accepted tradition, or* (2) *be careful that your characters are consistent.* (1) *If you describe Achilles, Medea, Ino, etc., let them exhibit their well-known qualities, or* (2) *if you try something new, your personages must be true to themselves throughout; but* (2) *as it is difficult thus to give individual shape to common types of character, you are wiser to dramatise the tale of Troy, and* (1) *you can make this public material your own by a little originality, avoiding the beaten track and not translating literally.* Line 119 gives a two-fold rule for composition; 120-124 deal with the first half of it; 125-127 with the second; then Horace 128-130 advises not trying the second method, and 131-135 point out why the first is preferable. The paragraph exactly balances with sections of 5 lines and 3 lines answered by sections of 3 and 5. **119. fama**, 'the current tradition.' **120. scriptor**, 'when writing,' not a vocative, as many take it. It is almost necessary to define *reponis*. **honoratum**: this use of the word for 'illustrious' (cf. Ep. 1. 1. 107 n.) is so rare, and seems so otiose in itself here, that Bentley boldly replaced it by *Homereum*, for which L. Müller prefers *Homeriacum*. The epithet, however, may be well defended, by bringing out its full meaning = 'when in the receipt of his due honours': where he complains that he is ἀτίμητος as in Il. 9. 644 seq., or is lamenting over Patroclus, the epithets of line 121 are less suitable to him. **123. Ino**, the wife of Athamas, king of Thebes, fled from her maddened husband, carrying with her her two sons Learchus and Melicertes. Athamas seized the former and tore him to pieces: Ino flung herself into the sea with the latter, and they were changed, the mother into the sea-goddess Leucothea, the son into Palaemon. Cf. Ovid, Met. 4. 416-541; Hom. Od. 5. 333 seq. The woes of Ino (Ἰνοῦς ἄχη) became proverbial, and 'she was made especially by Euripides a true ideal of sorrow,' Preller, Gr. Myth. 1. 473 note. The schol. on Aristoph. Vesp. 1414 says εἰσήγαγεν γὰρ Εὐριπίδης τὴν Ἰνὼ ὠχρὰν ὑπὸ τῆς κακοπαθείας. **124. perfidus Ixion.** For his faithlessness to his father-in-law Eioneus and to Zeus see Class. Dict. and cf. Od. 3. 11. 21. Aeschylus wrote a tragedy upon his story, Fragm. 86-90 D. **Io vaga**: her wanderings are described in the

Prometheus of Aeschylus. **Orestes** was **tristis** during his exile after the murder of his mother, as in Aesch.'s Eumenides, and Eur.'s Orestes and Iph. Taur.

126. ad imum, 'to the last' as in line 152. **128. proprie communia dicere**, 'to give individual shape to common types of human character.' *communia* covers all general and abstract notions, such as anger, cruelty, cowardice and the like; and *proprie dicere* is = 'to give a concrete character to,' *i.e.* to embody in consistent and vivid pictures of individuals. Kiessling quotes the heading of a chapter in Hermogenes the rhetorician *πῶς κοινὰ διανοήματα ἰδιώσομεν;* **129. deducis**: the tense and mood of the verb (especially in contrast with **proferres** and in connexion with the emphatic **tu**) require us to suppose that one of the Pisos was already engaged upon a tragedy based upon the Iliad. The metaphor is the familiar one from spinning; cf. Ep. 2. 1. 225. Aristotle (Poet. 23) says that the Iliad and the Odyssey furnish material for one or at most two tragedies each, while several could be made from Cyclic poems such as the Little Iliad or the Cypria.

131. publica materies, *i.e.* themes already handled, which can be made all a poet's own, by originality of treatment. **132. vilem patulumque orbem**, 'the cheap and easy round' of the mode of treatment previously adopted. There is probably also in *orbis* a reference to the 'cyclic' style of mimicking Homer, cf. Pollianus, Anth. Pal. 1. 130 *τοὺς κυκλίους τούτους τοὺς "αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα" λέγοντας | μισῶ, λωποδύτας ἀλλοτρίων ἐπέων.* **133. verbo verbum reddere**: the earlier Roman dramatists often did little more than translate very closely their Greek originals. Ennius *e.g.* translates almost literally Eur. Med. 502 seq. in his Medea, frag. 10. **134. desilies in artum**, 'plunge into a place where you will be cramped.' A writer who begins by copying too closely a Greek original either in treatment, or in diction, will soon find that he is as it were working in fetters. **135. pudor**: the copyist will either be ashamed to abandon a method which he has once adopted; or if not, he will find that it is impossible to deviate from the line which he has taken up, without falling into incongruity.

136-152. nec . . . incipies: Horace appears to pass here, by one of his rapid transitions so common in this epistle, from the drama to the epos, to which indeed the cautions of the last five lines are almost as applicable as to the drama itself. **cyclicus**: the 'cyclic poets' were those epic poets, who, probably after the Iliad and Odyssey had assumed their present form, wrote upon various legends, more or less closely connected with the Theban and Trojan wars. They did not, as has been erroneously supposed, intentionally write a cycle of poems; but the grammarians put together by their aid a cycle of legends. The most noteworthy were Stasinus, Arctinus, Lesches, Agias and Eugammon. The poet to whom Horace here refers, has not been identified, and probably he had no particular writer in view, but is censuring the lack of simplicity in the school as a whole. In that case **olim** = *aliquando.* The line, it is to be noted, contains nothing in itself too high-flown, but, though not extravagant in itself, yet it contrasts unfavourably with the modest and unassuming tone of Homer's introduction. **138. feret**, 'produce': **hiatu**, 'mouthing.' **139. parturient**, the reading of all MSS., for which Bentley read *parturiunt*, urging that verbs in *-urio* have even in the present a future force (*parturio* = 'am about to bring forth'). But *parturient* may be defended, as parallel to *incipies* of line 136 'if you do begin so, it will be a case of "Mountains in labour, and out comes a mouse."' The expression was proverbial. Athenaeus 14. 6 p. 616 d, says that Tachos, the king of Egypt, insulted

Agesilaus, who was of small stature, by quoting ὤδινεν ὄρος, Ζεὺς δ' ἐφοβεῖτο, τὸ δ' ἔτεκεν μῦν. For the rhythm cf. Virg. G. 1. 181.

141. dic . . . urbes. Horace gives a compressed rendering of the first three lines of the Odyssey (cf. Ep. 1. 2. 19), clearly, however, reading νόμον (*mores*) in line 3: ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ | πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε, | πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω. **tempora**: cf. Od. 1. 28. 11 *Troiana tempora*, Ov. Met. 11. 757 *novissima Troiae tempora.* Bentley (and so Kiessling) read *moenia.* **144. cogitat,** 'his plan is': **speciosa miracula,** 'striking marvels.' **145. Antiphaten,** king of the Laestrygonian cannibals Od. 10. 100 seq. For Scylla and Charybdis cf. Od. 12. 87 seq. and for the Cyclops, whom Odysseus encounters, Od. 9. 160 seq. **146. reditum . . . orditur,** a compressed expression for 'nor does he act like the writer who began' etc. Homer of course himself says nothing about the return of Diomede. The scholiasts say that Antimachus, in relating the return of Diomede, began with the history of Meleager, the brother of his father Tydeus, and filled twenty-four books before he even got as far as the campaign of the Seven against Thebes, in which Tydeus fell. But as the Thebais of Antimachus—a poem, which though not generally popular, won for its writer in the judgment of some critics a place next to Homer (cf. Quintil. 10. 1. 53)—can barely have touched upon the return of Diomede from the Trojan War, there is probably some error in the tradition.

147. gemino . . . ab ovo, *i.e.* from the birth of Helen. Servius on Virg. 3. 338 says *Ledam Iuppiter in cygnum mutatus gravidam fecit, quae ovum peperisse dicitur, unde nati sunt Helena, Castor et Pollux.* Horace here follows another form of the story, according to which Castor and Pollux were born from one egg (cf. S. 2. 1. 26 *ovo prognatus eodem*), Helen from another. **148. ad eventum festinat,** 'goes straight on to the crisis' without undue digressions, or losing the thread of his arrative. **in medias res**: as in Hom. Od. 1. 11 ἔνθ' ἄλλοι μὲν πάντες, ὅσοι φύγον αἰπὺν ὄλεθρον | οἴκοι ἔσαν κτλ. So the Iliad begins with a scene in the tenth year of the siege; and Virgil plunges into the midst of his narrative (Aen. 1. 34) with the words *vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum* | *vela dabant laeti* etc. Cf. Cic. ad Att. 1. 16. 1 *respondebo tibi* ὕστερον πρότερον, Ὁμηρικῶς, Quint. 7. 10. 11 *ubi ab initiis incipiendum, ubi more Homerico e mediis vel ultimis?* **151. mentitur,** 'uses fiction': cf. Aristot. Poet. 24. 18 δεδίδαχε δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψευδῆ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ. **ita . . . ne**: cf. Ep. 1. 13. 12. **152. discrepet**: cf. Cic. de Fin. 5. 28. 83 *respondent extrema primis, media utrisque, omnia omnibus.*

153-178. *The characters of the drama are to be handled in accordance with the tendencies of their several times of life.* **154. plausoris,** *i.e.* spectators who will applaud all through until the final *vos plaudite.* Bentley objects to the word followed by *plaudite* in the next line and reads *fautoris,* but cf. S. 1. 3. 1 *cantoris* followed by *cantare.* **aulaea**: cf. Ep. 2. 1. 189 n. **155. cantor.** The word is ambiguous; for *canere* is used both of playing on the flute, and of singing with the voice. Bentley assumed that the *cantor* was the flute-player, and wrote '*cantoris erat depositis ex ore tibiis* plaudite *insonare.*' Hermann on the other hand (Opusc. 1. 302) argues that the *cantor* and the *histrio* were one. Wilkins takes it of the 'singer' who sang the *cantica* (lyric monologues); cf. Livy 7. 2, who tells us that Livius Andronicus, having been encored in these until he lost his voice, introduced the practice of having a

young slave near the flute-player to sing them while the actor accompanied him with appropriate gestures. **157. mobilibus naturis et annis**: a hendiadys, 'natures that change with years.'

158. reddere voces, 'reply in words,' not 'repeat words' (as Orelli) heard from the mother or the nurse: cf. Virg. Aen. 1. 409 *veras audire et reddere voces,* and Catull. 64. 166 *nec missas audire queunt nec reddere voces.* **pede signat humum** = *imprimit vestigiis suis*—Acron. **159. colludere,** in this sense only here. Cicero has the word in the sense of 'to act in collusion.' **iram colligit**: so Virg. Aen. 9. 63 *collecta rabies edendi;* Ov. Met. 1. 234 *colligit os rabiem.* **160. ponit**: cf. Ep. 1. 16. 35 n. **mutatur**: cf. Roby, S. G. 566. **in horas,** 'every hour,' cf. S. 2. 7. 10.

161. inberbus: so *vet. Bland.*: cf. Ep. 2. 1. 85 n. **custode,** *i.e.* the paedagogus, whose office Horace's father himself discharged for his son: cf. S. 1. 4. 118; 6. 81. **162. campi**: sc. *Martii*: Od. 1. 8. 3; Ep. 1. 18. 54. **163. cereus flecti,** 'soft as wax (= easy) to be moulded'; for the epexegetic inf. cf. Od. 1. 3. 25 n. The characters here assigned to youths, to men in mature life, and to old men follow closely those of Aristotle, Rhet. 2. 12, from whom they were probably borrowed: thus *cereus flecti* = *εὐμετάβολος.* **164. utilium tardus provisor, prodigus aeris**: Arist. *φιλοχρήματοι δὲ ἥκιστα διὰ τὸ μήπως ἐνδείας πεπειρᾶσθαι.* **165. sublimis** = *μεγαλόψυχος.* **cupidus**: Arist. *καὶ φιλότιμοι μέν εἰσι, μᾶλλον δὲ φιλόνικοι. ὑπεροχῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ νεότης. ἡ δὲ νίκη ὑπεροχή τις.* 'The *φιλοτιμία* of youth seems to be represented by Horace's *cupidus,* "desirous," that is of honour or glory, not of course of money'—Cope ad loc. **amata relinquere pernix**: Arist. *καὶ ἀψίκοροι πρὸς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας· καὶ σφόδρα μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσι, ταχέως δὲ παύονται.*

167. inservit honori: Arist. *φιλοτιμεῖται πρὸς ἄλλους,* 'he devotes himself to securing honour'; cf. Cic. de Fin. 2. 35. 117 *adulescentes quos suis commodis inservituros arbitrabimur.* **168. commisisse**: cf. line 98 n. **169. vel . . . vel,** 'both . . . and,' used where both reasons might be correctly alleged. **170. quaerit**: cf. Ep. 1. 7. 57; Arist. l.c. *πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ζῶσιν* (*οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*), *ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸ καλόν, μᾶλλον ἢ δεῖ, διὰ τὸ φίλαυτοι εἶναι . . . οὔτ' ἐπιθυμητικοὶ οὔτε πρακτικοὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ κέρδος.* 'Aristotle as well as Horace confines himself almost exclusively to the delineation of the unfavourable side of the character of old age, suppressing its redeeming features'—Cope ad loc. **171. gelide**: Arist. *κατεψυγμένοι γάρ εἰσιν, οἱ δὲ* (*νέοι*) *θερμοί. ὥστε προωδοποίηκε τὸ γῆρας τῇ δειλίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ὁ φόβος κατάψυξίς τις ἐστίν.* **172. spe longus**: Aristotle describes old men as *δυσέλπιδας,* *i.e.* slow to form hopes, but this cannot be the meaning of *spe longus. spes longa* is twice used by Horace to denote a 'far-reaching hope,' a hope which requires much time for its fulfilment; cf. Od. 1. 4. 15; 11. 6 *spatio brevi spem longam reseces.* In connexion with *dilator* and *iners* it must mean that he forms plans and expectations which may not be fulfilled for years and so is 'dilatory' and 'inactive,' whereas young men are impatient, restless, and expect their hopes to be fulfilled at once. **avidusque futuri**: Arist. *καὶ φιλόζωοι καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ.* Hence the meaning is 'eager for longer life'; cf. Soph. Frag. Acris. 64 D *τοῦ ζῆν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὡς ὁ γηράσκων ἐρᾷ.* Nettleship compares Sen. Epist. 32. 4 *o quando illud videbis tempus quo scies tempus ad te non pertinere! quo tranquillus placidusque eris et crastini negligens, et in summa tui satietate! vis scire quid sit, quod faciat homines avidos futuri? nemo sibi contigit.* **173. difficilis,**

'cross-grained'; cf. S. 2. 5. 90. **querulus**: Arist. Rhet. 2. 13. 15 *ὅθεν ὀδυρτικοί εἰσιν καὶ οὐκ εὐτράπελοι οὐδὲ φιλογέλοιοι.* **laudator** . . . 'given to praise the days he passed when a lad'; ib. § 12 *διατελοῦσι γὰρ τὰ γενόμενα λέγοντες· ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι γὰρ ἥδονται.* Like Nestor in Homer.

175. multa . . . adimunt: '*anni* venire *dicuntur ad quadragesimum sextum usque annum, inde* abire *iam accedente senecta*'—Comm. Cruq. Cf. Od. 2. 15. 14; Soph. Trach. 547 *ὁρῶ γὰρ ἥβην τὴν μὲν ἕρπουσαν πρόσω, τὴν δὲ φθίνουσαν.* The phrase implies that there is a point up to which life ascends, after which it descends, cf. Burns: John Anderson, my jo, John | We clamb the hill thegither | . . . Now we maun totter down, John, etc. The French say *Un homme sur son retour.* **176. ne forte**, etc. You must remember this, lest you should assign the characters wrongly. Schütz and Orelli [4] connects this with *morabimur*, not with *adimunt*: and certainly the connexion of thought with line 178 is closer than with line 175. For the rhyme cf. line 99 note. **178. aevo** goes with **adiunctis** as well as with **aptis.** The *adiuncta* are according to Acron *quae bene haereant et congruant aetati*: =attributes, *τὰ καθ' αὑτὰ συμβεβηκότα*, or 'necessary accidents.' Cf. Cic. Acad. 1. 5. 21 *quae beatae vitae adiuncta sunt*, 'things inseparable from a happy life.' *apta* indicates that the connexion denoted by *adiuncta* is a natural one. **aevo**, 'time of life,' cf. Ep. 1. 20. 26; Virg. G. 3. 100 *animos aevumque notabis.* **morabimur**, 'dwell with care upon.'

179-188. *Things seen on the stage impress the audience, more than things reported: but there are some scenes not fit to be represented in action.* **179. in scaenis**: the plural, used also in Virg. Aen. 1. 429; 4. 471 *scaenis agitatus Orestes*, seems to refer to the various occasions on which a play would be acted; 'in theatres': it is apparently never used of a single stage. **acta refertur**: as in the Greek tragedies by an *ἄγγελος* from a distance or an *ἐξάγγελος* from the house before which the scene was laid. **180. segnius**: cf. Cic. de Orat. 3. 41. 163 *facilius ad ea, quae visa, quam ad illa quae audita sunt, mentis oculi feruntur.* **181. fidelibus**: cf. Herod. 1. 8 *ὦτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισιν ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν.* **182. ipse tradit**: *ipse mihi trado quod video; at alter mihi tradit quod narrat*—Acron. **183. digna geri**: cf. Od. 1. 3. 25 n. **promes**: cf. Ep. 1. 1. 87 n. **184. facundia praesens**, 'the eloquence of one who is now on the stage': this is better than to take it of one who witnessed the deed, as many editors do, for *praesens* is naturally contrasted with *ex oculis.*

185. ne=*ἵνα μή*, not *μή*. In the Medea of Euripides, the cries of the children, as they are being murdered behind the scenes, are heard by the audience (lines 1271, 1277): the chorus tells Jason of their fate (line 1309), and then Medea appears in a chariot drawn by dragons, with the bodies of the children (line 1317). In Seneca's play, in spite of the rule of Horace, the murder took place on the stage. **186. Atreus**: cf. line 91. **187. Procne**, according to the Greek form of the story, was changed into a nightingale, Philomela, her sister, into a swallow: the Romans generally made Philomela the nightingale, and Procne the swallow, perhaps wrongly connecting the name of the former with *μέλος.* **Cadmus in anguem**: cf. M. Arnold, Empedocles on Etna: And there, they say, two bright and aged snakes, | Who once were Cadmus and Harmonia, | Bask in the glens or on the warm sea-shore, In breathless quiet, after all their ills. Cf. Eur. Bacch. 1330 seq., where Sandys remarks: 'In another play Eur. actually represented on the stage the commencement of the change, as is shown by the following somewhat

ludicrous lines, fragm. 922 οἴμοι, δράκων μοι γίγνεται τό γ' ἥμισυ· | τέκνον, περιπλάκηθι τῷ λοιπῷ πατρί. Cf. Ov. Met. 4. 584, and Milton, P. L. 9. 505.'

189-192. *A play must be of due length, and the intervention of a deity must not be needlessly employed.* **189. quinto actu**: Greek tragedies were divided into a πρόλογος, ἐπεισόδια, and an ἔξοδος, divided by choric songs (cf. Aristot. Poet. 12), but the number of the ἐπεισόδια was not always the same. In the Oedipus Tyrannus for instance there are six 'episodes' (cf. Jebb p. 8); in the Oedipus Coloneus there are five. The establishment of the rule requiring three acts (*nam tragoedia in tria dividitur, expectationem, gesta, exitum:* Donat. on Ter. Adelph. 3. 1), or including the prologue and the epilogue five, has been assigned to Varro (cf. Ribbeck, Röm. Trag. 642). It was quite unknown to the comic dramatists; the division of each of the plays of Plautus and Terence into five acts is due only to the grammarians, and is often very unskilfully made, being perhaps due only to this dictum in Horace. Still there were no doubt pauses in the action of most, if not of all plays; and these were filled up by the music of the flute-player; cf. Plaut. Pseud. I. v. 160 (at the end of Act) *tibicen vos interea hic delectaverit.* Cicero knew a division into three acts; cf. ad Quint. fr. 1. 1. 16. 46 *illud te ad extremum et oro et hortor, ut tanquam poetae boni et actores industrii solent, sic tu in extrema parte et conclusione muneris ac negotii tui diligentissimus sis, ut hic tertius annus imperii tui* tanquam tertius actus *perfectissimus et ornatissimus fuisse videntur.* The justice of the 'five-act' rule has been often, and not without reason, disputed: and some of the greatest modern playwrights, especially among the French, prefer the division into three acts. **190. spectanda reponi,** 'to be reproduced as deserving to be seen.' *spectata* (='after being once seen') is easier but has less MS. authority.

191. nec deus intersit . . . Cf. the proverbial *deus ex machina* and Plat. Cratyl. 425 D ὥσπερ οἱ τραγῳδοποιοί, ἐπειδάν τι ἀπορῶσιν, ἐπὶ τὰς μηχανὰς καταφεύγουσι θεοὺς αἴροντες, Cic. de Nat. D. 1. 20. 53 *ut tragici poetae, cum explicare argumenti exitum non potestis, confugitis ad deum;* Arist. Poet. 15. 11 φανερὸν ὅτι καὶ τὰς λύσεις τῶν μύθων ἐξ αὐτοῦ δεῖ τοῦ μύθου συμβαίνειν, καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς. In the nine plays of Euripides where the *deus ex machina* appears, 'the distinct purpose is to bring the action to a peaceful close, and calm the minds excited and disturbed with the calamities, and still more the apparent injustices, suffered by the actors' (Mahaffy, Euripides 122). In the Philoctetes of Sophocles the appearance of Heracles *ex machina* is needful in order that the struggle between two human wills, neither of which could yield without an inconsistency fatal to the dramatic picture, might be terminated by an expression of the divine will. **192. quarta . . . persona**: tragedy began with a dialogue between a single actor and the leader of the chorus; Aeschylus introduced a second actor, Sophocles a third (Arist. Poet. 4. 16 καὶ τό τε τῶν ὑποκριτῶν πλῆθος ἐξ ἑνὸς εἰς δύο πρῶτος Αἰσχύλος ἤγαγε . . . τρεῖς δὲ καὶ σκηνογραφίαν Σοφοκλῆς), employed also by Aeschylus in his later plays, *i.e.* in the trilogy of the Orestea. These three actors formed a troop, and one troop was assigned by the archon to an approved dramatist. **loqui laboret,** 'show anxiety to speak.'

193-201. *The part of the chorus in tragedy.* **193. actoris partis . . . defendat**: the chorus should not stand outside the action of the piece, and simply fill up the intervals between the scenes with songs slightly, if at all, connected with the plot (ἐμβόλιμα) as often in Euripides and especially in Agathon, but should take as direct a part in it as an actor does. Aristotle

says (Poet. 18. 19) *καὶ τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἕνα δεῖ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ μόριον εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι, μὴ ὥσπερ παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ.* In Seneca's tragedies the choruses are quite unconnected with the plot. **194. intercinat** followed by the accusative without a preposition as in Od. 1. 14. 19 *interfusa nitentes aequora Cycladas.* This construction of a compound verb becomes very common in Tacitus: *e.g.* Ann. 2. 9 *flumen Visurgis Romanos Cheruscosque interfluebat;* 3. 23 *qui cognitionem intervenerant.* **196. bonis faveat**: the chorus almost invariably expresses the view of right-minded spectators. **197. amet peccare timentes** is the reading of almost all MSS. Bentley objected to it as otiose after *faveat bonis,* suggesting *pacare tumentes* which is certainly otiose after *regat iratos.* Kiessling, with very slight authority, reads *pacare timentes,* 'to calm the timorous,' but the phrase is a very strange one. **198. mensae brevis,** *i.e.* of a table on which there is a *cena brevis* Ep. 1. 14. 35. **salubrem iustitiam,** 'the blessings of justice.' **199. apertis portis**: cf. Od. 3. 5. 23 *portasque non clausas.* **200. tegat commissa**: as in Soph. Electr. 469; Philoct. 391; Eur. Hippol. 712; Elect. 271, etc.

202-219. *The music, which accompanied the chorus, underwent great changes as luxury increased, and the language of the chorus became more ornate.* **202. tibia**: see illustrations etc. in Dict. Ant. **orichalco**: a kind of yellow copper or natural brass *quod praecipuam bonitatem admirationemque diu obtinuit nec reperitur longo iam tempore effeta tellure* (Plin. H. N. 34. 2. 2). The Greeks called it *ὀρείχαλκος* (Hes. Scut. 122): the word is common in Plautus in the form *aurichalcum* (*e.g.* Curc. 1. 3. 46) and seems to be used vaguely for a precious metal, though in Curc. l. c. it is distinguished from *aurum.* Virg. Aen. 12. 87 has *alboque orichalco,* where the force of the epithet is doubtful: cf. Conington ad loc. Cic. de Off. 3. 23. 92 speaks of it as only worth one-thousandth part of the value of gold. **tubaeque aemula**: the lengthening of the *tibia* by means of the brass *vincturae* would tend to make it as powerful as a trumpet. **203. tenuis** of sound 'thin, weak.' **foramine**: *Varro ait . . . quattuor foraminum fuisse tibias apud antiquos, et se ipsum ait in templo Marsyae vidisse tibias quattuor foraminum. quare quaterna tantum foramina antiquae tibiae habuerunt: alii dicunt, non plus quam tria*—Acron. The *tibiae pares* in the British Museum (found at Athens) are about 15 inches long, and have five holes at the top and one underneath. **pauco**: very rare in the singular: but Gell. 20. 1. 31 has *iniurias factas XXV assibus sanxerunt. non omnino omnes iniurias aere isto pauco diluerunt;* Bell. Afric. 67. 2 *pauco tritici numero;* Vitruv. 1. 1. 6 *paucum manum.* The *parvo* of some MSS. is clearly a correction. **204. adspirare** = *συναυλεῖν* 'to give the note to.' **adesse,** 'accompany.' **206. quo** = *in quae.* **numerabilis,** 'easily counted': Horace was the first to use the word, which is probably derived from the similar use of *εὐαρίθμητος*: cf. Theocr. 16. 87 *ἀριθματοὺς ἀπὸ πολλῶν.* **sane** not with *numerabilis,* but 'of course.'

208. urbes: Schütz reads *urbem,* arguing that the reference can only be to Rome, as in the preceding lines. But there is no reason to doubt that Greece, and especially Athens, was in the mind of Horace quite as much as Rome, if not more so, for there was apparently no great change in the music or diction of the chorus at Rome. **209. latior**: not of course actually 'thicker,' but with **amplecti,** 'to enfold in a broader circuit.' **diurno**: to drink wine by day was regarded as excessive self-indulgence in earlier

times. **210. placari Genius**: a Latin idiom (cf. Ep. 2. 1. 143; Od. 3. 17. 15 *curabis Genium*), but this does not show that Horace is necessarily thinking only of Rome. **inpune**: *non contradicente aut lege aut moribus* —Acron, 'with no fear of blame or punishment.' **211. numerisque modisque**: cf. Ep. 2. 2. 144. **212. liber laborum**: cf. Virg. Aen. 10. 154 *libera fati;* Lucan 6. 301 *libera legum Roma;* Od. 3. 17. 16 *operum solutis.* **213. turpis honesto**: special seats in the theatre (the *orchestra*) were not assigned even to senators before 194 B.C.; cf. Livy 34. 54: for the *lex Roscia* cf. Ep. 1. 1. 62.

214. sic, *quia indoctus erat populus*—Acron. **motum** and **luxuriem** seem naturally to describe 'rapid (musical) movements' and 'florid variations,' but Orelli and others, referring to Cic. de Leg. 2. 49 and Arist. Poet. 26 where extravagant gestures on the part of players are condemned, so explain the words here. **216. voces**, 'notes.' **crevere**: according to the current story the harp had but four strings at first, and this number was increased to seven by Terpander (flor. 670-640 B.C.), and to ten by Timotheus (fl. 420-380). **severis**: the music of the harp was always regarded as much graver and less passionate than that of the flute, and therefore was the only music allowed by Plato in his ideal State. **217. tulit**, 'produced,' *i.e.* brought along with it, as in Virg. Aen. 10. 792 *fidem latura vetustas.* **eloquium**, a poetical form for *eloquentia*, used by Virg. Aen. 11. 383 *tona eloquio;* Juv. 10. 114, and in later prose. The abruptness of the transition from the music to the diction of the chorus, led Ribbeck to consider lines 217-219 spurious: but it is not out of place to note the change in language as well. The language of the chorus became, like its music, no longer simple but bombastic and oracular (*i.e.* unintelligible). **praeceps**, 'bold,' 'daring'; cf. Quint. 12. 10. 73 *vitiosum et corruptum dicendi genus . . . quod praecipitia pro sublimibus habet.* **218. sagax**, 'skilled in,' with gen. as in Columell. 1. praef. 22 *sagacissimus rerum naturae.* **divina futuri**: cf. Od. 3. 27. 10 *imbrium divina avis.* **219. sortilegis**: divination by *sortes*, strictly speaking, was not practised at Delphi, although it was at Dodona, and especially in Italy at Praeneste and Antium: but the term was commonly extended to any utterance of an oracle, as in Virg. Aen. 4. 346 *Lyciae sortes;* Ov. Met. 3. 130 *Phoebeis sortibus;* Cic. de Div. 2. 56. 115, where *sors* is used of the answer sent from Delphi to Croesus. **non discrepuit sententia Delphis**, 'a compressed comparison,' for *sententiae Delphorum:* expressions like 'that of' are avoided in Latin, either by such compression or by the repetition of the substantive; cf. Od. 2. 6. 14 n.; Cic. de Orat. 1. 4. 15 n.; Mayor on Juv. 3. 74.

220-224. *The satyric drama developed out of tragedy, and was intended to amuse the spectators towards the close of the day.* **220. vilem ob hircum**: although the derivation of τραγῳδία from τράγος, 'a he-goat,' because this was the prize offered for success in it, is now abandoned by the best authorities, who derive the word rather from the goat-like appearance of the chorus, who were dressed as satyrs, it was that generally adopted by the ancients; and there is no doubt that a goat was regularly offered in sacrifice to Bacchus (cf. Virg. G. 2. 380) and that this goat was assigned as the prize to the leader of the victorious chorus. **221. mox etiam**: Aristotle (Poet. 4. 17 διὰ τὸ ἐκ σατυρικοῦ μεταβαλεῖν) represents tragedy as *originating* in the song of a band of men dressed as satyrs. Kiessling holds that Horace either did not know or rejects this view. But the fact seems to be that while tragedy originated in the song of a band of satyrs, yet, *as it developed*, the chorus

became very differently constituted; until Pratinas of Phlius, a contemporary of Aeschylus, restored the chorus of satyrs, and wrote plays for them, which were the beginning of a new satyric drama. **Satyros nudavit**: introduced a chorus of naked satyrs, *i.e.* began to write 'satyric dramas.' These were a sort of afterpieces introduced after tragedies, lighter in character and distinguished by a chorus of satyrs. The only extant specimen is the Cyclops of Euripides. The length at which Horace discusses the satyric drama, which is commonly supposed to have been unknown to Roman literature, and took a subordinate place in Gk., is rather remarkable. The grammarian Diomedes, however, describes the well-known *Atellanae fabulae* as *similes Satyricis fabulis Graecis*, and Horace may be thinking of these. Porphyrion says *hoc est: satyrica* (?=burlesques) *coeperunt scribere, ut Pomponius Atalanten vel Sisyphon vel Ariadnen.* **asper**, 'roughly,' 'coarsely.' **222. incolumi gravitate**, 'without any sacrifice of dignity,' sc. of the tragic characters who were introduced at the same time;—there is nothing comic in the character of Odysseus in the Cyclops of Euripides: nor apparently in that of Herakles in the Syleus. Perhaps, however, we should explain 'without sacrificing his own dignity as a tragic poet.'

223. morandus: *spectator grata erat novitate retinendus, qui veniebat post sacrificia iam pransus, iam potus*—Acron. **224. functusque sacris**: dramatic representations at the Dionysiac festivals began very early in the morning, but Horace's language here implies that the satyric dramas were played towards the evening, a view which is inconsistent with the prevalent opinion that plays were produced in tetralogies, a satyric drama coming after each tragic trilogy. That satyric dramas, however, frequently were played independently is clear from the statement of Suidas that Pratinas wrote fifty plays, of which thirty-two were satyric. We do not know when the sacrifices, with which a banquet was always associated, were offered: perhaps during the interval for the second or later *ἄριστον* (Bergk 3. 31), which may have come between the tragedies and the satyric dramas. At the Dionysia it was considered the duty of all loyal worshippers of the deity to drink freely, 'and reeling own the mighty wine-god's power' (Becker, Charicles 178); cf. Plato, Leg. 6. 775 *πίνειν δὲ εἰς μέθην οὔτε ἄλλοθί που πρέπει, πλὴν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ τὸν οἶνον δόντος θεοῦ ἑορταῖς.* **exlex**, *i.e.* ready to defy all laws, with no reference to any special enactment.

225-233. *But in the satyric drama care must be taken that the language is not low, or on the other hand bombastic.* **225. ita . . . ne**, 'only so far as not to': less common than *ita . . . ut;* but cf. line 151. **commendare**, *i.e.* to try to win the favour of the audience for the satyrs, by putting jests into their mouths. **226. seria**, the grave language of the heroic characters in the satyric drama: **ludo**, the jests of the chorus of satyrs: 'to pass from grave to gay.' **228. nuper**: not necessarily in a tragedy performed on the same day, though, when this was the case, it would give additional point to the warning; *nuper* is used with great latitude of meaning. **229. migret in tabernas**, 'should descend to dingy hovels,' *i.e.* use the language common in such places: *tabernae* usually denotes booths or workshops (cf. Od. 1. 4. 13) and very rarely (without any qualifying adjective) 'taverns.' **230. nubes et inania**, *i.e.* high-flown, empty verbiage, especially out of keeping with the general tone of the drama. **231. effutire indigna**: for the infinitive cf. Ep. 1. 3. 35, and Od. 1. 3. 25 n. **232. moveri**, 'dance,' cf. Ep. 2. 2. 125: *sunt enim quaedam sacra, in quibus saltant matronae, sicut in*

sacris Matris deum—Acron. This refers doubtless to the Hilaria on March 25th. So Licymnia (probably = Terentia, the wife of Maecenas) in Od. 2. 12. 17 joins the dance *sacro Dianae celebris die*, where see note.

234-243. *The language of the satyric drama is to be something between that of tragedy and that of comedy.* **234. dominantia**: a translation of the Gk. κύρια 'proper.' Cope, Introduction to Aristotle's Rhetoric p. 282 n., writes 'κύριον (ὄνομα) is the "proper" word by which any object is designated, and which is commonly employed to denote it. It is therefore opposed to all the other kinds of words: to all figurative, foreign, archaic, or in any way "uncommon" words . . . any words which strike us as strange or unusual.' Cic. de Orat. 3. 37. 149 contrasts *propria verba* with metaphorical (*quae transferuntur*) and newly introduced or coined (*quae novamus et facimus ipsi*) expressions; cf. Quint. 8. 3. 24 *propria, ficta, translata.* **nomina . . . verba**: ὀνόματα . . . ῥήματα, 'nouns and verbs' put for the whole of language; cf. S. 1. 3. 103; Plat. Crat. 431 B. **235. Satyrorum scriptor,** *i.e.* if I were to write satyric dramas: the Greek critics sometimes use the word σάτυροι in this sense, *e.g.* Demetr. de Eloc. 169 ἐπεὶ σάτυρον γράψει ἀντὶ τραγῳδίας. Horace means to say that he would not confine himself strictly to the plainest language, and avoid so completely the elevated tone of tragedy as to reduce his semi-divine characters to the level of slaves in comedy.

236. differre with dat.; cf. Ep. 2. 2. 193; S. 1. 4. 48. **colori**: cf. Ep. 1. 17. 23. **237. Davus**: said to be from Δᾶος, a Dacian, the older name of this tribe having been Δᾶοι, according to Strabo 7. 304; the name is typical for a clever slave, cf. S. 1. 10. 40 n. **et audax**: so *vet. Bland.* though most MSS. have *an*, which is clearly wrong as only two classes of speakers are distinguished. **238. Pythias**, some girl who gets money out of the old man Simo in some comedy. **emuncto**: a coarse expression, chosen intentionally to illustrate the style too low for the satyric drama, 'chiselled'; cf. Terence, Phorm. 4. 4. 1 *emunxi argento senes;* Plautus, Epid. 3. 4. 62 *qui me emunxisti mucidum minumi preti;* Menand. Fragm. 482 γέρων ἀπεμέμυκτ' ἄθλιος. **239. Silenus**, the oldest of the satyrs, and their leader (cf. Eur. Cyclops), though riotous and fond of wine, was yet always represented as full of knowledge and wisdom; cf. Virg. Ecl. 6. 31 seq.; Diod. Sic. 4. 4 φασὶ δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸν καὶ τροφέα συνέπεσθαι κατὰ τὰς στρατείας αὐτῷ (Διονύσῳ) Σειληνόν, εἰσηγητὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον γινόμενον τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ μεγάλα συμβάλλεσθαι τῷ Διονύσῳ πρὸς ἀρετήν. Evidently it was not proper to put into his mouth the language of a low and knavish slave.

240. ex noto fictum carmen sequar: Horace has been speaking hitherto only of the *language* of the satyric drama, and to this he returns in line 244; hence it is best to explain *carmen* not of the substance of the poem but of 'poetical style,' 'a style of verse.' Then *fictum* is 'artistically composed,' and *ex noto* 'out of familiar materials,' 'ordinary words.' **sequar,** 'I will aim at'; cf. Ep. 2. 2. 143. **ut sibi quivis . . .** Orelli well quotes Pascal, Pensées 1. 3 *les meilleurs livres sont ceux que chaque lecteur croit qu'il aurait pu faire.* **242. series**: cf. line 46 *in verbis serendis.* **iunctura**: cf. line 48. **243. de medio sumptis**: cf. Cic. Or. 49. 163 *verba legenda sunt . . . non ut poetae exquisita ad sonum sed sumpta de medio;* Quint. 5. 7. 31 *verbis quam maxime ex medio sumptis.*

244-250. *If the Fauns use the language of the streets, the better class of the audience will be offended.* **244. deducti**: sc. *in scaenam.* **Fauni**: virtually the Latin representatives of the Satyrs. Cf. Ep. 1. 19. 4. **245.**

ne velut innati triviis . . . 'born in the streets and almost dwellers in the forum' is simply a phrase for townspeople. The Fauns are not to speak as if they were natives of the city, and so fall into one of the two opposite vices of language, affected sentimentality, and disgraceful coarseness. For **forenses,** cf. *circumforanei, subrostrani,* Act. Ap. xvii. 5 ἀγοραῖοι ἄνδρες. It is a stronger phrase than *innati triviis,* cf. Quint. 10. 1. 55 *Musa rustica et pastoralis, quae non forum modo, sed ipsam etiam urbem reformidat.* **246. iuvenentur:** a word coined doubtless by Horace, on the analogy of *augurari, auspicari, interpretari, velitari* etc., to represent νεανιεύεσθαι, which is used (1) = 'to show youthful spirit,' (2) and, most usually, 'to act wantonly.' Here it seems to describe an affected sentimental style of a lascivious (cf. *teneris*) character. **247. crepent:** Ep. 1. 7. 84. **dicta,** 'jests.' **248. quibus est equus,** *i.e.* the *equites.* **pater:** only *ingenui* born in wedlock had a legal father (cf. 1. 7. 54 n.), hence slaves and freedmen are excluded. **res,** *i.e.* substantial citizens. **249. fricti ciceris,** still a common article of food in Italy (*cecio fritto*): cf. Plaut. Bacch. 4. 5. 7. In Plaut. Poen. 1. 2. 116 we have *triticum et frictas nuces,* which shows that *fricti* goes also with *nucis* 'roast chestnuts.' Martial speaks of *cicer* as the cheapest kind of food, 1. 104. 10 *asse cicer tepidum constat.* The Δῆμος κυαμοτρώξ of Aristoph. Eq. 41 refers not only to his favourite diet of beans, but also to the use of them in the ballot. **250. aequis . . . animis,** 'with favour'; cf. Virg. Aen. 6. 129 *quos aequus amavit Iuppiter,* and often.

251-274. *The iambic metre originally consisted of six iambi until spondees were introduced to give weight. It is a metre which must be handled with great care, and the Greek models, not the rough Latin tragedians are to be imitated.* **252. unde . . .** = 'and therefore (*i.e.* because of its rapid character) it (the iambus) bade the name "trimeter" attach itself to the iambic lines, although it gave six beats (to a line) from beginning to end like itself (*i.e.* each foot being an iambus).' **adcrescere** denotes the gradual adhesion of the name *trimetrum* (as a sort of *adgnomen*) to the name *iambeum* (= ἰαμβεῖον) as a designation of the verse. The fact of the line being called 'trimeter' though there were *six* beats is quoted to show the 'rapidity' of the iambic foot. For Ribbeck's conjecture *momen* see Wilkins. **254. primus ad extremum:** cf. Ep. 1. 1. 54 n. **non ita pridem . . . :** these words present a grave difficulty, for in the earliest iambics known, written 600 years before this time, spondees are found frequently in the uneven places; cf. Archil. fr. 22 Bergk[4] καί μ' οὔτ' ἰάμβων οὔτε τερπωλέων μέλει, and the same holds good for the earliest Latin iambics. The difficulty is solved by supposing, with Orelli, that Horace is giving, not a historically exact, but rather an ideal and half-humorous sketch of the development of the verse, describing its various stages as they ought to have been in theory, rather than as he had reason to know that they had been. Iambic lines, he says, were originally pure, and have only admitted spondees into their 'hereditary rights not so very long ago.' The spondee is only a comparatively modern and pushing intruder. **256. paterna:** Ribbeck cannot get quite clear about the ancestry of the iambus, and therefore prefers the conjecture of a certain Dutchman, *alterna.* This is to miss the sportive tone of the whole passage, in which the iambus is made to 'give orders,' 'to welcome' to be 'obliging' and 'long-suffering,' and to act 'in friendly fashion.' A foot that can do all this, may surely be allowed 'hereditary rights.' **258. socialiter:** the iambic is 'obliging' and 'long-suffering' but cannot carry the principle of 'taking the spondee into partnership' so far as to give up the 2nd and 4th places. Peerlkamp conjectures *sextave, sed*!

258. hic: sc. *iambus*, not, as some have taken it, an adverb ('here'=in the 2nd and 4th places). Horace means that the *iambus* appeared so rarely that they were hardly deserving to be called iambic trimeters; in some of the extant fragments of Accius there are lines which consist wholly of spondees, with the exception of the last foot. **260. cum magno**: this position of the words, for which Virgil would certainly have written *magno cum*, along with the spondaic character of the line, produces a rhythm which imitates the sense. **262. premit**: cf. Livy 3. 13. 1 *premebat reum praeter vulgatam invidiam crimen unum.* It is not of course the iambic but *the iambic by its rare appearance* which 'crushes' the verse of Accius. **ignoratae artis**, 'of ignorance of art' *i.e.* of the laws of poetry.

263. non quivis . . . This and the next line are a concession made by Horace: 'I admit that every one cannot tell a faulty line, etc., but am I on that account (265) to take any liberties I like?' Note that 263 is itself *versus inmodulatus.* **264. et . . . poetis**, 'and indulgence is granted to Roman poets, which poets ought not to need.' **poetis** is strictly the dative, but requires to be understood again as an ablative after *indigna.* **265. vager**, 'am I to move unchecked by law?' **an**: 'or am I to assume that all will notice my faults, and therefore avoid them, cautiously keeping within the sphere in which I may hope for indulgence?' The latter is the alternative to be chosen: but Horace immediately goes on to say that this is not enough of itself. The Greek models show that more than a mere avoidance of faults is needed for excellence. For **tutus**, 'cautious,' cf. line 28.

268. vos: sc. *Pisones.* **269. nocturna . . . diurna**: cf. Ep. 1. 19. 11. **270. Plautinos**: for Horace's opinion of Plautus, cf. Ep. 2. 1. 170 seq. **274. digitis**: the fingers were used, not only to count the feet, but to mark the *ictus*: cf. Od. 4. 6. 35 *pollicis ictum:* Quintil. 9. 4. 51 *tempora etiam animo metiuntur et pedum et digitorum ictu intervalla signant quibusdam notis.*

275-284. *Thespis is said to have been the inventor of tragedy, and Aeschylus to have improved it. Comedy followed, and was highly approved, until its licence had to be checked by law.* **275. tragicae genus Camenae**, *i.e.* a class of poetry called after the tragic muse. **276. Thespis** (flor. 536 B.C.) was undoubtedly the inventor of tragedy; but Horace has strangely mixed up the origin of tragedy with that of comedy. The bands of revellers (*κῶμοι*) who went about the country *παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ ἁμαξῶν καθήμενοι* and *ἔσκωπτον ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐλοιδοροῦντο πολλά* (Schol. on Lucian *Ζεὺς Τραγῳδός* 6. p. 388), developed into the Old Comedy, and jesting from waggons (*τὰ ἐξ ἁμάξης σκώμματα*) is frequently mentioned in connexion with merry-making, but these jesters 'in waggons' have no connexion with the festal choir of the Dionysia, nor, on the other hand, do we hear of travelling companies of tragedians. **277. canerent agerentque**: rather a loose expression, seeing that there was as yet only one actor, *i.e.* the leader of the chorus, the rest being merely singers. **peruncti faecibus ora**: this was limited to comedy, where the actors are said to have smeared their faces with the wine-lees of the new vintage (*τρύξ*), and hence to have got their name *τρυγῳδοί*, a contemptuous word never used of tragedians.

278. personae: Horace here ascribes to Aeschylus inventions which must have been made long before his time, probably in consequence of his reputation as an improver of scenic properties generally. Cf. Suidas: *Αἰσχύλος εὗρε προσωπεῖα δεινὰ καὶ χρώμασι κεχρισμένα ἔχειν τοὺς τραγικούς, καὶ ταῖς ἀρβύλαις, ταῖς καλουμέναις ἐμβάταις, κεχρῆσθαι.* On the Roman stage the mask was first

used, according to Donatus, by Minucius Prothymus about 120-100 B.C.; others say that Roscius first used it. As the orchestra was seated for spectators at Rome, they were brought much nearer to the actors than in Greece, and the innovation was disliked, cf. Cic. de Orat. 3. 59. 221 *senes . . . personatum ne Roscium quidem magno opere laudabant.* Aesopus seems to have acted, at least sometimes, without a mask; cf. Cic. de Div. 1. 37. 80 *vidi . . . in Aesopo tantum ardorem vultuum atque motuum* etc. **honestae**, 'handsome,' Virg. G. 2. 392. **279. pulpita** in Greek *ὀκρίβας*: cf. Plat. Symp. 194 B *ἀναβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ὀκρίβαντα μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν.* **280. magnumque loqui**: both of loud utterance and also of high-flown distinction for which Aeschylus was celebrated: cf. Arist. Ran. 823 *βρυχώμενος ἥσει ῥήματα γομφοπαγῆ*, and 1004 *ἀλλ' ὦ πρῶτος τῶν Ἑλλήνων πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνὰ | καὶ κοσμήσας τραγικὸν λῆρον κτλ.*

281. his, *i.e.* to Thespis and Aeschylus. Susarion, the reputed founder of the Attic comedy, was at least as early as Thespis: but 'comedy did not attract attention at first because it was not a serious pursuit. Thus the archon did not assign a chorus to the comic poets till late . . . but it was not until it had attained to some degree of form that its poets were recorded' (Arist. Poet. c. 5). **282. libertas excidit**: *παρρησία inpetu quodam suo delapsa est in petulantiam*—Orelli: liberty of speech degenerated into licence. **283. lege**: Suidas s.v. *Ἀντίμαχος* says *ἐδόκει οὗτος ψήφισμα πεποιηκέναι μὴ δεῖν κωμῳδεῖν ἐξ ὀνόματος*: this was in 440 B.C.; but the law was repealed three years afterwards. The law passed by Syracosius (415 B.C.) seems to have been solely to restrict comic writers from taking as their subject the profanation of the mysteries. The oligarchs of 411 B.C. seem to have silenced political comedy by terror not by law. **284. turpiter** with **obticuit**; the disgrace lay in the fact that the outrageous violence of the chorus had brought upon it the restraint of the law.

285-294. *Versatility and talent are by no means wanting to the Roman poets: they have even shown originality in the dramas taken from their national history; they might rival the Greeks if they were not so deficient in patient finish.* **288. praetextas**: on the analogy of *togata* and *palliata* this word (derived from the *toga praetexta* worn by magistrates at Rome) ought strictly to be *praetextata*, and both forms exist. The *praetextae* are defined by Paulus p. 223 M as plays *quae res gestas Romanorum habent*, and were first written by Naevius, who composed two on the early history of Rome, *Lupus* and *Romulus*, and one *Clastidium*, on contemporary history. Two are ascribed to Ennius, one to Pacuvius, and two to Accius. For the *comoedia togata* of Afranius and others, cf. Ep. 2. 1. 57 n. **291. o Pompilius sanguis**: the nominative for the vocative in solemn address as in Od. 1. 2. 43 *almae filius Maiae;* Livy 1. 24. 7 *audi tu, populus Albanus;* 8. 9. 4 *agedum pontifex publicus populi Romani:* cf. too Virg. Aen. 8. 77; Ov. Heroid. 14. 73. According to Plutarch, Num. 21, Numa Pompilius had four sons, Pompus, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus, from whom the Pomponii, Pinarii, Calpurnii, and Mamercii were respectively descended. **293. dies**, 'time' and therefore feminine (Roby 337, S. G. 106), not singular for plural. **coercuit**, 'pruned.'

294. praesectum: so *vet. Bland.* and the oldest Berne MS. for the vulgate *perfectum*, which would agree with *quod* and must be taken as proleptic after *castigavit*, 'to perfection.' For **ad unguem**, used of workers in wood or stone testing the finish of their work by passing the nail over it, cf. S. 1. 5. 32 n. Now it is a common experience that the nail is more sensitive

to irregularities, when it has just been pared; and this is the meaning suggested by *praesectum*, so that *praesectum ad unguem*='to the finest touch,' so that the most sensitive criticism can detect no flaw. If *perfectum* is read it is impossible to account for the much rarer word *praesectum* having got into our older authorities.

295-308. *This careful polishing is quite inconsistent with the notion that poetry is produced in a kind of inspired frenzy. I would rather keep my sanity as a critic, and teach others, without attempting verse myself.* **296. excludit sanos**: cf. S. 2. 3. 322 n. **297. bona pars**: just like our 'a good part,' 'a good many'; cf. Od. 4. 2. 46 *meae vocis bona pars;* S. 1. 1. 61 *bona pars hominum;* Lucr. 5. 1025 *bona magnaque pars;* so Ter. Eun. 1. 2. 43. Cicero has it in his dialogues (de Orat. 2. 3. 14), not in his speeches. It seems a somewhat colloquial usage. **non ungues ponere**, *i.e.* neglects personal appearance; cf. Ep. 1. 7. 50 n., and Tatian's description of the Cynics (adv. Graecos p. 87) κόμην ἐπιειμένοι πωγωνοτροφοῦσιν ὄνυχας θηρίων περιφέροντες. The long nails of these foolish fellows are also contrasted with the 'pared nail' of true judgment, line 294. **298. barbam**: properly the mark of a philosopher (cf. S. 2. 3. 35 *sapientem pascere barbam*), but allowed to grow by all who were careless of their appearance. The public baths were great centres for social reunion. **299. nanciscetur**, the subject is 'a man,' any one of the 'good many' just mentioned. **300. Anticyris** for Anticyra in Phocis, cf. S. 2. 3. 82 n. There was another Anticyra on the Spercheius at the head of the Maliac Gulf, and attempts have even been made to find a third, but Horace clearly means 'any number of Anticyras,' just as we might say 'ten Karlsbads would not cure you.' **301. tonsori Licino**: an unknown barber. There is no reason for identifying him, as the scholiasts do, with the famous Licinus who was a Gaul, taken prisoner by Caesar, and made his *dispensator*. He was afterwards emancipated and high in favour with Augustus, who made him procurator of Gaul in 16 and 15 B.C. There he acquired great wealth, which became proverbial: cf. Pers. 2. 36; Juv. 1. 109 *ego possideo plus Pallante et Licinis;* 14. 305 *praedives Licinus.* On him was written the excellent epigram quoted here by the scholiasts: *marmoreo tumulo Licinus iacet, at Cato nullo, | Pompeius parvo: quis putet esse deos?*

301. o ego laevus, 'how stupid I am'; **laevus**=σκαιός, cf. Virg. Aen. 2. 54 *si mens non laeva fuisset.* **302. purgor bilem**: the verb is here used strictly in a middle sense, like καθαίρομαι, 'get rid of my bile'; cf. Roby 1102, 1126-7, S. G. 462, 471. **sub . . . horam**, 'as the season of spring comes on'; cf. Od. 1. 18. 14 n. Celsus 2. 13 says that hellebore, which was a strong purgative, is best taken in spring; and Porph. here has *omnes verno tempore purgationem sumunt, quod vocatur* καθαρτικόν. **303. faceret**, *i.e.* if I did not keep my head clear by taking a purgative in spring. **304. nil tanti est**, 'nothing is worth such a cost,' *i.e.* even the reputation of a poet is not worth the loss of one's reason: the phrase is like our 'it's not good enough,' or *le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.* **cotis**: so Isocrates, when asked why he taught others to speak but never spoke himself, replied καὶ αἱ ἀκόναι αὐταὶ μὲν τεμεῖν οὐ δύνανται, τὸν δὲ σίδηρον ὀξέα καὶ τμητικὸν ποιοῦσιν (ps.-Plut. Vit. X Orat. 4). **306. munus et officium**: sc. *scribendi*, to be understood from **nil scribens**: of the two words **officium** is the stronger, as carrying with it the idea of moral obligation. **307. opes**, 'stores' of material: **formet**, 'moulds'; cf. lines 108, 126; Ep. 2. 1. 128. **308. virtus**, *i.e.* a true knowledge of the canons of the poetic art: ἀρετή.

309. Here begins the third main division of the poem, and the rest of it is but an expansion of the ideas of lines 307, 308.

309-322 (*unde parentur opes*). *The first requisite for writing is sound judgment and wide knowledge of human character, which can best be gained by a study of philosophy: and this will win favour for a play.* **309. recte sapere,** 'a sound judgment and correct knowledge' of the matter to be dealt with. **310. rem,** *i.e.* especially the facts of human nature and character. **Socraticae chartae,** *i.e.* the writings of the followers of Socrates. Besides Plato and Xenophon, Horace probably was thinking also of the writings of Aeschines and perhaps Antisthenes: whether he included the later Academics and Stoics is very doubtful. **311. verbaque . . . sequentur**: cf. Cic. de Orat. 3. 31. 125 *rerum enim copia verborum copiam gignit;* Cato's rule *rem tene, verba sequentur;* and the saying of Asinius Pollio, *male hercle eveniat verbis nisi rem sequantur.* **312. quid debeat,** 'his duties towards' etc., not, of course, with any special reference to himself, but generally what duties are owed by men. **314. conscripti,** 'a senator': the word used alone in this sense only occurs here. For the origin of the phrase *patres conscripti,* see Wilkins. **iudicis**: cf. S. 1. 4. 123 n. **315. partes**: Ep. 2. 1. 171.

318. doctum, picking up *qui didicit* 312; after learning all that can be learned from books then study nature. **vivas voces,** 'language faithful to life': cf. Plat. Phaedr. 276 A λόγον ζῶντα καὶ ἔμψυχον, οὗ ὁ γεγραμμένος εἴδωλον ἄν τι λέγοιτο δικαίως. **319. interdum . . .** 'sometimes a play with brilliant passages and correct drawing of character, though it has no grace (cf. 1. 6. 38) from its lack of weighty and artistic language, gives more pleasure to the people, and keeps their attention better than lines wanting in matter and melodious trifles.' For **speciosa locis** cf. Quint. 7. 1. 41 *plerique . . . contenti sunt locis speciosis modo vel nihil ad probationem conferentibus.* Others take *loci* of the *loci communes* of rhetoric, *i.e.* general remarks on subjects such as piety, friendship, justice etc., which the orator has ready to hand so that he can apply them to any particular case (cf. Quint. 5. 10. 20 *loci . . . sedes argumentorum in quibus latent, ex quibus sunt petenda*). But a writer who had the technical skill to use these could hardly be said to be *sine arte,* and what Horace points out is that brilliant passages and characters that 'talk like life' are often more effective than great technical skill in producing lines with no stuff in them though exquisite in sound.

323. ore rotundo, the στόμα στρογγύλον of the Greeks, denoted a smooth, easy style of utterance, so that Dionys. Hal. de vi Demosth. 19 uses στρογγύλη λέξις as opposed to μακρά and πλατεῖα of 'well-rounded' periods, and ascribes to Lysias (Jud. Lys. 6) ἡ συστρέφουσα τὰ νοήματα καὶ στρογγύλως ἐκφέρουσα λέξις. The style of Lysias is nearly the exact opposite of what some people mean when they talk of speaking *ore rotundo.* Conington's 'ready wit and rounded phrase' will do. **326. in partes centum**: the language is here not intended to be exact; the duodecimal, not the decimal method of subdivision was always used at Rome. The *as* was divided into 12 *unciae,* the *uncia* again into 4 *sicilici,* or 24 *scriptula* or *scripula*; sometimes even the *scripulum* was divided into 2 *simplia,* each $\frac{1}{576}$ of an *as.* **dicat**: cf. Od. 1. 27. 10 *dicat Opuntiae frater Megillae.* Albinus is unknown. **327. quincunce**: cf. Roby 447 seq., S. G. 189. **328. superat**: so most MSS.; one or two have *superest,* but *supero* not *supersum* seems to be the technical word in such a case. **poteras**: so most MSS.; a few have *poterat.* The past impf. is best explained as an expression of some slight im-

patience: 'you might have told me by this time'; cf. Roby 1535, S. G. 643. **eu** = εὖ, often used by the comic poets in approval. **329. redit,** 'is added' sc. to the *quincunx*: it denotes the opposite of the previous action, not merely its reversal. **fit,** 'is the amount.'

330. an: so *vet. Bland.* and a few others; most have *ad* which points to *at*, but *an* introducing a question which cannot be answered is better. **aerugo,** used in S. 1. 4. 101 of the canker of malice, here denotes the canker of avarice. Properly it is the rust upon copper coin. **331. speramus** has more authority than *speremus*; as Bentley says '*utrumque probum est, ut nescias utrum utri praeferendum sit.*' **332. cedro,** the resinous exudation of the *cedrus* or juniper-tree, was used to preserve books from decay: it was smeared on the unwritten side of the roll; cf. Vitruv. 2. 9. 13 *ex cedro oleum, quod cedrium dicitur, nascitur, quo reliquae res unctae, uti etiam libri, a tineis et a carie non laeduntur;* Ov. Trist. 3. 1. 13 *quod neque sum cedro flavus nec pumice levis;* Pers. 1. 42 has *cedro digna locutus.* **cupresso**: cf. Schol. Cruq. *cupressus autem est cedri species, unde confici solent capsulae, in quibus reponebantur scripta poetarum contra tineas.*

333-365 (*quid deceat, quid non*). *A poet must be brief, not extravagant, and neither empty nor too severe. Some slips may be pardoned; and a poem must be judged as a whole; and with regard to its general style.* **335. brevis**: Horace is himself one of the first masters of the terse speech that sticks. **336. dociles** and **fideles** are predicates and may be translated best by adverbs. **339. ne,** the reading of most MSS., though some give *nec*, is final, not imperative. **velit** has the support of the better MSS., but many of the best editors prefer *volet.* **340. Lamiae**: Lamia was said to be a beautiful queen beloved by Zeus, but bereft of all her children by Hera, whereupon she retired into a lonely cavern in the midst of wild rocks, and there became a treacherous and greedy monster devouring the children of others from spite; cf. Aristoph. Pac. 758; Vesp. 1035, 1177. The word is derived from λάμος, 'maw,' with which is connected λάμα = χάσματα. **extrahat,** *i.e.* describe how it is drawn.

341. centuriae seniorum: consisting, in each division of the Servian classification, of those who were over forty-five years of age. These older men cared nothing for plays which had no useful lessons in them. **342. Ramnes**: the first of the three original centuries of knights, the other two being *Tities* and *Luceres* (Livy 1. 13). The term refers only to knights *equo publico*, who served as cavalry, and not to those who belonged to the *ordo equester* by virtue of their census; and the period of service for cavalry was limited to ten campaigns, so that all these *equites* would be under thirty. **celsi,** 'haughty,' whether we take it as an epithet, or as an adverbial predicate with **praetereunt**; cf. Livy 7. 16 *celsi et feroces in proelium vadunt.* **343. punctum**: cf. Ep. 2. 2. 99 n. **345. Sosiis**: cf. Ep. 1. 20. 2; the book pays the publishers. **mare transit**: here just in the opposite sense to Ep. 1. 20. 13 (cf. note). Martial was read in Gaul, Spain, and Britain, and complains that he gets no profit from his British readers (11. 3. 6.) Pliny, Ep. 9. 11, is delighted to find that his works have a good sale at Lugdunum. **346. longum prorogat,** 'extends to a distant day,' proleptic: as Soph. Trach. 679 μείζον' ἐκτενῶ λόγον.

348. nam neque . . . just as the string of a lyre may give the wrong note, or a bow miss its mark, so a man cannot always produce the result at which he aims. **350. quodcumque minabitur**: sc. *ferire; minor* here

being used as a stronger expression for *peto*. Madvig's suggestion *quocunque* = *quoicunque* is needless. **352. offendar,** fut. ind. rather than pres. subj. **aut . . . aut**: it would seem at first that there is not sufficient distinction between the sources of error for the strongly disjunctive particles; but **incuria** appears to refer to faults arising simply from carelessness, **parum cavit** to those due to the difficulties of the task, against which sufficient care had not been taken.

353. quid ergo est? 'how stands the case then?' **354. scriptor librarius,** 'a copying clerk,' a slave set to this employment by his owner in order to produce books either for his own library or for sale; cf. Marquardt, Röm. Privatalt. 1. 157. **355. quamvis,** 'however much': for the construction cf. Ep. 1. 16..6; 17. 1. 22. **et citharoedus**: Bentley (followed by most editors) read *ut*, which is good in itself, but has very slight authority. **357. multum cessat,** 'often neglects his duty': cf. Ep. 2. 2. 14. **Choerilus**: cf. Ep. 2. 1. 232. **358. bis terve,** 'twice, or even thrice,' whereas *bis terque* (line 440) is 'twice, ay and thrice': the former = *raro*, the latter = *saepe*; cf. Bentley on Epod. 5. 33, where he rightly restored *bis terque*. Here most MSS. have *bis terque*. **359. quandoque** = *quandocunque*. **dormitat Homerus**: the Greek grammarians and philosophers delighted to discover inconsistencies and errors in Homer, most of all Zoilus, known as Ὁμηρομάστιξ. The connexion of thought in **et idem . . .** seems to be 'If a poet commits but few faults, these can be overlooked. If he is always blundering, we ridicule him, even when to our astonishment he occasionally goes right. But if he is to be judged by a high standard, then even occasional slips annoy us, although after all he ought to be pardoned for them, if his task is a long one.' **360. operi longo**: so most good MSS. Some have *opere in longo*, which would have required *fuit*: besides the personification of the work is pleasing rather than otherwise, though Ribbeck holds that Bentley has by no means proved that a work can sleep.

361. ut pictura poesis: the comparison was made by Simonides: ὁ Σιμωνίδης τὴν μὲν ζωγραφίαν ποίησιν σιωπῶσαν προσαγορεύει, τὴν δὲ ποίησιν ζωγραφίαν λαλοῦσαν (Plut. de glor. Ath. 3), repeated in Cic. ad Herenn. 4. 28. 39 *poema loquens pictura, pictura tacitum poema debet esse.* See Lessing's Laocoon. **362. abstes**: a ἄπ. λεγ. **364. argutum acumen**: Reid on Cic. Acad. 1. 2. 7 points out how often *argute* is joined with *acute* in Cic.

366-384 (*quo virtus, quo ferat error*). *Mediocrity is permitted in things necessary, not in things which are produced only to give pleasure. Hence no one should write poetry without the requisite skill.* **368. tolle**: cf. Ep. 1. 18. 12. **certis,** not the same as *quibusdam*, but defining more precisely. Cicero de Orat. 1. 26. 118 explains why we are such severe critics of those arts which exist only to give us pleasure, and which miss their end altogether if they fail to do so. **370. diserti,** strictly speaking not so strong as 'eloquent' (cf. Cic. Brut. 5. 18 *M. Antonius . . . disertos ait se vidisse multos, eloquentem omnino neminem*), but here practically equivalent to it. **371. Messallae**: cf. Od. 3. 21 Intr. Of his eloquence Tacitus, Dial. 18, says *Cicerone mitior Corvinus et dulcior et in verbis magis elaboratus;* cf. Quintil. 10. 1. 113 *at Messalla nitidus et candidus et quodam modo praeferens in dicendo nobilitatem suam.* **Cascellius**: an eminent lawyer, distinguished however not so much for his learning (Dig. 1 tit. 2. 2. 45 *Trebatius peritior Cascellio, Cascellius Trebatio eloquentior fuisse dicitur, Ofilius utroque doctior*) as for his wit and boldness (Macrob. 2. 6. 1 *iuris consultus*

urbanitatis mirae libertatisque: cf. Val. Max. 6. 2. 12 *vir iuris civilis scientia clarus, quam periculose contumax!*). **372. in pretio est,** 'has his value': a regular phrase of persons or things which not holding the highest place, are yet of some value; cf. Plaut. Asin. 1. 1. 46 *tu primus sentis: nos tamen in pretio sumus;* Poen. 1. 2. 117 *primum prima salva sis et secunda tu secundo salve in pretio: tertia salve extra pretium.* **373. non homines, non di:** some MSS. invert these clauses, but *columnae* comes in much better as an anticlimax with the order in the text: the word is itself a burlesque exaggeration of the usual term *pilae* (cf. S. 1. 4. 71 n.) for the posts in front of the booksellers' shops. We may translate 'counters.'

374. symphonia: any kind of orchestral or choral music: so *pueri symphoniaci* (Cic. pro Mil. 21. 55) are singing-boys: but the oxymoron is doubtless intentional. Cicero often speaks of the *symphonia* as an accompaniment of banquets. **375. crassum:** thickness was generally considered a fault in the perfumed unguents, supplied by the hosts at a dinner, for which cf. Od. 2. 3. 13; 7. 23; 3. 14. 7. **Sardo melle:** Porph. says *Corsicum et Sardum mel pessimi saporis est:* this was in consequence of the bitter plants (Virg. Ecl. 7. 41 *ego Sardoniis videar tibi amarior herbis*) and the yews which grew there. **papaver:** cf. Pliny H. N. 19. 53. 168 *papaver candidum, cuius semen tostum in secunda mensa cum melle apud antiquos dabatur.* The Spartans in Sphacteria were supplied with μήκων μεμελιτωμένη, to allay hunger; Thuc. 4. 26. **376. duci cena:** like *aetatem ducimus* Ep. 2. 2. 202; *vita ducenda est* Epod. 17. 63, etc. The sense is: such things being unnecessary, should be of the best quality or not offered at all. **377. natum:** cf. line 82. **378. decessit,** 'has fallen short of.' **vergit ad imum,** 'approaches the lowest': *i.e.* is little better than the worst.

380. pilae: *indoctus* nowhere else is followed by the gen. but cf. *sollers lyrae* line 407, Od. 1. 15. 24 n. For ball-play cf. S. 2. 2. 11 n. The ball and quoit were held in high esteem, but the hoop (*trochus*) was rather despised: cf. Od. 3. 24. 57. **381. spissae:** cf. line 205 and Ep. 1. 19. 41. **inpune** =*merito.* **coronae:** Ep. 1. 18. 53. **382. versus** not governed by *nescio,* but rather by *fingere* repeated. **quidni:** sc. *audeat,* 'of course; why shouldn't he write poetry? He is free, has a good income, etc.' The reasons given for his writing are intentionally absurd. **383. liber,** opposed to *servus,* **ingenuus** opposed to *libertinus.* **census . . . summam,** lit. 'having had the *summa equestris* entered against you in the censor's books'; for the construction cf. Cic. pro Flacc. 32. 80 *voluisti magnum agri modum censeri . . . census es praeterea numeratae pecuniae centum triginta HS. milia.* The construction with abl. is more common. For the equestrian census cf. Ep. 1. 1. 57. **384. vitio . . .,** *i.e.* 'there is nothing against him': cf. Ep. 1. 7. 56.

385-390. *Even if you are well qualified to write do not be in haste to publish.* **385. tu:** sc. *maior Pisonum.* **dices,** 'will, I am sure, say.' **invita Minerva:** explained by Cic. de Off. 1. 31. 110 *neque enim attinet naturae repugnare nec quicquam sequi, quod assequi non queas, ex quo magis emergit, quale sit decorum illud, ideo quia nihil decet invita Minerva, ut aiunt, id est adversante et repugnante natura.* Cf. note on *crassa Minerva* S. 2. 2. 3. **386. id . . . iudicium,** 'such is your judgment,' a construction more common with the relative. **olim,** 'at any time.' **387. Maeci:** cf. S. 1. 10. 38 n., and Intr. **388. nonumque . . . in annum:** there is probably a reference to the Smyrna of C. Helvius Cinna on which he spent nine years, cf. Catull. 95. 1 *Smyrna mei Cinnae nonam post denique messem | quam coepta*

est nonamque edita post hiemem. But Horace refers here not so much to the time spent upon the composition, as to the interval to be allowed to lapse between the completion of a poem and its publication. Cf. Quintilian's dedicatory letter to Tryphon: *quibus componendis . . . paulo plus quam biennium . . . impendi; . . . usus deinde Horati consilio, qui in arte poetica suadet, ne praecipitetur editio . . . dabam iis otium, ut refrigerato inventionis amore diligenter repetitos tamquam lector perpenderem.* **389. membranis**: usually *membrana* denotes the parchment case or wrapping of the papyrus roll, which formed the *liber* (cf. Ellis on Catull. 22. 7); and so Kiessling takes the word here (and S. 2. 3. 2), the finished poem in its envelope being put away nine years before publication. **390. nescit . . . reverti**: cf. Ep. 1. 18. 71.

391-407. *The power of poetry is shown by the stories of Orpheus and Amphion: it laid the foundations of civilization: and men were roused to war and taught wisdom by its strains.* **391. silvestres**, *i.e.* when 'wild in woods the noble savage ran'; cf. S. 1. 3. 99 seq. **sacer** = *sacerdos Threicius* of Virg. Aen. 6. 645. **interpres**: Eur. Rhes. 936 μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων φανὰς | ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεύς, and Plato (Protag. 316 D) mentions him with Musaeus as having introduced τελετὰς καὶ χρησμῳδίας. He is the type of the true seer, who is inspired to declare the will of heaven, and who is at once prophet, priest, and poet. **392. caedibus**: Aristoph. Ran. 1032 Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετάς θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι. **victu foedo**: cannibalism. **393. tigres**: the beasts appear following Orpheus first in Eur. Bacch. 564 ἐν ταῖς Ὀλύμπου θαλάμαις, ἔνθα ποτ' Ὀρφεὺς κιθαρίζων ξύναγεν δένδρεα Μούσαις, ξύναγεν θῆρας ἀγρώτας. Cf. too Od. 1. 12. 11 n. **rabidosque**: so many of the best MSS. including *vet. Bland.* Many however give *rapidos*, but the use of the word = 'ravening' is not justified by its apparently active use = 'scorching' in Virgil of heat (Ecl. 2. 10), of the sun (G. 1. 92), of fire (ib. 4. 263) and of the dog-star (ib. 425). **394. urbis** has much more authority than *arcis*, and is clearly right. The *arx Thebana* was founded by Cadmus, hence called Cadmea, while (Pausanias 9. 5. 1-3) Amphion and Zethus built the lower city. For Amphion cf. Od. 3. 11. 2 *movit Amphion lapides canendo.*

395. blanda: cf. Ep. 2. 1. 135. **396. sapientia**, predicate, with the infinitives in apposition, 'this was wisdom, viz. to . . . ,' and it is implied that poetry was originally of this gnomic and didactic character, *e.g.* in the Hesiodic poems. **397. publica** . . . Horace follows the division of the Roman law: cf. Gaius 2. 2 *summa itaque rerum divisio in duos articulos diducitur: nam aliae sunt divini iuris, aliae humani. divini iuris sunt veluti res sacrae et religiosae.* 10. *hae autem quae humani iuris sunt aut publicae sunt aut privatae.* **398. concubitu vago**, 'promiscuous unions.' The Epicurean conception of the early history of man upon the earth, which Horace has in view here, is given fully in Lucr. 5. 925-1457. On much of it Darwin's Descent of Man furnishes an interesting commentary. **maritis**, 'the wedded'; Dig. 24. 1. 52 *inter maritos nihil agitur.* **399. ligno**: *aereis enim tabulis antiqui non sunt usi, sed roboreis. in has incidebant leges, unde adhuc Athenis legum tabulae* ἄξονες *vocantur*—Porph.

400. sic, *i.e.* as civilisation grew. **honŏr**: but in line 69 *honōs. honos* is far more common in Cicero and Livy than *honor*, and is the only form used by Virgil. Horace, Ovid, Tacitus and the later poets use the two forms indiscriminately. **vatibus**: Horace is thinking of mythical poets like Linus, Orpheus, Musaeus. **401. insignis**: not an epithet of **Homerus**

but 'gaining fame after these.' **402. Tyrtaeus**, an Athenian sent (about 640 B.C.) to the aid of the Spartans, when hard pressed by the war with the revolted Messenians. We have about 120 lines of his elegiac poetry, containing exhortations to valour, and smaller fragments of his *ἐμβατήρια*, anapaestic marching songs. His poetry was highly prized at Sparta, and sung in time of war: on the strength of it Leonidas pronounced him *ἀγαθὸς νέων ψυχὰς αἰκάλλειν*. **mares**: cf. Ep. 1. 1. 64. **403. exacuit**: for the verb in sing. cf. Od. 2. 13. 38 n. **sortes**, '(then) oracles (cf. line 219 n.) were uttered in verse . . .' The oracles of Delphi, of Bakis, and of the Sibyl are probably especially intended.

404. vitae monstrata via est, by the gnomic poets, Solon, Theognis, Phocylides. **gratia regum**: Pindar, Simonides and Bacchylides were patronised by Hiero and Thero, Anacreon by Polycrates of Samos. 'The rise and prevalence of tyrants in Greece, and their desire of spreading culture about them, created a demand, and a comfortable prospect for professional court poets'—Mahaffy, Gk. Lit. 1. 206. **405. ludus**, 'festivals'; cf. Ep. 2. 1. 140 seq. Acron refers this to the lyre, Orelli to the dramatic representations at the Dionysia *τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς* in December, which marked the close of the year's toil: both unduly limit the meaning. But Acron is right in taking **et . . . finis** as a quasi-adjectival addition, 'to finish their long toils.' **406. ne**, final: '(this I say) lest' etc.; cf. Ep. 1. 1. 13; Od. 2. 4. 1; 4. 9. 1.

408-418. *Not only natural ability, but also trained skill is needful for success in poetry.* **408. natura . . . an arte**: a theme often discussed. Pindar was perhaps the first to lay stress on the great importance of *φυή*, as compared with *μελέτη*: cf. Olymp. 2. 86; ib. 9. 100 *τὸ δὲ φυᾷ κράτιστον ἅπαν· πολλοὶ δὲ διδακταῖς ἀνθρώπων ἀρεταῖς κλέος ὤρουσαν ἄρεσθαι, ἄνευ δὲ θεοῦ σεσιγαμένον οὐ σκαιότερον χρῆμ' ἕκαστον*, though in Ol. 11. 20 he admits *θήξαις δέ κε φύντ' ἀρετᾷ*. Naturally Horace's solution of the question—that both natural gifts and training are needed—is the one generally accepted. As regards oratory Plato says (Phaedr. 269 D) *εἰ μέν σοι ὑπάρχει φύσει ῥητορικῷ εἶναι, ἔσει ῥήτωρ ἐλλόγιμος, προσλαβὼν ἐπιστήμην καὶ μελέτην*: and so Cicero in his de Oratore often expresses his opinion that the first requisite for the orator is natural capacity (*e.g.* 1. 25. 113 *sic sentio, naturam primum atque ingenium ad dicendum vim adferre maximam*) but that he must also be *omnibus eis artibus, quae sunt libero dignae, perpolitus* (72). Cf. also Ovid, Trist. 2. 424 *Ennius ingenio maximus, arte rudis*: and Am. 1. 15. 14 *quamvis ingenio non valet, arte valet*, of Callimachus. Quintil. I. Prooem. 26 *illud tamen in primis testandum est, nihil praecepta atque artes valere, nisi adiuvante natura.*

409. divite vena: cf. Od. 2. 18. 10 n. **410. rude**, 'untrained.' **quid prosit**, 'what use it is,' is supported by all MSS. of any value; cf. Od. 1. 26. 10 *nil sine te mei prosunt honores.* Bentley read *possit.* **sic**, 'to such a degree.' **411. coniurat**: Cicero never uses the word except in the bad sense 'to conspire'; but Virgil and Livy have it simply for 'band together.' Here the word seems specially chosen to denote the alliance of two things generally reckoned enemies—genius and technical skill.

412. metam, properly denoting the two turning-posts in the Circus: hence the word acquires two distinct meanings (1) turning-post, (2), as here, goal. The former is far the more common, the regular word for 'goal' being *calx*, cf. Ep. 1. 14. 9: see Wilkins. **413. puer**, 'when a boy': **sudavit et alsit**, 'has borne heat and cold': the tense is the true perfect, not the gnomic or aoristic perfect. **414. Pythia cantat**, 'plays at the Pythian games'; the

construction is like that of Ep. 1. 1. 50 *coronari Olympia;* cf. *saepe . . . Olympia vicit* Enn. in Cic. de Sen. 5. 14. At the Pythian games one of the chief contests was in the νόμος Πυθικός, a description in music of the fight of Apollo with the Python, including a song of victory and a dirge over the monster.

416. nunc is the reading of all our older authorities, and is right: 'nowadays men think it enough to say' etc., nowadays all you need do is to profess yourself a great poet: the task needs no training but is as simple as not coming in last in a child's game. Bentley contended that the contrast was not between the present time and the past, but between athletes and poets; and therefore read on very slight authority *nec*, which has been largely accepted. **417. occupet extremum scabies**, 'deuce take the hindmost': *hoc ex lusu puerorum sustulit, qui ludentes solent dicere: quisquis ad me novissimus venerit, habeat scabiem*—Porphyrion. **418. sane**, not 'modestly' (*more sani hominis*), nor yet 'certainly' (=*utique* Or.), but 'altogether,' like *sane sapis* often in Plautus.

419-452. *The judgment of flatterers must not be accepted, but a rich poet can hardly tell true friends from false ones. Quintilius was an honest critic; and a good man will never conceal his friend's errors from him.* **420. ad lucrum**, 'to make their profit out of him.' A crier endeavours to attract purchasers by promising them good bargains; a rich man, who writes verse, attracts an audience of flatterers by the hope that they will gain something. The satirists are full of instances in which a dinner was the reward for listening to the host's poetry: *e.g.* Mart. 3. 1 *haec tibi, non alia, est ad cenam causa vocandi,* | *versiculos recites ut, Ligurine, tuos*, etc.; cf. 2. 27; 3. 45; 7. 42; 9. 14. Line 421 is repeated from S. 1. 2. 13. **422. si vero est**: *vero* does not here introduce a climax, as Schütz thinks, but is simply adversative: a rich poet can get plenty of admirers, but I shall be surprised if he can tell a true friend from a deceiver. **unctum**: cf. Ep. 1. 15. 44. **ponere**, 'serve up': S. 2. 2. 23; 4. 14; 6. 64; 8. 91; Pers. 1. 53 *calidum scis ponere sumen.* **423. levi**, 'of little credit'=*levi fide:* the word has no reference here to moral character. But as this use is rare of persons, and as *pauper* is very seldom accompanied by an epithet, Geel has ingeniously conjectured *velit.* **atris**, 'gloomy,' like *atrae curae* Od. 4. 11. 35. **424. mirabor**: Ep. 1. 17. 26. **inter | noscere**: cf. Ep. 2. 2. 93 n.; S. 1. 2. 63 *quid inter | est . . . ?* **425. beatus**, 'for all his fancied happiness.'

427. versus tibi factos, 'verses composed by you,' cf. Ep. 1. 16. 25. **428. pulchre**, etc.: cf. Mart. 2. 27 *laudantem Selium cenae cum retia tendit | accipe, sive legas, sive patronus agas:* | '*effecte! graviter! cito! nequiter! euge! beate!*' | *hoc volui. facta est iam tibi cena; tace.* **429. super his**: for *super* cf. Ep. 2. 1. 152 n.: *his* denotes 'one set of lines,' *i.e.* those intended to inspire terror. In S. 2. 6. 3 *super his* is='moreover,' but with *etiam* following it can hardly be so taken here. **430. saliet**: admiration was expressed by rising; Mart. 10. 10. 9 *saepius assurgam recitanti carmina?* Cic. de Am. 7. 24 *stantes plaudebant.* The parasite over-does his delight: cf. Quint. 2. 2. 9 *at nunc proni atque succincti ad omnem clausulam non exsurgunt modo, verum etiam excurrunt, et cum indecora exsultatione conclamant;* Pers. 1. 82 *Trossulus exultat tibi per subsellia levis.*

431. conducti: in the earlier times of the republic women (*praeficae*) were hired to sing a dirge over the departed one, in accordance with a custom which seems to have been almost universal in the ancient world; cf. the commentators on Eccles. xii. 5, St. Matth. ix. 23. So Lucilius (22 frag. 1 M lines

808-9 Lachm.) has *mercede quae conductae flent alieno in funere* | *praeficae multo et capillos scindunt et clamant magis.* The masculine is due to the comparison with false friends. **433. derisor**: cf. Ep. 1. 18. 11. **plus**, more usual than *magis* with verbs of emotion. **434. reges**, 'princes,' *i.e.* wealthy men, as in S. 2. 2. 45 *epulis regum*, or it may have its regular force here. **culullis** (or *culillis*): the derivation is uncertain, but the word is probably akin to *culigna* = κυλίχνη (Fest. p. 51). **435. torquere**: cf. Ep. 1. 18. 38. **perspexisse**: cf. line 98. **laborent** is on the whole better supported than *laborant*; Bentley says *sane quid modus subiunctivus hic faciat, non video*, and most recent editors (even Keller) follow him. But surely the relative clause is suboblique. If the construction had been *dicunt reges* etc., the subjunctive would have been almost necessary; as it is, it is at least legitimate. **436. an**, 'to see whether.' **condes**: cf. Ep. 1. 3. 24. **437. fallent**, fut. will not deceive you' *i.e.* if you take my advice = 'take care that they do not deceive you.' **sub vulpe**: the reference is to Aesop's Fable (Phaedr. 1. 3) in which the fox praises the crow's voice, in order to make her drop the cheese which he covets. So the flatterers of the rich poet are 'foxes,' and he will do well to study their 'concealed purpose.'

438. Quintilio: Quintilius Varus of Cremona, whose death in 24 B.C. Horace laments in Od. 1. 24, where he ascribes to him *incorrupta fides nudaque veritas.* **aiebat** shows that he was dead at this time. **sodes**: cf. Ep. 1. 1. 62 n. **recitares**: frequentative; Roby 1716, S. G. 720; Livy 3. 36. 8 *si quis collegam appellasset, ita discedebat* etc. S. 1. 3. 4 is not parallel, because the verb in the apodosis is also in the subjunctive, which makes the sentence a pure hypothesis. **439. negares**: Roby 1552, S. G. 650. **440. bis terque**: line 358 n. **441. tornatos incudi**: the double metaphor is not harsh, for the *tornus* was used for metals, *e.g.* brass, and the meaning is 'if the finishing tool has been thrice applied without success, the misshapen thing must be placed upon the anvil and hammered up, so that a new start may be made.' Both metaphors are very commonly used of poetry. Cf. Ovid, Trist. 1. 7. 29 *ablatum mediis opus est incudibus illud* (sc. Metamorphoses), *defuit et scriptis ultima lima meis;* Propert. 3. 32. 43 *incipe iam angusto versus includere torno;* and see ἄκμων, ἀκονή, Pind. Pyth. 1. 86 ἀψευδεῖ δὲ πρὸς ἄκμονι χάλκευε γλῶσσαν.. ἀποτορνεύειν in Greek. **442. vertere**, 'to change' (cf. Ep. 1. 25. 39); but Orelli gives 'erase' with a reference to the phrase *stilum vertere.* **444. quin**, 'to hinder you from': cf. S. 2. 3. 42 *nil verbi pereas quin fortiter addam.* Roby 1646, S. G. 682. **sine rivali**: cf. Cic. ad Quint. Fr. 3. 8. 4 *o di, quam ineptus, quam se ipse amans sine rivali.*

445. inertes, 'weak,' the *virtute carentia* of Ep. 2. 2. 123. **446. incomptis** = *incultis* of Ep. 2. 1. 233. **atrum**: both 'black' in colour and also 'gloomy' as being a sign of condemnation; so Pers. 4. 13 *nigrum vitio praefigere theta* 'to obelise wrong with a staring black mark.' **447. signum**, the *obelus* —, which was made with a cross stroke of the pen (**transverso calamo**) to signify condemnation: cf. Lucian 40. 24 ὁ τὰ νόθα ἐπισημηνάμενος τῶν ἐπῶν ἐν τῇ παραγραφῇ τῶν ὀβελῶν. A χ was similarly used, and that may perhaps be rather intended here. **ambitiosa recidet**: cf. *luxuriantia conpescet* Ep. 2. 2. 122 and for *ambitiosus* which is perhaps = 'pretentious' cf. Quint. 1. 2. 27 *si ambitiosis utilia praeferet:* 12. 10. 40 *affectatio et ambitiosa in loquendo iactantia.* **448. parum claris**: Horace like Virgil is singularly free from the affected obscurity of the imitators of the Alexandrian literature. **449. arguet**, 'will point out.' **450. Aristarchus**: the great Alexandrian critic,

who did so much to establish the text of Homer in the middle of the second century B.C. Pope (Dunciad 4. 203) calls Bentley 'that awful Aristarch,' in a passage which does infinite injustice to one who was among the freshest and most vigorous of writers, as well as in the foremost rank of our scholars. Cicero ad Att. 1. 14. 3 *meis orationibus, quarum tu Aristarchus es.* **451. nugae,** 'trifling faults.' **452. derisum** . . . 'flattered and treated uncandidly.'

453-476. *A poet is as dangerous as a man with an infectious disease: if he gets hold of you, he will bore you to death with his recitations.* **453. morbus regius:** Celsus 3. 24 derives this name for 'the jaundice' from the costly remedies which had to be applied, which were only within the reach of the wealthy (*reges*): *per omne tempus utendum est exercitatione, frictione . . . lecto etiam et conclavi cultiore, lusu, ioco, ludis, lascivia, per quae mens exhilaretur, ob quae regius morbus dictus videtur.* It is not contagious. **454. fanaticus error:** properly the frenzy of worshippers in the shrine (*fanum*) of (the oriental) Bellona: cf. Juv. 4. 123 *ut fanaticus oestro percussus, Bellona, tuo divinat;* here it is probably 'lunacy,' for **iracunda Diana** is an explanatory addition, not, as Schütz thinks, a different kind of disorder. For Diana =*Luna* cf. Catull. 34. 15. 16 *tu potens trivia et notho es dicta lumine Luna:* cf. Od. 4. 6. 38. The word *lunaticus* is not common before the Vulgate, but cf. σεληνιακός, σεληνόβλητος, σεληνιάζομαι. **456. agitant,** 'tease,' 'worry': cf. S. 1. 3. 133.

457. sublimis, 'with head in air,' nom. sing. A misunderstanding has led to the reading *sublimes* in some MSS. **ructatur:** a rather coarse expression used designedly. ἐρεύγομαι in Hellenistic Greek is simply = 'utter,' cf. St. Matth. xiii. 35 ἐρεύξομαι κεκρυμμένα ἀπὸ καταβολῆς, Ps. xlv. 1 *eructavit cor meum.* **459. in puteum:** cf. Ep. 2. 2. 133. The story of Thales who fell into a well as he was looking up at the stars, is referred to by Plato, Theaet. 174 A. **longum,** 'aloud,' so that the sound goes far; imitated from Homer's μακρὸν ἄυσεν, Il. 3. 81. **460. non sit,** the simple hypothetical subjunctive, 'although he cries out, no one would . . .' being = 'if he cried out no one would.' **tollere:** cf. Ep. 1. 17. 61.

461. si curet quis: the editions before Bentley had for the most part *si quis curet* against the MSS. Bentley corrected, calling attention to the practice of Horace, when a word is repeated, not to allow the accent to fall in the same place; *tollere cúret, si curét quis.* Keightley has collected a number of instances from Greek and Latin, and from various modern languages, in a note on Milton's Lycidas 5. 165 'weep nó more, woful shepherds, weep no móre'; *e.g.* Soph. Phil. 1041 τίσασθε, τίσασθ' ἀλλὰ τῷ χρόνῳ ποτέ. Cf. also Lachmann on Propert. p. 111. **462. qui scis, an:** cf. line 436; Plaut. Most. 58 *qui scis an tibi istuc prius eveniat quam mihi?* Roby 1764. **prudens,** 'deliberately.' **proiecerit** has quite as much authority as *deiecerit:* '*ideo hic praeferendum* proiecerit, *quia proicere animam, proicere se, quae in bonis scriptoribus saepe occurrunt, ubique habent significationem voluntarii discriminis deque eo dicuntur, qui servari aut nolit aut desperet*'—Bentley.

463. Siculique poetae: the accounts of the death of Empedocles varied: the best authenticated is that after an active political life in Agrigentum he was compelled to leave it and retire to the Peloponnesus, where he died (probably about 432 B.C.): his followers seem afterwards to have invented in his honour a myth that he had disappeared mysteriously at a sacrificial banquet; while his enemies accounted for his disappearance by saying that he had thrown himself down the crater of Etna, in the hope that he might be considered to

have been carried to heaven, but that the trick was discovered when one of his bronze sandals was cast up by the volcano. **464. deus**: cf. Emped. frag. *χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὔμμιν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός.* Empedocles was a strong believer in metempsychosis, and this may have been distorted into the basis of such a charge. **465. frigidus**, 'in cold blood,' jocularly contrasted with *ardentem*. Acron has 'in his folly': '*Empedocles enim dicebat tarda ingenia frigido circa praecordia sanguine impediri*' (his own line is *αἷμα γὰρ ἀνθρώποις περικάρδιόν ἐστι νόημα*), but the reference seems too obscure to be intended here. **467. idem occidenti**: for the dat. 'the same with,' 'the same as' cf. Lucret. 3. 1038 *eadem aliis sopitu' quietest*; 4. 1174 *eadem facit . . . omnia turpi* 'she does, in all things, the same as the ugly woman,' Roby 1142. Seneca Phoen. 100 has *occidere est vetare cupientem mori*, an exaggerated imitation, for Horace only means that in each case violence is done to the wishes of the person concerned. This is the only spondaic hexameter in Horace. **468. iam**, 'at once' with **flet**. **469. famosae**, 'notorious'; cf. Ep. 1. 19. 32.

470. cur, *i.e.* what sin he has committed, in consequence of which the gods have sent upon him this frenzy. **471. bidental**: when a place was struck with lightning, it was the custom *condere fulmen*, with a sacrifice of sheep (*bidentes*), and to enclose the spot with a wall. Another derivation *quod bis fulmine percussum est* is evidently wrong, though Acron prefers it. **473. valuit**, common in poetry for *potuit*, 'has succeeded in bursting.' Roby 1454, S.G. 591. 2. **476. non missura . . . hirudo**, 'like a leech, which will not let go': the simile passes into a metaphor, as often in Horace: cf. Ep. 1. 2. 42.

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